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EDITED BY

JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D.

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VOLUME THE THIRTEENTH.

October 1901 – September 1902.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.

PRINTED BY
MORRISON AND GIBB LIMITED,
FOR
T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH.

LONDON	SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT, AND CO. LIMITED.
MANCHESTER	JOHN HEYWOOD.
EDINBURGH	JOHN MENZIES AND CO.
GLASGOW	JOHN MENZIES AND CO.
NEW YORK	CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

'It is an extraordinary phenomenon of scientific ethics,' say the editors of *The Biblical World* in their issue for August, 'that it should have ignored the significance of Christianity. Historically there has been no more potent moral force in occidental society than the Church, and, whatever may be the value of other religious systems to the orient, the great teachers of right conduct in Europe and America have been the preachers of the gospel. Yet there is almost no treatise on scientific ethics worthy of serious consideration in which Christianity is accorded any weight. Even when a writer like Paulsen is led to notice Christianity as a historical fact, he discusses it as if it were a branch of asceticism or a matter of antiquarian information. Nor does scientific ethics merely ignore Christianity; some of its representatives explicitly declare the ethics of Christianity to be defective.'

This then is the situation. The art of good conduct taught by Jesus is preached by thousands of men to tens of thousands of people every week. The scientific writers on good conduct either silently ignore the teaching of Jesus or openly reject it. It is more than extraordinary; it is a situation of grave peril either to Christianity or to science.

Some reasons are given. The first reason is that scientific ethics is now evolutionary. The present recognition of conscience, it is held, has been reached by continued efforts to find out what is best in the long-run. The very idea of right and wrong, the very birth of conscience, it is sometimes held, is the result of a process of evolution. The teaching of Jesus does not fall in with this position. It reckons upon a sense of right and wrong in every man. It denies to self-interest the honourable role of evolving that sense and giving it authority. Self-interest is one of the works of the devil; the Son of Man was manifest that He might destroy the works of the devil.

Scientific ethics is essentially systematic. That is another reason. Even if it recognizes Christianity, therefore, it does so merely by accepting a precept here and a precept there. Greek ethics it can take over and build on, because Greek ethics included not simply scattered precepts of conduct, but a formal systematization. But of Hebrew or Christian ethics it can at the most find room for only an occasional practical aphorism.

Another reason is that writers on scientific ethics believe that Christianity when it touches on conduct teaches asceticism. It denies life its worth and pleasure; it represents this world as a vale of tears; it describes the body of man as a vile instrument of indulgence, to be buffeted and bruised until it is cast off altogether.

Again, the rewards which the Christian religion offers to those who do right and the pains it promises to those who do wrong are held to be utterly unscientific. In scientific ethics there is no place for heaven or hell; virtue is its own reward, vice its own sufficient punishment.

The last reason is the most conclusive. Christian ethics is understood to rest upon a basis of supernaturalism. Jesus not only taught men to seek the kingdom of God and His righteousness, but is understood to have risen from the dead. And on the resurrection the kingdom of God is built, from the risen Christ the authority to teach His ethics and the power to do it is understood to come. Science has no room for the resurrection. So far as scientific ethics is concerned miracles do not occur.

Now the editors of *The Biblical World* do not deny that there is force in these objections. But they assert that not one of them presents any fair knowledge of Christianity. And they have come to the deliberate conclusion (and express it in italics) that the reason why writers on scientific ethics neglect or reject the ethics of Christianity is because *they do not know what the ethics of Christianity is.*

But scientific moralists are not alone to blame for that. For Christian preachers themselves do not always seem to know what Christian ethics is. The true inwardness of the ethics of Christ and of St. Paul has been missed. The liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, free from all external authority whatever, has been shunned as antinomianism; and in its place has been established an external ethical authority—an infallible church, an infallible pope, or an infallible creed—often less attractive and less fruitful of good works than the law of Moses or even the tradition of the Pharisees.

So the Church of Christ must herself learn what the ethics of Christ is, and her preachers must preach it, before scientific moralists can be fairly expected to take account of it. And to that end three things are necessary.

First, the history of the words which convey the ethics of the New Testament to us must be accurately and sympathetically traced. Next, there must be a clear understanding as to what is the essential fact in the moral teaching of the New Testament. And then these two must be sharply separated and seen apart. For Christianity has a husk as well as a kernel. The husk is the intellectual forms of speech which came from Judaism and were modified by Greek and Roman thought; the essence was contributed by Christ.

And that essence is *life*. This is Christ's contribution. 'I came that they might have life.' The words which describe the life are of Jewish or Græco-Roman descent, and their provincialism, so to speak, must be discounted; the thing itself is wholly of Christ. How ignorant, then, of the essence of Christianity are the writers on scientific ethics who say that Christianity belittles life; who think that either Jesus Christ or the Apostle Paul was an ascetic; who reckon that the chief obligation imposed by the Christian religion is to despise and destroy the body; who declare that the New Testament knows no higher ethical imperative than escape from hell. It is the ethics of the New Testament that has determined the conduct of thousands of the noblest men and women throughout the Christian era; and the editors of *The Biblical World* suggest that before the next writer on scientific ethics 'finally decides that Christianity should be reduced to a footnote, or even to an archæological chapter, he would do well to understand the New Testament.'

'New Testament Criticism and the Faith' is the title of four articles which have been contributed to *The Pilot* during the month of August by Canon Gore. The articles deal with the most recent criticism of the New Testament, the criticism of

the last ten years or less. They are written for the purpose of showing the direction which the most recent criticism has been taking, and the effect it has had upon 'the Church's faith in Christ.'

Canon Gore does not go back more than ten years, because ten years ago one great critical era, the era of Lightfoot, had come to an end. In Germany the Tübingen school had been routed, and Harnack had begun to lead a 'backward movement towards tradition.' In England, *Supernatural Religion*, 'a book representing, not very worthily, the destructive criticism of Germany,' had been fairly exploded, and the names of Lightfoot, Salmon, and Sanday stood for what on the whole was a decidedly conservative victory. The prospect was hopeful. The way seemed to be open for Canon Gore or anyone else to hold by the Church's faith in Christ, and at the same time recognize the function of a searching criticism as applied to the New Testament documents.

But the criticism of the last ten years has disappointed these hopes. It is true that Dr. Sanday's Bampton Lectures and 'his great article on Jesus Christ in Hastings' Dictionary' represent what Canon Gore believes to be the high-water level of sane criticism. But Harnack has shown, by the lectures recently translated into English with the title *What is Christianity?* that the backward movement towards tradition, whatever it may do with dates and authorships, has not carried Harnack himself any nearer the traditional faith. And there are others, in England as well as in Germany—Canon Gore names Professor Percy Gardner, Mr. Burkitt, Mr. Moffatt, Dr. Abbott, and Professor Schmiedel—whose writings have made much stir of late, and seem once more to have brought the question, whether the gospel story is really and substantially historical, into a condition which Canon Gore describes as 'not much less than chaotic.'

The immediate result, especially among younger men, is no little unsettlement. There is, for instance, a somewhat widespread anxiety not to affirm, as a fact resting on adequate evidence, the virgin birth of our Lord. And, beyond that, there is a tendency to eliminate the divine claim from the life of Jesus, and to leave the reality of miracle an open question—a tendency which Canon Gore finds illustrated in A. B. Bruce's last thoughts on Jesus in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. Nor is the unrest confined to professional theologians. Canon Gore believes that among the laity there is at present a good deal of suspicion that criticism has proved fatal to orthodoxy, and that the only permanent element of Christianity is the heritage of moral character.

Now it is easy to magnify the importance of this movement, and even to overestimate its men. For it is a critical movement pure and simple. It has no discovery in early Christian literature to start from. The great discoveries of those years have all gone toward the confirmation of the traditional faith. And not only is it purely critical, but its criticism is wholly of the documents themselves. The external evidence still throws back the Synoptic Gospels into the first century. Harnack dates St. Mark probably at 65 to 70 A.D., St. Matthew at 70 to 75 A.D., St. Luke about 78 to 92.

And even on the internal evidence Sanday and Harnack are substantially at one. 'In their essential substance,' says Harnack, 'the Gospels belong to the first, the Jewish epoch of Christianity, that brief epoch which may be denoted as the palæontological.' It is therefore not only upon internal evidence that this recent criticism proceeds, but upon that evidence as it passes through certain minds. These minds are not more 'historical' than Lightfoot's. On the contrary, they are discovered constantly asserting that things *cannot have been* as they are represented in the Gospels, either because they do not square with the writer's own conception of Jesus and His times, or because they contradict some of his philosophical ideas, such as the impossibility of miracle.

Canon Gore thinks that we have dealt too tenderly with such writers. 'Is there not a danger,' he asks, 'that in exhibiting a scrupulous anxiety to give due weight to the yet undeveloped theories of the last rising foreign scholar, and an even blind charity in refusing to notice the manifestly naturalistic bias in his work, some of us should be found dissimulating the real strength of our own reasoned convictions, and refusing to those who are weaker the support which they really need?'

This criticism, then, has no discovery to work upon. Not only so, but all the evidence as yet to hand confirms the statement of St. Luke's preface as to the way in which the Synoptic Gospels came into existence. There was first of all the apostolic witness as to the words and deeds of Jesus: 'They delivered them to us who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word.' Then this apostolic delivery or 'tradition' became the matter of common instruction in the first Christian Churches, an instruction which, from the necessity of the case, must have been, at first at least, mainly oral. Theophilus, like all other Christians, 'was instructed' in the contents of this tradition. Then, after a while, 'many took in hand to draw up a (written) narrative' of this gospel story. Now the merit of these written documents depended entirely upon the accuracy and fulness with which they gathered up the apostolic 'tradition.' St. Luke claims no qualifications but those of opportunity and care. 'Having followed along with the whole course of events from the beginning accurately,' he writes his Gospel to give 'security' to the instruction which in common with others his Theophilus has received.

This process occupied a certain number of years. The matter which is common to the three Synoptics and even that which is common to two of them, certainly assumed its form within thirty or forty years of the death of Christ. Now we know a good deal of the life of the Christian society during those first forty years. The Epistles, especially those of St. Paul, together with the Acts of the Apostles, reveal that life, its movements, and its tendencies. And the question which we have to ask is this, Are the Gospels trustworthy records of the actual words and works of Jesus Christ, or are they seriously coloured by later notions of what His words and works ought to have been?

Look at the phraseology of the Gospels first of all. In the Epistles Christians are called 'the brethren' or 'the saints.' These titles describe their relation to the community. In the Gospels, as in the early history of the Acts, they are 'the disciples.' Again, in the Gospels the characteristic title of Jesus is 'the Son of man'; and 'the Christ' is still the Jewish Messiah. In the Epistles 'Christ' has become almost a proper name, and 'the Son of man' is no longer in use. The whole style of our Lord's teaching in the Gospels (to mention but one other matter), whether it is by parables or otherwise, is quite unlike anything in the rest of the New Testament. The phraseology of justification, sanctification, and election, if it appears at all in the Gospels, appears so untechnically that the contrast is only the more impressive.

It thus appears that the ideas and phrases which grew up in the minds of the apostles and the Church throughout those forty years were not allowed to interfere with their memory of what 'Jesus began both to do and teach.'

Look next at the influence upon the Gospels of Old Testament prophecy or type. We know that the early Church was much occupied with finding in Christ the fulfilment of prophecy. Is there reason to believe that they altered the record or their own recollection of events in the life of Christ so as to make these events more evidently the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies? Canon Gore believes that in St. Matthew's Gospel there are three passages which show some trace of this desire. In Mt 21^2 the 'ass' is added to the 'colt'; in 26^{15}

the *thirty* pieces of silver are specified; and in 27^{34} 'gall' is substituted for 'myrrh.' But the common matter of the Gospels is free from any such suspicion. The Second and Third Gospels contain, indeed, very little reference to the fulfilment of prophecy. And although Canon Gore, for his part, feels compelled to admit modification of details in the three instances mentioned, which are peculiar to St. Matthew, he holds that there is no excuse at all for suggesting that the influence of Old Testament prophecy or type has been allowed to mould any event of importance in the portion of the Gospels which we are now considering.

And this leads to the further and more striking observation that the miraculous element in the Gospels does not grow with their age. It is, indeed, at its highest in that Gospel which critics with singular unanimity regard as the earliest of all—the Petrine memories recorded in St. Mark. It is here also inextricably bound up with scenes and sayings of our Lord the most indisputably authentic. What, for example, can be more certain than that the account of the Temptation is the record of a real spiritual experience of our Lord, communicated by Himself in outward imagery to the disciples? But this experience presupposes throughout on our Lord's own part a consciousness of strictly miraculous powers over nature.

Once more, and it is yet more striking, St. Paul's Epistles presuppose Christ's incarnation and divine sonship as common beliefs of the Church. Now it cannot be said that these beliefs are foreign to the Gospels. They occur there, and it is impossible, says Canon Gore, for the most hardy scepticism to deny the authenticity of the passages in which they occur. Take the assertion of the mutual knowledge of the Father and the Son, a knowledge which is declared to be exclusive; or take the declaration that the day and hour of the End are known neither to men nor to angels nor to the Son, where the divine sonship is asserted to be superangelic in a context that is quite unassailable. Or, again, take the Parable of the Vine-dressers, where, quite incidentally but quite unmistakably, God's Son is contrasted with God's messengers. Yes, the ideas of incarnation and divine sonship are found in the Synoptic Gospels. But they are not the most prominent ideas. There, as in the early speeches of the Acts, it is the Messiahship and heavenly exaltation of Jesus that chiefly occupy the disciples' minds. And when the ideas of incarnation and divine sonship do occur, they occur in such a way as to put interpolation or later colouring out of the question.

Canon Gore gives yet another example. The resurrection of Jesus from the dead was, in the early Church, the great subject of apostolic preaching. Being a supernatural event, its impressiveness depended upon the fulness and force of the evidence that could be produced on its behalf. Accordingly, St. Paul tells us that the witness of those who had seen the risen Lord (omitting the women) was tabulated, so that it might be engraved in the faithful memory of all Christians. Now it is surely remarkable that this table is not incorporated in any of the Gospels. The appearances of the risen Christ to His disciples are set down in the Gospels in so casual a way as to become a positive perplexity to the modern harmonist. It is difficult to imagine stronger evidence that the Gospels came into existence in the natural way described by St. Luke in his preface, and that they were left uncoloured by the thoughts and necessities of a later time.

Professor Gwatkin of Cambridge has published the sermon which he preached before the University on the 16th of June 1901, the day known as Commencement Sunday. His text is taken from 2 Co 5^{17}, the Revised Version: 'The old things are passed away; behold, they are become new.'

Not 'all things are become new.' That is a false reading, says Professor Gwatkin; and the context shows that St. Paul is not speaking of old things generally but of our old selves, and the things we loved in past time. St. Paul is telling us of changes that are going on now. He is not looking forward like St. John to the time when he that sitteth on the throne shall say, 'Behold, I make all things new.' He is speaking indeed of powers that belong to a future age. But he is speaking of them only in their working here on earth—the ἐπίγεια, 'earthly things,' not the ἐπουράνια, 'heavenly things.'

The old things are passed away. They are passing now. For the age to come in which the apostle's 'powers' are to do their work is this present age, the age in which he and we are living. In its manifest out-working it was mostly future to him, and alas! it is mostly future still to us. But the powers are at work. The old things are passing, or have passed away; behold, they are become new.

They pass often silently. We seem to wake up of a sudden to find that the old hand has lost its cunning, the old custom is turned to wrong, the old teaching emptied of its living force. What are we to do then? The foolish mother would keep the infant an infant always. The stupid politician resists reform. The cowardly Christian looks out for a master upon earth, or hides himself amongst the trees of dogma, that no fresh voice from heaven may unsettle the thing he is pleased to call his faith.

But revelation always comes in change. And change itself, says Professor Gwatkin, is revelation, if we have eyes to see it. It is so in life. When we were children we thought as children; but now we have put away childish things. It is so in history. Only decaying nations and decaying Churches, like the declining empire and the modern Church of Rome, look back to some canonized past, and strive to live by tradition. We are simply unbelieving, says Professor Gwatkin, when we cling like drowning men to the truth of other days, which cannot be God's message to us.

'The old things are passed away.' They were good things in their time—the beauty of our childhood, the proud powers of our manhood, the words that were spirit and life to our fathers. We look wistfully to the culture of Greece, the splendour of Rome, the fervour of the early Christians, the simple faith of the Middle Ages, the strong righteousness of Puritanism. But we can no more recall them than we can wake the dead. They are passed away for ever, and we must face, as best we can, the work of a world which without them seems cheerless and commonplace.

The Victorian age and the nineteenth century are of the old things that have passed away. But behold they are become new. What have they become to us? There are two great guiding ideas—both contained in the Gospel, both made practicable by the Reformation, both prepared for by the clearances of the eighteenth century—which the nineteenth century has at last made ours. They are these. First, the worth and dignity of man as an individual. To some it seems rather that the great gift of the nineteenth century is the worth of society, and they look upon the development of the social idea as a reaction from individualism. To Professor Gwatkin both seem parts of one and the same movement. It is the higher value set on the individual that gave a higher value to the societies of nations and Churches in which he found himself. And the social movement is sound only in so far as it develops the idea of the worth of individual men. For after all, says Dr. Gwatkin, even the Church was made for man, not man for the Church.

The other guiding idea of the nineteenth century was that of evolution, which interpreted first science, then history and theology; and if it has thrown no light on the final mysteries of specula-

tion—first principles cannot be demonstrated—it has marvellously illuminated for us the methods of God's working in the world.

These then, the worth of man as man, and the evolution of life and history, are the new things which the things of the old century have become to us. And Professor Gwatkin claims that they are both intensely Christian. The reddest of red republicans, he says, never claimed for man such dignity as is given him in our old story of the Son of God who gave Himself a ransom for us all. The boldest of levellers, he says, never went such lengths as we go in the Lord's Supper, where rank and race are utterly ignored, and all come up alike to feed by faith on Christ. Nor can the greatest enthusiast of nations—of man gathered into societies—outdo the love of country which lights the pages of his Bible. It flashes up at the outset, when Miriam sings her song of triumph over Pharaoh's host; and it shines out at the end on the gloom of the gathering storm, when the last of the Hebrew prophets, James, the Lord's brother, denounces wrath from the Lord of Hosts on the oppressors of the poor.

And as for evolution, what else, asks Professor Gwatkin, is the majestic development of revelation, from the farthest past which the astronomer can discern, to the farthest future which the prophet can divine? Gradually the ages led up to the coming of their Lord; gradually the centuries are unfolding something of the fulness of His grace and truth.

But if these, the guiding ideas of the nineteenth century, were in the Gospel from the first, they could hardly, Professor Gwatkin believes, have been got out of it without the Reformation. He gives the Latin Church its due. But its doctrines, he says, were all poisoned by one colossal blasphemy. It demanded to be believed without regard to reason, and obeyed without regard to conscience. And that is more than God has ever asked even for Himself. So the yoke of Christian Phariseeism had to be broken, that man might be free to serve God in spirit and truth. The unspiritual unity of Western Europe had to be shattered in pieces that nations might escape the tyranny of an alien and sectarian Church. Above all, the idea of an infallible Church holding plenary powers from an absent King had to be rooted out, before men could begin to see the gradual development which is God's word to successive generations. But, adds this great Church historian, 'an infallible Church is also incorrigible; therefore He cut her in sunder and appointed her portion with the hypocrites.'

The Servant of the Lord.

By the Rev. R. M. Moffat, M.A., Frome.

I.

The High Calling of the Servant (Isa. xlii. 1–7).

The character and work of the Servant of the Lord is in some respects the most important subject with which 2 Isaiah deals. It is not only very important. It is also on the one hand very interesting, and on the other very difficult. It is very interesting, inasmuch as it is largely through the servant that Jehovah brings about the salvation of Israel and of other nations, and the methods of the unchanging God must be fraught with the utmost personal interest for His people of any period. It is very difficult, because the greatest care is needed in order to determine precisely who the servant is; and only a close comparison of different passages where he is

described can entitle us to any opinion on the matter.

The title 'Servant of the Lord' is applied by 2 Isaiah first to Cyrus, the deliverer of the captives from the yoke of Babylon; but with the fall of Babylon Cyrus disappears from the prophet's view, and there rises another figure whom he invests with the same title, one who has a great spiritual task to perform, instead of a military one. Chapter 41 contains the first mention of him: 'But thou, Israel, my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham my friend; thou whom I have taken hold of from the ends of the earth, and called thee from the corners thereof, and said unto thee, Thou art my servant, I have chosen thee, and not cast thee away; fear thou not, for I am with thee; be not dismayed, for I am thy God: I will strengthen thee; yea, I will help thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness.'

The servant then is, in this passage, Israel, the entire people whom the prophet is addressing. The servant is not an individual. Let us be clear about this to begin with, or 2 Isaiah will remain a sealed book to us. With us Westerns the unit of society is a single person, but in the East it is the family; and so the Old Testament is full of references to the nation, or to some part of it, when to Western ears it sounds as if an individual were meant. Thus, 'The men of Israel said unto the Hivites, Peradventure *thou* dwellest in *my* midst; and how shall *I* make a covenant with *thee*?' (Jos 9^{7}). Again, 'The children of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, Why hast thou given *me* but one lot and one part for an inheritance, seeing *I* am a great people, forasmuch as hitherto the Lord hath blessed *me*?' (Jos 17^{14}). Instances like these might be quoted numerously.

But to come back to the term 'servant' as applied to the nation. It is used at least twice by Jeremiah (30^{10} 46^{27}), and twice by Ezekiel (28^{25} 37^{25}). 2 Isaiah takes the phrase, and uses it in such a manner as to develop a great doctrine. In finding out what this is, it is necessary of course to compare the various passages in which the servant is mentioned. A little attention shows that these resolve themselves into two sets, those in which God is spoken of as doing something for His servant, and those in which the servant does something for Him. And the significant thing is that the servant of the one set is not identical with the servant of the other; the servant who in the former case is the whole nation becomes now that part of the nation which is really serviceable to God.

When the prophet is speaking of God's love for His servant, His redeeming activity on the servant's behalf, he naturally thinks of all his people, good and bad alike, all needing God, all dear to God. But when he is thinking of what the people ought to do for God, and recalls the great missionary purpose for which God selected Israel originally, and sought to train them all along, he cannot but feel that there are members who are morally incapable of doing that which they ought. He sees that the nation as a whole cannot at present be the servant of the Lord in the full sense; and so when he is speaking of the activities of the servant, he has to restrict the term to include only the pious kernel within the nation. Thus in the early verses of chap. 42 it is this God-fearing heart of the nation of which the prophet represents the Lord as speaking in such lofty terms; and in v.[6] it is expressly said, 'I will give thee for a covenant of the people,' *i.e.* to be the medium of the restoration of the people Israel as a whole; and after that, 'for a light of the Gentiles.' Then from v.[18] onwards the prophet speaks in a very different tone, because he is now thinking of the inefficacy of the nation as a whole that ought to have been the Lord's servant. As he looks round upon the people he loves, and sees how very incomplete is their knowledge of God and their obedience to Him, their ignorance seems to him the veriest blindness to divine things, and their disobedience deafness to the voice of the Lord. 'Hear ye deaf, and look ye blind, that ye may see. Who so blind as my servant—this chosen nation here? or deaf as the messenger that I send?' (For other examples contrast $44^{21.\,22}$ $48^{1.\,8\text{-}11.\,18.\,19}$ with $49^{5.\,6}$ $50^{4\text{f.}}$)

Here then we have an exemplification of that saying of Jesus, 'Many are called, but few are chosen,'—a saying which is true for all time; and the real servant of Jehovah we see to be that part of the nation who recognized their duty to the whole world, but who felt their immediate responsibility to be towards their own unbelieving countrymen.

There was a preparation in an earlier prophet

for this conception of a section of the people being used by God even if the rest had to be given up. One of Isaiah's great doctrines was that a remnant should return from the Captivity which he saw to be inevitable; and in order to give prominence to the idea, he called one of his sons Shear Jashuv, 'A remnant shall return' (7^3). Moreover, he expressed his view very emphatically in the words, 'Except the Lord of Hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, we should have been like unto Gomorrah' (1^9).

Let me recall a recent instance of a remnant, a remnant which may possibly still be used as the servant of the Lord for the salvation of a great country. In France two years ago, there was waged a disgraceful 'campaign, ostensibly having for its object a single individual, but in reality being a vast conspiracy organized for the overthrow of religious liberty, and for the subordination of the civil to the military power.' But the 'very small remnant' was there—a mere handful of Jews, Protestants, and non-sectarians—who maintained their faith and courage and energy in spite of the breaking up of old ties, the boycott of society, and the persistent hounding down of a filthy press. None of these things moved such men as Labori, Demange, de Pressensé, Joseph Reinach, Clémenceau, and the rest, a very small remnant, but strong in their sense of justice and their faith in the eternal righteousness. These men were able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all to stand, not merely because of their own steadfastness of purpose, but because they were as the servant of the Lord of whom it was said, 'He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set judgment in the earth,' and to whom God promised, 'I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand . . . to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house' ($42^{4.7}$).

The early verses in chap. 42 in which these words occur contain a very inspiring and very attractive description of the servant, one who is able to serve his fellows wisely and well because he is first and foremost the servant of the Lord. It has been beautifully said of the servant of the Lord that he is 'useful only because he is used, influential only because he is influenced; victorious because he is obedient; learning the methods of his work by daily wakefulness to God's voice, a good speaker only because he is first a good listener, with no strength or courage but what God lends, and achieving all for God's glory.' 'Behold my servant, whom I uphold; my chosen, in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my spirit upon him: he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles' (Is 42^1).

Now what are the characteristics of this servant who knows that God's hands are about his spirit?

> He shall not cry nor be loud,
> Nor cause his voice to be heard in the street.

We must be careful not to misinterpret this. This is not the praise of silence. On the contrary, the description of the servant suggests to us a prophet-preacher more than anything else. The writer himself depended upon language for the service he could do to man and for God; and for majesty and tenderness alike his words have never been surpassed. He is not likely then to disparage the gift of public speech. What he is thinking of is not so much the literal use of the voice as the method and demeanour of him who uses it. Matthew applies these words to Jesus with rare insight, when he says that Jesus charged those whom He had healed not to make Him known, and adds that this was a fulfilment of the words we have before us. Our Lord declined to be advertised in such a manner as would draw attention merely to His miraculous healing powers: much less would He advertise Himself.

Or to take another case, Jesus could denounce the Pharisees in the most scathing terms, yet no one thinks of impugning His humility. The thing had to be done in the name of God, and Jesus did not shrink from the disagreeable task of unmasking the hypocrites; but He never made capital out of their faults, and would have received every one of them with the utmost graciousness had they been penitent. And every servant of the Lord must seek to be like Jesus in this, especially if his service be of a public character. He must be perfectly fearless in uttering the will of God, but never sensational. If God is upholding him, 'holding his hand,' he will not be hysterical. He will be very modest, thinking only of God, and not at all of himself.

Another quality which will be conspicuous in

the servant who is taught of God is gentleness. He will manifest the gentleness of God.

> A bruised reed shall he not break off.
> The dimly burning wick he will not quench.
> He shall bring forth law faithfully.

This was precisely what our prophet did himself. The exiles were the bruised reed and dimly burning wick, and the keyword of the prophet's utterances is comfort. 'Comfort ye, my people, saith your God.' Bid them have faith in God and trust His faithfulness. When Israel as a whole had realized this, she would have the same story of love to tell to the nations, how that God made all men . . . that they should seek Him, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him, though He is not far from each one of us; for in Him we live and move and have our being. That is what the servant of the Lord must make known to the Gentiles, how that all men have a Father in heaven, 'whose fondness goes far out beyond our dreams.' He is able to straighten and restore the reed bruised by sin, and to refresh with the supply of His love the wick of belief in goodness which is burning dim.

How characteristic of Jesus this was. If publicans and sinners were despairing of themselves, He assured them that He did not despair, and neither need they. And the common people heard Him gladly, for He taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes. Here, again, He is the model for those who are servants of the Lord to-day. Wherever we find those who are depressed because their life has been a failure in the sight of God, or those who hoped and strove to be so much more serviceable than they are in their particular line of life, or those to whom the world is hard in any way, with these we must be very gentle, and tell them of God whose gentleness and condescension makes men great. But our gentleness must never be mere softness. We must never forget that we are servants of an all-righteous God, and therefore we dare not offer the least comfort to one who will not part with sin. Whether he be a wreck of humanity, the miserable victim of his own vices, or a worldling who cares only for the things of this life, our first word to him from God must be, Repent. The servant of the Lord shall bring forth law faithfully, and he has no mercy or hope to offer to those who are not penitent.

The reward of the servant is mentioned in v.[4]. It is that he shall succeed in the work of the Lord. 'He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set judgment in the earth: and the isles shall wait for his law.' 'He shall not fail nor be discouraged' unfortunately obscures the metaphor. The words mean literally, He shall not burn dimly like a wick, nor break like a reed, till he have set law in the earth. We are reminded of the beatitude, 'Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.' But there is more than the assurance of God's protection: there is the guarantee of His strength, His sustaining power. If we are working for the salvation of others, no less than if we are working out our own, 'it is God that worketh in us both to will and to work according to His good pleasure.'

The Paraclete and the World.

By the Rev. T. W. Hodge, M.A., Leicester.

It is unfortunate that the N.T. Revisers had not the courage to render ὁ παράκλητος in Jn 14–16 by 'Advocate' rather than by 'Comforter.' Their marginal rendering in 1 Jn 2[1] (Comforter or Helper) is as gratuitous as it is useless, and can be meant simply to cover the retreat from an untenable position in their translation of the same word in the Gospel.

To the English reader the substitution of 'Advocate' for 'Comforter' in the Gospel would seem a violent one. Equally violent would be the substitution of 'Comforter' for 'Advocate' in the Epistle, as it would also be much more unaccountable. And yet if there is one point upon which scholars are agreed it is that, both for the sake of accuracy and of consistency, the same word in the Greek should be rendered by the same word in English.

On the other hand, it has not been clearly shown that in the Gospel the word has a meaning the same as that which it has in the Epistle. Dr. Dods, in his note on Jn 14^{16} (*Expositor's Greek Testament*), with great beauty and force paraphrases ἄλλος παράκλητος by *alter ego*. But there is no attempt to show how the Spirit is an 'Advocate' in the sense in which Christ is an Advocate. And until this is done the consistency gained by uniformity of translation would be slight indeed. If the Spirit is not an 'Advocate' in the sense in which Christ is an Advocate, then that rendering might be consistent, but it would also be misleading.

In the Epistle the meaning is clear and unmistakable. παράκλητος was specially the Advocate for the defence. Christ is the sinner's Advocate with God. Whose cause, with whom and on behalf of whom, does the Spirit plead?

He is, first of all, *Christ's Advocate with the believer* (Westcott). It is through the teaching of the Spirit the Christian disciple learns the truth about Christ (1 Co $2^{10\text{-}12}$). It was through the Spirit's advocacy that the first disciples learned how He who was condemned and crucified as a common malefactor and blasphemer could be the King of Israel, the Saviour of the world, and the Desire of all nations. They learned how He who was smitten of God and afflicted, was wounded for trangressions and crushed for iniquities that were not His own; they learned how *they* had turned every one to his own way, and how God had laid on Him the iniquity of all.

But Christ needed an ADVOCATE WITH THE WORLD as well as with the disciples. Only by the Spirit's guidance will *the world* be led into the truth about Christ (1 Co 12^{3}). By a bitterly hostile Church He was called a friend of publicans and sinners; against all forms of law and justice He was condemned to scourging and death as a blasphemer. Never in the whole history of the world was a prisoner so able to plead His own cause, never was there so good a cause to plead. And yet, while justice was dragged through the mire, Christ *held His peace*. Though in peril of more than mortal agony, He '*opened not His mouth*.' THE TIME FOR SPEAKING HAD NOT COME. There were some things of which He could not speak to the disciples (Jn 16^{12}). There were some things of which He could not speak to the world. For a moment His cause seemed to be lost in hopeless, irrecoverable defeat. His death was a perversion, not a vindication of justice. He was hated 'gratuitously' (Jn 15^{25}). He was crucified through ignorance (1 Co 2^{8}). The world had misjudged Him; the verdict was confessedly (Jn 19^{6}) false and unjust, and *must be reversed*. Only through the advocacy of the Spirit could His righteousness be brought forth as the light and His judgment as the noonday. His hope is in the Paraclete (Jn 15^{26}). Through the Paraclete will *the world* be convinced of sin—its own sin; of righteousness—His righteousness; of judgment—the condemnation of the adversary (Jn $16^{8\text{-}11}$).

It is hardly adequate to say that this conviction of sin would secure the acquittal of the disciples, it would secure *the vindication of Christ*: neither is it sufficient to say that the Spirit 'pleads the believer's cause against the world' (Westcott); for, *even in the world*, the Spirit is the Advocate NOT OF THE DISCIPLES, BUT OF CHRIST. *The disciples are not first of all defendants but* WITNESSES.

The Fourth Gospel is, avowedly, a Gospel with a purpose; it was written by a believer that his readers might share his faith and so be delivered from the terrible issues of unbelief. The writer steadily and carefully traces the growth of faith until it comes to fruition in the repentant cry of the first sceptic: 'My Lord and my God.' In the same way he traces the growth of unbelief until it culminates in the rejection and crucifixion of the Redeemer. Every other sin is a tacit, if unconscious, acquiescence in the world's unjust judgment of the Christ. *The sin* of which the Spirit will convict (ἐλέγχω) the world is the sin of refusing to believe on Christ (Jn 16^{9}). The conviction of sin will secure the vindication of righteousness; the condemnation of the 'prince of this world' will lead to the glorification of Christ. And all this will be the result of the Spirit's advocacy of Christ and of Christ's cause. If the Spirit pleads the cause of the disciple, He does so only so far as He pleads the cause of Christ.

Christ came in His Father's name, and His work was to glorify the Father. The Spirit comes in Christ's name (Jn 14^{26}), and the Spirit's work is to glorify Christ (Jn 16^{14}). Christ while on earth was God's Advocate with man. When the Spirit — the ἄλλος παράκλητος (ἄλλος not ἕτερος—His work was not different from the work of Christ)—Christ's *alter ego*—came, He continued the advocacy begun by Christ. But in coming as

the Advocate of God's cause, He came as the Advocate of *Christ's cause*.

Christ is now man's Advocate with God (1 Jn 2[1]). That is the teaching of the Epistle. The Spirit is Christ's advocate with man. That is the teaching of the Gospel (14–16). Christ pleads the cause of those who did the wrong: the Spirit pleads the cause of Him who suffered the wrong. Christ pleads with the Holy the cause of the guilty: the Spirit pleads with the guilty the cause of the Holy.

And now the Spirit's advocacy comes home to the hearts of men with ever-increasing power and urgency. Christ is no longer regarded as a blasphemer of God nor as a cunning deceiver of men. Now at last His name is received with reverence. The whole civilized world will, at length, be ashamed of the deed done on Calvary. Through the witness-bearing of Christian disciples and the advocacy of the Spirit the world begins to see in the crime on Calvary the culmination of its unbelief and sin. The Spirit was, and is, the Advocate of disciples because, and only so far as, He was first of all the Advocate of Christ. He was the Advocate of the disciples only so far as they were witnesses for Christ. Christ is the Advocate of disciples: the Spirit is the Advocate of Christ.

At the Literary Table.

THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

AN INTRODUCTION TO CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM. By Eleanor C. Gregory. (*Allenson*. 12mo, pp. 96. 1s. 6d. net.)

Mysticism is too large a subject to be introduced so briefly, and too 'mystical' to be made so simple. Yet this little book was worth writing. It will give to many their earliest knowledge of the existence of mysticism, to some their first taste for it. And if there are those who will read it and then call themselves mystics, that is their folly, not Miss Gregory's fault.

Mr. Allenson is about to issue the Old Testament portion of Mr. J. B. Rotherham's *Emphasised Bible*. He is to issue it in two forms, either in three volumes, of which the first will be ready in December, or in monthly parts, of which the first is in our hands (large 8vo, pp. 64, 2s.).

For the Church Service Society of the Church of Scotland, Dr. Sprott has edited new editions of *The Book of Common Order* (Blackwood, crown 8vo, pp. 273) and of *Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI.* (pp. 231). With becoming modesty Dr. Sprott speaks of the new editions as 'reprints.' But they are not reprints. Although the first editions were scholarly and attractive, no man with Dr. Sprott's love of things liturgical would have been content to reprint the books. There are omissions, additions, and alterations throughout. They might almost have been called new books. And being now bound separately there is no edition of these classical works so convenient as this.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE HEBREWS. By R. L. Ottley. (Cambridge: *At the University Press*. Crown 8vo, pp. 332, with Maps. 5s.)

This *Short History of the Hebrews* must take the place of all other text-books. It is less like a text-book than Maclear's *Old Testament History*, for example, since it is written in a much more attractive English style, and its chronological tables are thrown to the end. But that does not make it really less suited for a text-book. And it has the immeasurable advantage over Maclear that it makes use of the last fifty years' work on the Old Testament. It adopts the results of that work, though with discretion, and what is much more than that, it frankly recognizes the validity of the critical principles which have produced those results. There is no great hardihood in prophesying that Mr. Ottley's *Short History of the Hebrews* will mark a turning-point in the study of the Old Testament.

Recently in the *Biblical World* there appeared a remarkably complete list of *Books for New*

Testament Study. Under that italicized title the list has now been published separately, and very cheaply, through the Chicago University Press. The list is divided into two parts, the one entitled 'Popular,' the other 'Professional.' Teachers and theologians who can get on as well without as with this guide to the recent literature of the New Testament must be themselves very literary and learned. The authors are Professor Votaw of the University of Chicago, and Professor Bradley of the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston.

The Rev. Hugh M'Intosh, M.A., has issued the second edition of his book, *Is Christ Infallible and the Bible True?* (T. & T. Clark, 8vo, pp. 748, 9s.). It contains a new preface, in which he says: 'In issuing so soon the second edition, I have to acknowledge most gratefully the very favourable reception given to this work, the exceedingly good reviews of it by leading papers, both secular and religious, and the highly appreciative opinions of it, emphasizing the urgent need of it now, expressed by biblical scholars and leading men. In this edition several corrections have been made, some changes introduced, and important additions appended. As the last pages of the first edition were passing through the press, there appeared Dr. G. Adam Smith's *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, treating partially, but very unsatisfactorily of some of the questions; as also, the second volume of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, with articles by Dr. Schmiedel and others, which have awakened earnest attention and serious concern. With these I have here dealt specifically, though briefly, but I hope effectively, from the standpoint and on the lines of my book—the *Divinity* and *Authority* of Christ. I trust it may now prove in the present crisis more helpful and effectual even than before in destroying the destructive criticism, and confirming faith in the Word of God.'

ANSELM AND HIS WORK. By the Rev. A. C. Welch, M.A., B.D. (*T. & T. Clark*. Crown 8vo, pp. 265. 3s.)

It was a great idea to get the history of the world written in biographies of its epoch-makers. There is no other way, perhaps, in which it can be written now, there is certainly no other form in which it will be read. The work differs with the workmen, but as the volumes of 'The World's Epoch-Makers' appear, it becomes more manifest that in this series we shall have a history of human thought unsurpassed in range and interest. But there are those who have lost their ambition to know the history of the whole world. By them the volumes of this series may be taken separately. Each volume is complete in itself. It has its own interest and its own independent worth.

Mr. Welch's masterly volume falls in with the editor's grand ideas of a history of the world, and at the same time meets our less ambitious desires for a good biography of a great ecclesiastic. The book is by no means an 'appreciation' (as that word has come to be used). A mere eulogy of Anselm and his work would have been a poor service to render him or us. But Mr. Welch has not hidden from us the essential greatness of the man, nor the epoch-making character of the work he did. It is strange that for a work so great and so trying this man was chosen, who seemed so little fitted for it. But perhaps if he had been better fitted, after our ideas of fitness, he would have done it less perfectly. It is not through fitness but the shedding of blood that great work is done, and Anselm was fit for that.

FAITHS OF FAMOUS MEN. By J. K. Kilbourn, D.D. (Philadelphia: *Coates*. 8vo, pp. 385.)

The contents of this book will be often used to point a moral or adorn a sermon. Great men's ideas on God, Creation, the Bible, and other great subjects are gathered from their writings and given in their own words. The editor's purpose is not apologetic but simply illustrative. His range is therefore very wide; McGiffert and Talmage stand side by side, Voltaire and Charles Hodge. If the book is sifted for a new edition, here is an extract that might be shaken out—

Talmage is staggered by Nothing.

There is nothing in the Bible that staggers me. . . . Starting with the idea that God can do anything, here I stand, believing in a whole Bible, from lid to lid. . . . God was so careful to have us have the Bible in just the right shape that we have fifty MS. copies of the New Testament 1000 years old. . . . Assaulted, spit on, torn to pieces, and burned, yet still adhering; the Bible to-day (is) in 300 languages, confronting four-fifths of the human race in their own tongue; 300,000,000 copies of it are now in existence. . . . I demand that the critics of the Bible go clear over where they belong, on the devil's side.

The new volume of the Century Bible is *Romans* (Jack, crown 8vo, pp. 322, 2s. net). The editor is the Rev. A. E. Garvie, M.A., B.D. It is perhaps the most difficult volume of the series, not only on account of its subject-matter, but also because of the surpassing excellence of some recent commentaries, and the consequent difficulty of saying anything good and fresh. Yet we have to acknowledge, and we are confident everyone will acknowledge, that Mr. Garvie is always fresh and almost always good. He is sometimes as peculiar as he thinks St. Paul was, for he is almost as independent as he claims the apostle to have been. And the wonder is that, not being St. Paul, he misses the mark so rarely. It is quite probable that none of the volumes of the series will be either more original or more helpful.

Professor Buttenwieser of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, was invited to send an article to the *Jewish Encyclopædia* on the 'New Hebraic Apocalyptic Literature,' and he sent it. But he did not approve of the editor's revision, and withdrawing the article published it separately through Messrs. Jennings & Pye. It is a modestly written pamphlet of forty-five pages, price 50 cents. A clear distinction is made between the merely eschatological and the properly apocalyptic, and all the apocalyptic writings are briefly described. In an Introduction of a few absorbing pages, Dr. Buttenwieser claims that there was no break in the existence or character of apocalyptic from the Book of Daniel which was written in the days of the Maccabees, right down to the Persian Apocalypse of Daniel which was written in the ninth century after Christ.

THE BLESSING OF THE WATERS ON THE EVE OF THE EPIPHANY. Edited or translated by John, Marquess of Bute, K.T., and E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., Litt.D., D.Lit. (*Frowde*. Crown 8vo, pp. 158. 6s.)

It is the Latin version that the Marquess of Bute has edited and translated. But he has also helped Dr. Budge with the other versions. These are Greek, Syriac, Coptic and Russian. The original texts are all given, together with parallel translations of all, except the Greek. The interest of the little book to liturgiologists is very great. The publisher has joined hands with Dr. Budge to produce an appropriate and attractive memorial of the late Marquess of Bute.

Mr. Gardner of Paisley has published a new edition of *Our Present Hope and our Future Home*, by the Rev. J. B. Sturrock, M.A. (crown 8vo, pp. 280). It is the third edition. It is practically a volume of sermons, and its continued circulation is proof enough that sermons will always sell if they have life in them. May this vital evangelical volume pass through many editions more!

SPIRITUAL RELIGION. By John G. Tasker. (*Kelly*. 8vo, pp. 191. 2s. 6d.)

This is the Fernley Lecture for 1901. And it will surprise no one, who reads The Expository Times and Professor Tasker's reviews of foreign books therein, to be told that the Fernley Lecture for 1901 not only exhibits an unusual knowledge of recent theological literature, but also expounds with rare insight the great movements of recent theological thought. And in doing so Professor Tasker preaches the gospel. For his interest in theology is never theoretical. Consciously or not, he seems always to ask how each theory helps us to the knowledge of God and the love of men. It is this practical purpose that prevents his wide range of subject from losing itself in the sand. His single lecture is a manual of theology, but he so manages it that each subject, ere it is dismissed, has done its work of revelation and reform. The centre of practical interest for the present moment is the seventh chapter, on 'Access to God through Christ.' Access to God is desired on every hand; but the demand is often made, Why through Christ? Professor Tasker answers that demand. Thus his book is an apologetic, and that none the less that his chief interest is not in Christian apologetic, but in communion with Christ.

STUDIES IN CHRISTIAN CHARACTER, WORK, AND EXPERIENCE. By the Rev. W. L. Watkinson. (*Kelly*. Crown 8vo, Two Vols., pp. 248, 252. 2s. 6d. each.)

Studies for the pulpit, studies that have stood the test of the pulpit, in short, sermons of great pith and moment, fill Mr. Watkinson's volumes. Number eleven in vol. i. is about 'Strained Piety'; its text is 'Be not righteous overmuch' (Ec 7^{16}); its divisions are (1) strained piety reveals itself in doctrinal fastidiousness; (2) in morbid introspectiveness; (3) in an exacting conscientiousness; (4) in the inordinate culture of special virtues; and (5) in striving after impractic-

able standards of character. It is quite a long sermon for Mr. Watkinson, nearly filling twelve little pages; the next one scarcely fills five, and that is nearer the average. But there is matter in the shortest.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE. By John S. Banks. (*Kelly*. Crown 8vo, pp. 274. 2s. 6d.)

Professor Banks of Headingley College recently published a little book on the *Development of Doctrine in the Early Church*. The present volume continues the subject, and carries it down to the Reformation. It is written for beginners. And just because it is written for beginners, just because he knows that he may be forming opinions that once formed are not easily altered, Professor Banks is careful to find the actual facts and to let them speak for themselves.

THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION. By H. B. Workman, M.A. Vol. I. THE AGE OF WYCLIF. (*Kelly*. Crown 8vo, pp. 326. 2s. 6d.)

This new history of the men and events that preceded and produced the Reformation is to appear in two volumes. It would have been easier to have filled twice the number. But Mr. Workman has no reason to lament his limits; for his readers are thereby multiplied and his effectiveness is not impaired. His previous volumes on the *Church in the West* proved him possessed of clear ideas, and able in few sentences to convey them to his readers. He seizes the essential in a movement, and lets the trifling go without yielding to the temptation of showing how much he knows. There is life in his writing, and it is the life of the period of which he writes. Holding by Jessopp's definition of History as 'the science which teaches us to see the throbbing life of the present in the throbbing life of the past,' he neither mingles the present with the past nor misses the connexion between them.

THE BRAHMO SAMAJ AND ARYA SAMAJ. By Frank Lillingston, M.A. (*Macmillan*. Crown 8vo, pp. 136. 2s. 6d. net.)

The literature of the Brahmo Samaj is so large that Mr. Lillingston has done a good work in using it freely and offering so intelligible and manageable an account of that curious religious amalgam. So careful has he been that those who know the subject will read his summary with delight. But he writes for the unlearned and the Englishman, and it is safe to say that no easier introduction to the subject is to be found.

Mr. Arthur S. Way, whose *Odyssey* (published under the pseudonym of 'Avia') is held to beat even Worsley's ringing rendering, has now produced a translation of the *Epistles of St. Paul* (Macmillan, crown 8vo, pp. xviii, 223, 5s. net). In a Preface which marks him out at once to the uninitiated as a master of the English language, he tells us why he has made a new translation of St. Paul's Epistles and how. He thinks that we should be able to read them as easily as they did who read them first. In a literal translation that is impossible. We do not catch the force of the words, we do not see the allusion in the figures. The words must sometimes be explained in a phrase, the figures by an expansion. There are snatches of hymns too,—quite a number of them, Mr. Way thinks (and he thinks St. Paul was often himself the poet who composed them). These have to be shown as hymns; they have to be lifted out of the even page, that the argument may be seen to flow on again when they are past.

Is it not needless to say that Mr. Way has done his work well? He has produced a modern English version which many others have also done: he has done more than that. While others have tried to bring St. Paul down to our day and to make him speak in our tongue, Mr. Way has taken us back to the days of St. Paul, and we are delighted to listen to the public reader in 'the crowded upper room or other barn-like structure lent for the first Christian assemblies.' There is a tradition that a great preacher made his sermon consist one day of the mere reading from beginning to end of the Epistle to the Hebrews. We might all try that method occasionally with a Pauline Epistle, and if we used Mr. Way's version, our hearers would 'follow' as easily as they do an average sermon.

STUDIES IN LEVITICUS. By the Rev. Hubert Brooke, M.A. (*Marshall Bros.* Crown 8vo, pp. 119. 2s. 6d.)

It is still possible, even in the Book of Leviticus, to ignore the Higher Criticism entirely. Mr. Brooke does so. That would not be surprising if his method of interpretation were allegorical. It

is as literal as Wellhausen's. But when we read that 'the Lord spake unto Moses,' Mr. Brooke receives the words spoken as 'the exact words of God,' and since this book contains that formula often, he holds that the very characteristic of Leviticus is this, that 'it reports more of the exact words of God than any other,' it 'conveys peculiarly God's voice and God's words,' and so 'there is an authority herein sufficient to calm every doubt, there is a joyous assurance that all is authenticated by God.' This conviction determines the character of Mr. Brooke's 'Studies,' and decides for all of us the value of his book.

Our Bible Students' Palestine Party (Marshall Bros., 2s. 6d.) is the title of a book by Miss F. J. Dolby, containing notes of a tour in the East. Here is a paragraph. 'The so-called stables of Solomon interested us. Some of the pillars are very old. The Norman arches over them were built by the Crusaders. Iron rings were fixed in the pillars, and they stabled their horses here. The place was discovered by Sir Charles (then Captain) Warren. He was a most determined explorer, and tried hard to effect an entrance. One day he succeeded in digging a hole through the wall, but being overheard while talking inside, he had to make good his escape as quickly as possible, or he would have been a dead man. He has never shown his face in Jerusalem since.'

Bible marking is now a science. Its apprentices have therefore to be taught, and Messrs. Marshall Bros. have published a manual for the purpose, under the title of *The Bible Marker* (pp. 126).

REVELATIONS OF DIVINE LOVE. Recorded by Julian, Anchoress at Norwich, A.D. 1373. Edited by Grace Warrack. (*Methuen.* Crown 8vo, pp. lxxviii, 208. 6s.)

Whether it be for good or evil, the motions of God's providence or the wrath of man that worketh *not* the righteousness of God, mysticism is upon us. It is upon us in some cases as a study of which we have this very month clear evidence, in most cases only as a pastime. As a pastime for most of us, because it is impossible for the multitude to find anything in mysticism that should touch the conscience or reach the heart. In any case it is on us, and it would have been strange if the 'Revelations' of Julian had not been made accessible to us. Where is mysticism to be found in sweeter fragrance? The book of the Revelation of Julian the Anchoress may be needless to us and nothing after that of St. John the Divine, but Julian herself is most attractive. And wisely has the editor given us much of Julian. It is manifestly an artist's loving masterpiece, and we thank the editor most heartily for the beauty and fidelity of the workmanship.

Many are they who being themselves under the spell of Behmen have tried to make him known to the multitude. It cannot be done. But perhaps Mr. Bernard Holland (much helped by his publishers) has come nearest success. He has edited *Dialogues on the Supersensual Life* (Methuen, crown 8vo, pp. 182, 3s. 6d.). He has prefixed sentences selected from 'Regeneration' and 'Christ's Testaments.' And he has introduced the whole with a long Preface of wonderful interest and instructiveness.

THE MORISCOS OF SPAIN. By Henry Charles Lea, LL.D. (*Quaritch.* 8vo, pp. 475. 9s.)

Dr. Lea's historical works run into many volumes, but there is one central subject round which they all travel, and they never travel far from it. That subject is the Inquisition. The Inquisition must have had an early, and it still retains a strong, fascination for Dr. Lea. He does not love it. With all his heart and soul and strength and mind he hates it. He has given his life to the exposure and condemnation of it, and not of it only, but also of the spirit of religious intolerance that once produced it. He does not shriek, for he is a historian, but you may say that he grinds his teeth. And you may feel happy or otherwise if he does not make you grind yours. At least you must throw your sympathies on the side of the Moors wholly and heartily. You must do that or else lay down the book. But the book does other service besides exciting strong feeling. By a memorable example it shows how little worth is conversion by force, and by the same example it shows how heroic human nature can become, whether Christian or Pagan, when persecution brings the heroism out.

A KEY TO UNLOCK THE BIBLE. By Joseph Agar Beet. (*R.T.S.* Crown 8vo, pp. 160. 1s. 6d.)

The Religious Tract Society has undertaken to publish a series of small crown octavo books to be called 'Bible Keys.' This is the first. It is general in character and probably in purpose. It contains much information about the Bible,—its contents, versions, translations, criticism, defence, —and it seeks to show how the good that is in it may be got with the help of, or in spite of, all these things. Dr. Beet writes simply and sincerely. He opens the series with a book likely to be well received.

THE MOSAIC ACCOUNT OF CREATION. By George Dickison. (*Elliot Stock.* 8vo, pp. 238, with Illustrations. 5s.)

It is possible and even easy for any one to reconcile Genesis with Science, if he goes about it the wrong way. But who is the better for the reconciliation? The Bible is religion and Science is not. If they happen to meet here and there, they only meet to part again. What is the Creation to us without the Resurrection of Christ? And who will reconcile Science with that? No one should in any case attempt to reconcile Genesis with Science except a Jew, and no Jew would dream of it. Reconcile? he would say, they never were at enmity. They never knew of one another's existence. Let Science grow from more to more, and more of reverence in *us* dwell. This is an elaborate, able, expensive book, but its work is beating the air.

THE TWO FIRST CENTURIES OF FLORENTINE HISTORY. By Professor Villari. Translated by Linda Villari. (*Unwin.* 8vo, pp. 583. 7s. 6d.)

'Old essays,' says Professor Villari, 'old essays, more or less disjointed, and containing many unavoidable repetitions.' But it is not so bad as that. The old essays are brought up to date, and the repetitions are quite inoffensive. The only criticism that the reader makes upon the book is that it lacks unity. Expecting a history, he finds materials for a history. But even that disappointment he gets over after a moment. For he finds that the lack of system is more than balanced by the vividness with which Florence and her great ones are brought before him. Disjointed as it is, the interest of the book increases steadily till it gathers into intensity around the person of Dante, who forms the centre and subject of the last two chapters. A more systematic history of Florence would probably have been less read, and it might have given us less real knowledge than this. The book is well translated and effectively illustrated.

'The Philosophy of Religion.'[1]

There are those who worship God in sincerity and truth and are content with that. There are others who ask why. They may ask why they themselves do so, and then they are both religious and religious philosophers. Or they may only ask why others worship God, and then they are philosophers only. It is better to be only religious than only a philosopher. It is no doubt best to be both.

The philosophy of religion, or the reason why men worship God, covers the questions, Who or what is God? to some extent also, What is man? and then especially, What have God and man to do with one another? These questions are difficult to answer. Perhaps no two independently thinking persons answer any of them in exactly the same way. No doubt there are schools. Three or four writers may be near enough to one another, and far enough from the next three or four, to be classed together. Smaller groups may also be capable of being gathered into larger. But not only must the student of the philosophy of religion distinguish group from group, he must also, even in the smallest and closest group, distinguish one individual from another. Who is sufficient for all this?

Professor Caldecott has been found sufficient. He has gathered the writers on the philosophy of religion into groups; out of smaller groups he has formed larger, and in every group he has distinguished the individual contribution of each individual philosopher. His volume is an index to the philosophico-religious literature of England and America since the Reformation. But it differs from the ordinary index, for this author has read beyond the title-pages. With care and discrimination he has gone right through the books, and in

[1] *The Philosophy of Religion in England and America.* By Alfred Caldecott, D.D., Professor of Logic and Mental Philosophy in King's College, London. Methuen. 8vo, pp. 450. 10s. 6d.

clear outline he has set down the contribution which every one of them has made to the philosophy of religion. He has read small books as well as great, volumes of sermons as well as systematic treatises. Yet his space is not thrown away, for no book is mentioned that has not some independent thing to say.

Bishop Westcott fills eight pages. Let us take him as a fair example—we are reading many curious things about him at present. The two books dealt with are *The Gospel of Life*, 1892, and *Religious Thought in the West*, 1891. His place is amongst the intuitivists or mystics. More particularly his position is described as *Comprehensive Intuitivism*, since he holds to the intuitive nature of the idea of God, but articulates with it the whole range of human experience. God is known by direct outlook, yielding immediate conviction. We become conscious of Him in experience, but He is Himself beyond our experience—both the experience of our personal life and of the history of mankind. Dr. Westcott speaks as if totally new facts were given by Revelation, but he also holds that *all* facts have, in addition to their significance for the sciences, aspects which are spiritual, and are to be read as signs of the divine activity. These are Dr. Westcott's fundamental beliefs. Other points are touched upon and other books mentioned. There is occasional acute criticism. And it is to be observed that here as elsewhere Professor Caldecott is very successful in keeping himself out of view, and letting us see the author whom he describes.

'The Theology of the Westminster Symbols.'[1]

In Britain the centre of theological interest has for a long time been the teaching of the Bible, though there are signs that systematic theology is coming to its own again. In America systematic theology has never resigned the primacy; it has always claimed the most popular teachers, it has always produced the greatest books. It is true that a year or two ago Professor Warfield of Princeton published a pamphlet on *The Rights of Systematic Theology*. But Professor Warfield was alarmed at what he thought was coming rather than jostled by what had come. In England systematic theology has come to be spoken of as merely a department of Church History; in America Church History is merely a road along which to trace the progress of systematic theology.

Beside the great teachers of systematic theology in America, Dr. Edward Morris has long held an honoured place. And of the great books on systematic theology which America has produced, one of the greatest will now be reckoned his *Theology of the Westminster Symbols*.

Its size is an indication of its thoroughness. But, large volume as it is, it might have been twice the size if it had not been shorn of all superfluity both of matter and of language. No doubt there have been theological treatises of less bulk than this which covered the whole field, but where they touched the surface, this digs down to the centre. In this volume the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms are described in respect of their authorship, contents, and relations, with so great thoroughness and, we must add, scientific sympathy, that the book becomes a necessity to the hand of every well-furnished theologian. It will not turn aside the scorner of creeds and catechisms from the error of his ways, for he will not read it, but only be the more scornful that so large a book should be written on so poor a subject. But it will give the earnest student a better conception than he has ever had of the essential and scriptural greatness of the theology of predestination. It may even enable him to understand why Presbyterianism is the theology of the most theological nations in the world.

[1] *Theology of the Westminster Symbols*. A commentary, historical, doctrinal, practical, on the Confession of Faith and Catechisms and the related formularies of the Presbyterian Churches. By Edward D. Morris, D.D., LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Systematic Theology in Lane Theological Seminary. Columbus: Smythe; Edinburgh: Thin. 8vo, pp. 872. $3 net.

Blackwood's 'Philosophical Classics.'

It is a curious study to observe the ways in which the British public does its reading, or at any rate buys its books. It has three preferences: a great orthodox book like Salmond's *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, a little fiery heterodox book like

Drummond's *Greatest Thing in the World*, or a series of volumes on kindred subjects and in uniform binding but by different authors, like Blackwood's 'Philosophical Classics.' When the practice began of publishing books in a series like this, wise men disapproved, and said it was a passing fashion. It has not passed, however, for it ministers to a laudable desire on the part of the British public to gather as much knowledge as possible within the threescore years and ten, a desire which does not diminish as the time approaches when knowledge shall pass away. And it also ministers to the less laudable desire on the part of the British public to obtain its knowledge with as little trouble as possible. Moreover, a considerable portion of the British public loves to possess some shelves of books, and nothing looks better on a shelf than a series uniformly bound, and especially when so daintily bound as Blackwood's Philosophical Classics.

So Blackwood's 'Philosophical Classics' have run on into many volumes, and the British public has bought and shelved them. Ought not the publishers to be content? Perhaps publishing and money-making, without being absolutely identical, have this in common, that the greater your success the greater is your discontent. If thousands have bought the 'Philosophical Classics,' why should not tens of thousands buy them? Does the price prevent? Then Messrs. Blackwood will lower the price, and the volumes which once cost three and sixpence apiece will be sold for half or less. Ten volumes have been issued at the new price with none of the old attractiveness removed from them. Surely as easy a way of filling a new and handsome shelf as one could find.

But if the volumes are rather to be read than shelved, and if ten volumes are too many to start with, then let Mahaffy's *Descartes* be chosen first. For Mahaffy has a way of making himself intelligible with little effort upon your part, and apparently just as little upon his. He has also more interest in men than in philosophy, just as you have. Then, when you have read Mahaffy, get Flint's *Vico*. For here also you will find the sweet mystery of a distinguished English style, and in addition to that, as much about Vico and the Italian philosophers as you may ever need to know. There is no order for the remaining volumes, but this is the order of issue—Collins' *Butler*, Campbell Fraser's *Berkeley*, Adamson's *Fichte*, Wallace's *Kant*, Veitch's *Hamilton*, Caird's *Hegel*, Merz's *Leibniz*, Croom Robertson's *Hobbes*.

'The Historical New Testament.'[1]

THE first edition of Mr. Moffatt's *Historical New Testament* is exhausted; the second is published. It is a striking testimony at once to the importance of the book and to the intense interest which at present exists in the criticism of the New Testament.

The book is not much altered. We notice with pleasure the softening of certain expressions, but cannot say that we find any of the positions abandoned. In a new preface Mr. Moffatt asserts his belief in 'the reality and permanent significance of the New Testament as conceived upon the principle of the Reformers, which,' he says, 'from the days of Calvin onwards has had to be restated and recovered from time to time within the bounds even of the Reformed Churches themselves.' And he claims that the whole mass of methods and results within his book, 'so far as they are cogent and unbiassed,' flows from that principle. He does not deny that his 'results' may make faith to some more difficult, but he is far from allowing that they make faith impossible. He seems to say that faith in Christ is independent of research into the New Testament documents, and quotes the well-known lines of Principal Shairp with approbation—

> I have a life with Christ to live,
> But, ere I live it, must I wait
> Till learning can clear answer give
> Of this or that book's date?
> I have a life in Christ to live,
> I have a death in Christ to die;—
> And must I wait, till science give
> All doubts a full reply?
>
> Nay rather, while the sea of doubt
> Is raging wildly round about,
> Questioning of life and death and sin,
> Let me but creep within
> Thy fold, O Christ, and at Thy feet
> Take but the lowest seat,
> And hear Thine awful voice repeat
> In gentlest accents, heavenly sweet,
> Come unto Me, and rest:
> Believe Me, and be blest.

[1] *The Historical New Testament.* By James Moffatt, B.D. T. & T. Clark. 8vo, 16s.

The Arrangement of Materials in St. Matthew viii.–ix.

By the Rev. Canon Sir John C. Hawkins, Bart., M.A., Oxford.

II.

Some general considerations were put forward in the July number of The Expository Times[1] as to the principles and purposes which seem to have influenced the compiler of our First Gospel in this portion of it. I wish now to make some more special suggestions as to his selection and arrangement of the miracles—ten in number—which constitute the main subject of this division of the Gospel (8^1–9^{34}).

I assume that my readers will be able to refer to the table printed in the first part of the article, in which the contents of this portion of St. Matthew were divided into thirteen sections, ten of which contain the miracles. And now, as before, I will refer merely by page and column (*e.g.* 281*a*) to Mr. Allen's 'Study' in vol. xi. p. 279 ff. of The Expository Times, without naming it on each occasion.

Before entering upon the list of ten miracles, a preliminary question suggests itself. Why does Matthew omit altogether one miracle, and that the first one, of the six related by Mark in 1^{21}–5^{43}—*i.e.* in that part of the Second Gospel which evidently formed the principal quarry of materials for the division of the First Gospel now before us? The miracle in question is the expulsion of the unclean spirit in the synagogue at Capernaum (Mk $1^{21\text{-}28}$ = Lk $4^{31\text{-}37}$). There must have been some reason for this omission. It is true that another piece of Marcan narrative is passed over by Matthew, namely, Mk $1^{35\text{-}39}$ = Lk $4^{42\text{-}44}$, but in that case no special explanation is needed, for the omission is sufficiently accounted for by the first evangelist's habit of leaving out matter, however picturesque and interesting, which does not supply direct information either as to the moral teaching of Jesus or as to His actual performance of miracles.

In the present case, two conjectures—they are hardly more than that—may be hazarded.

(*a*) Possibly the simple cause of the omission of this narrative may be that Matthew, having employed already some of its opening words ('they were astonished at his teaching,' etc., Mk 1^{22}) in his description of the effects of the Sermon on the Mount (Mk $7^{28.\ 29}$), regarded this Marcan section as used up and done with, and either forgot, or did not care, to turn to it again when entering upon this historical division of his Gospel.

(*b*) But more probably the cause of the omission lies, mainly or exclusively, in the similarity of this miracle to the more remarkable and outstanding one of the Gadarene demoniac or demoniacs (Mk $5^{1\text{-}20}$, Mt $8^{28\text{-}34}$, Lk $8^{26\text{-}39}$). Let us suppose that Matthew had before him among his materials the two Marcan leaves or pages on which these appeals to Jesus from demoniacs occur—

Mk 1^{24}. *ἀνέκραξεν λέγων Τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνέ; ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς; οἶδά* [W.H. marg. and Tisch. *οἴδαμέν*] *σε τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ.*	Mk 5^{7}. *κράξας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγει Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου; ὁρκίζω σε τὸν Θεόν, μή με βασανίσῃς.*

He would thus see that the only striking and distinctive feature of the earlier and shorter of these two miracles had a close parallel in the later and fuller of them. Would he not then be likely to omit the first of them, knowing that the second would have a place farther on in his list? I admit that it is Luke, whose general habit of *Sparsamkeit* would cause us to expect him to make such an omission on the ground of similarity; but, nevertheless, Matthew seems to be the compiler who made it here. Or perhaps it may be said that he combines the two Marcan narratives rather than that he leaves out either of them. For here may lie the explanation of there being two demoniacs mentioned in Matthew's narrative of the Gadarene miracle, while Mark and Luke respectively name but one. It may well have been the case that Matthew—or some previous teacher whose compilation he used—brought together these two similar though distinct miracles for the purpose of explaining them, and especially of explaining the two demoniacs' acknowledgment of Jesus, and that in the course of oral teaching

[1] Vol. xii. p. 471 ff.

the two events gradually came to be regarded as simultaneous. This process of combination would be helped by the occurrence of the plurals, ἡμῖν, ἡμᾶς, and perhaps οἴδαμεν in the account of the Capernaum miracle (Mk 1^{24}). The case may have been similar in Mt 20^{30}, where the blind man healed at Bethsaida (Mk 8^{22-26} only) may at first have had his cure described as an appendage or accompaniment to the better known cure of Bartimæus, and afterwards may have gradually come to be regarded as having been healed at the same time.

Let us now take the ten Matthæan miracles in the order in which we find them in ten of our thirteen sections (see the table on p. 471).

Section i. Miracle 1. The Healing of the Leper, Mt viii. 1 (or 2)–4.

This miracle appears first in Matthew's list, not merely because, as we have just seen, Mark's first miracle is omitted altogether, but because his second miracle, the healing of Peter's wife's mother (1^{29-31}), is by Matthew postponed to this one, which stands third in Mark (1^{40-45}), after some verses of other kinds (1^{32-39}). Why was this change from Mark's order made?

I am disposed to reject, even more decidedly than Mr. Allen does (p. 281*a*), the likelihood that 'as a matter of fact the healing of the leper followed the Sermon' on the Mount, and is therefore placed next to it here. I believe that here, as in a few other places, not only the time-honoured divisions into chapters, but also the divisions into paragraphs in the R.V. and in W.H.'s text are misleading. With vv. $7^{28.\ 29}$ should be read 8^{1}: these three verses combine to tell us the whole immediate result of the Sermon on the Mount, namely, that οἱ ὄχλοι were astonished at the teaching of Jesus, and that, consequently, when He was come down from the mountain those multitudes or a large portion of them—ὄχλοι πολλοί—followed Him. So ends that incident, and a completely fresh one, quite disconnected with what had gone before, begins in 8^{2}. Such is Tatian's way of regarding the matter; for he passes on from Mt 8^{1}, not to Mt 8^{2} (the leper), but to Lk 7^{2} (the centurion's servant), and reserves the healing of the leper for a much later place—indeed, an unaccountably late place—in his harmony (see *Diatessaron*, ed. Hamlyn Hill, pp. 84, 129). And in case it may be thought that the καὶ ἰδού in Mt 8^{2} necessarily implies some connexion with what had gone before, it may be well to point to some instances in which that phrase is used when there is apparently complete discontinuity with the preceding narrative, namely, Mt 19^{16}, Lk 10^{25} 23^{50} 24^{13}.

But, further, not only is there thus no authority, except that of modern chapters and paragraphs, for connecting the miracle before us with the first journey after the Sermon on the Mount, but the narrative itself contains internal evidence against that connexion. For is it not very difficult to understand how the command 'See thou tell no man, etc.,' could have been given by Jesus, if the miracle had been wrought at the time when 'great multitudes followed Him'? And, accordingly, Mark (1^{45}) ascribes the promulgation of the miracle, not to any bystanders, but only to the healed leper himself. And though Luke speaks of ὄχλοι (5^{15}) they were evidently fresh crowds who then came together (συνήρχοντο) because of the report of this miracle, and not people who had previously been accompanying Jesus.

We have seen, then, as to Matthew, not only that he did not feel himself tied to the order of Mark (whom perhaps he knew to have written οὐ τάξει), but also that there is no reason to suppose that he thought of connecting this historical narrative with the foregoing record of the Sermon on the Mount. He was therefore free to commence his specimens and illustrations of Christ's power with any one of His early miracles. Why did he choose this one? Partly, perhaps, as has been suggested by Mr. Bartlet (Hastings' *D.B.* iii. 300*b*), 'because in Mark the healing of the leper comes between a reference to a general ministry in Galilee (1^{39}), in which Matthew sees the continuation of his own 4^{25}, and an entry into Capernaum.' The possibility of this influence need not be denied; but I have no doubt that it was mainly, even if it was not exclusively, the subject-matter of this miracle which disposed Matthew to give it the place of honour. For it would have a unique interest for him, and for the Jewish-Christians, whose habits of thought and whose needs he seems to have primarily regarded, both because of the prominence given to leprosy in Lv 13–14 and elsewhere in the Old Testament, and because of the illustration of the respectful attitude of Jesus towards the Mosaic

law (as in Mt 5^{17-19}) which is supplied by the reference to the priesthood.

Section ii. Miracle 2. The Healing of the Centurion's Servant, Mt viii. 5–13.

I do not deny that Mr. Allen's suggestion (p. 281*a*) of 'a group of three miracles of healing' may sufficiently account for the early place of this miracle and of the next one; even if Matthew did not start with the idea of triads, it may have occurred to him as he went on that he might make such a subdivision in at least the first part of his decade. But I should rather think that this miracle may be placed thus early, because Matthew found it in the *Logia* standing next to the Great Sermon, or to such parts of it as were already brought together in the *Logia*. It is in that position that Luke (7^{2}) keeps it. And there is considerable ground for assigning this narrative —though it is a narrative—to the *Logia*. We have here, with the brief exception of Mt $12^{22.\ 23}$ = Lk $11^{14.\ 15}$ (which, however, may be said to be implied in Mk 3^{22}), the only miracle, and with the further exception of the Temptation, the only narrative, which is found in Matthew and Luke only, the whole of the rest of the matter common to them but not to Mark being discourse, with or without brief historical prefaces. Most modern writers attribute this common matter generally to the *Logia* (see, *e.g.*, references in Moffatt's *Historical New Testament*, p. 642f.); need we except this miracle? I think not, if we take the most reasonable account of the term *Logia* to be that it implies not a complete history like our present Gospels, and, on the other hand, not merely sayings introduced by 'Jesus said,' or 'Jesus saith,' as in the so-called 'Oxyrhynchus Logia,' but *sayings of the Lord, together with notices of the occasions that led to their being delivered, when such notices are needed for the full understanding of them.* Then the name will cover this story. For in order to see the force of the saying, 'I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel,' it is necessary to have read the previous account of this non-Israelite, and especially of his recognition of power of Jesus to heal at a distance.

That Matthew had the Logian collection before him at this time is rendered additionally probable by the fact that while, according to his frequent custom, he otherwise abbreviates the narrative as it is found in Luke (and as I am inclined to believe it originally stood), he nevertheless inserts into it two presumably Logian verses of discourse (8^{11-12}) which Luke has in a quite different but about equally appropriate setting ($13^{28.\ 29}$).

Section iii. Miracle 3. Healing of Peter's Wife's Mother, Mt viii. 14, 15.

Beyond the suggestion of the triad, the only thing to be said here is that Matthew now returns to take up the Marcan miracle which he had displaced for the (to him) more important and interesting one of the leper. He may have been reminded to do so by the fact that, like the miracle which he had placed second, it is connected with Capernaum.

Section vi. Miracle 4. The Stilling of the Storm, Mt viii. 23–27.

Why does Matthew here again desert the Marcan order, even when evidently deriving his materials from Mark? Why does he not take next the healing of the paralytic in the house at Capernaum (Mk 2^{1-12}), since that is the miracle which follows next upon those already drawn from Mark? As to the postponement of all the other matter between Mk 2^{13} and 4^{34}, the causes suggested by Mr. Allen (p. 281*b*) seem to me to be quite adequate. But why is this miracle postponed to two others which stand so much later in Mark? No doubt Matthew may have known that Mark wrote *οὐ τάξει*, and in that case he would require no very strong reasons for making such alterations. But some reasons he must have had. It is suggested (p. 281*b*) that there may have been in his mind the fear of seeming to 'confuse two visits' to Capernaum, that being the place where the healings of Peter's wife's mother and of the paralytic occurred, though at different times. But I doubt whether in this part of his Gospel he sufficiently cared, or expected his readers to care, about the times and places of miracles for this consideration to have influenced him. I should rather suggest (*a*) with Mr. Bartlet (Hastings' *D.B.*, p. 300*b*) that the mention of 'eventide' and of the gathering of crowds which he had lately adopted from Mark (Mk 1^{32-34} = Mt 8^{16}) may have brought to his mind the somewhat similar occasion which Mark records much later ($4^{35.\ 36}$),

but which was none the less suitable for Matthew's non-chronological purpose here. (*b*) Again, Matthew may have thought it well, in this list of distinct specimens of Christ's various miracles, to keep the two accounts of the healing of paralysis (Mt 8^{5-13} and 9^{1-8}) at a distance from one another. (*c*) And this is the place where the suggestion of the ascending triad of three miracles (282*a*) 'illustrative of Christ's authority over forces natural (8^{23-27}), demoniacal (8^{28-34}), and spiritual (9^{1-8})' should especially be borne in mind.

It should be noticed here, again, as at the beginning of Mt 8, that we should be on our guard against the influence of the arrangement of chapters and paragraphs. If we make our break after Mt 9^{1} instead of before it, we can take that verse merely as the conclusion of the Gadarene incident and as the result of the request that He would depart, and not as the introduction to the subsequent miracle. And in that case all direct *contradiction* between Mark and Matthew disappears, though they still arrange their matter differently.

Section vii. Miracle 5. The Gadarene Demoniacs, Mt viii. 28–34.

This obviously follows the fourth miracle, both historically, as in Mk 5^{1}, and also in the ascending scale of the suggested second triad of miracles.

Section viii. Miracle 6. The Sick of the Palsy healed, Mt ix. 1–8.

The causes of Matthew's postponement of this miracle have already been discussed under the heading of section vi. It may perhaps be wondered why he did not still further postpone it, so as to relegate it, with Mk 2^{23-28} and Mk 3^{1-6} (also a miracle), to the controversial or anti-Pharisaic division of his Gospel contained in chap. 12. It is just possible that at first he held it back from its Marcan place with that intention, but that afterwards, when it appeared to be an apt climax to the miracles which he had just recorded, he placed it in the list of miracles instead of the list of controversies. For, like the healing of the withered hand (Mk 3^{1-6} = Mt 12^{9-14}), it has its fitness for either list.

Sections x. and xi. Miracles 7 and 8. The Raising of Jairus' Daughter and the Healing of the Issue of Blood, Mt ix. 18–26.

Although, as was pointed out previously (p. 473), these two incidents must be reckoned as distinct miracles, it is well to consider them together.

The matter contained in Mark up to this point has (with two small omissions already noticed, p. 20), either been included by Matthew in this division of his Gospel or purposely reserved for other sections. 'This brings him to Mk 5^{21-43}' (p. 282*a*). But at this point there arises a more serious chronological difficulty than we have yet encountered. For here Matthew does not only, as in other cases (see above the closing remarks on section vi. as to the most doubtful and difficult of them) disregard Mark's order, but he certainly appears to contradict it. The request of Jairus, which Mark (5^{21-23}, followed as usual in Lk 8^{41}) seems to locate on the shore of the sea of Galilee, immediately after the return from Gadara, is by Matthew said to have taken place at the time of the discourse on fasting after the call of Matthew (ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος, 9^{18}). How did this difference arise? The suggestion of Matthew 'altering the beginning verse to suit his connexion' (p. 282*a*), implies a deliberate contradiction of Mark's express note of time and place which I am loth to accept, unless there are some undoubted instances of such contradiction elsewhere which can be brought forward as parallel to this one, and unless there is no other way of explaining the present passage except by the hypothesis of such a direct and intentional contradiction here. Perhaps the two following suggestions may be worth taking into account:—

(*a*) Is it not possible that Matthew—or some other compiler or copyist working upon the Marcan materials before or after him—may have accidentally misplaced the words ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος, by means of which the miracle now appears to be linked by him to the discourse on fasting? For it will be observed that in Mk 5^{35} (and so in Lk 8^{49}), where the Jairus-story is resumed after the episode of the healing of the woman on the way, the recommencement is made by the use of the words ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος. But Matthew has no such words, and, indeed, no occasion for them in this later situation, though

he has the very similar *ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος* at the commencement of the whole story. May he not, therefore, either through a slip of memory or through a too hasty glance at the Marcan MS. which he was using, have transferred this clause in substance from the recommencement to the commencement of the narrative. I venture to make this suggestion because the break in this miracle makes it more likely than others to be erroneously referred to; twice in the preparation of this article I found myself giving a wrong reference to the incident, because my eye fell upon the recommencement in Mk 5^{35} when I was looking for the commencement in 5^{21}.

(*b*) Though it is highly probable, I should not admit it to be absolutely certain, that Mark intended to fix the date of this miracle immediately after the return from Gadara. No doubt it is the next incident that he records after that return and after the gathering of a multitude round Jesus when He was on the seashore (Mk $5^{21.22}$). But since he was writing without any special attention to order (for *οὐ τάξει* must mean at least as much as this), he may only have entered it in this place as being a Galilean miracle. And it is to be observed that *καὶ ἔρχεται* (used in v.[22]) and *καὶ ἔρχονται* often form in Mark the beginning of the record of a new incident, with little or no reference to what has gone before; see, *e.g.*, Mk 1^{40} 3^{20} 8^{22} 10^{46} $11^{15.27}$ 12^{18}. But even granting that Mark did mean to express that he was recording the miracle in its exact chronological place, it is quite possible that Matthew may not have noticed that this was the case. For here again it is probable that there would be no marked commencement of a paragraph at Mk 5^{21} as there is in our Greek Testaments; and therefore it may well be that the compiler of the First Gospel, when his eyes fell upon the very familiar Marcan opening *καὶ ἔρχεται*, might rush to the conclusion that here was the beginning of a new incident, without looking backward to see whether there were any previous words of connexion to be found. He would thus ignore, without intentionally throwing over, the Marcan order of events.

Sections xii. and xiii. Miracles 9 and 10. The Healing of Two Blind Men and the Healing of a Dumb Demoniac, Mt ix. 27–34.

It is very difficult, as I have previously said (p. 474), to explain the insertion of these two brief records of miracles, unless it was with the purpose of making up the number *ten*. Not only are they 'comparatively colourless and uninteresting' (A. B. Bruce *in loc.*) as contrasted with even Matthew's other narratives of miracles, but they are so very similar to two of those narratives that it is almost impossible not to regard them as doublets. (They are so exhibited in *Horæ Synopticæ*, pp. 75–78.)

(*a*) The former of them (Mt 9^{27-31}) is closely parallel to the triple narrative of the healing of the blind man or men at Jericho (Mk 10^{46-52}, Mt 20^{29-34}, Lk 18^{35-43}), where the Marcan account seems most likely to be the original one; observe especially in proof of this parallelism *υἱὸς* (or *υἱὲ*) *Δαυείδ, ἐλέησον, ἤψατο*; also the less important use of the verbs *κράζειν* and *ποιεῖν*. It is true, indeed, that instead of the phrase, *ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε*, which is used by Mark and Luke (but omitted by Matthew) in the Jericho miracle, we have here *κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν γενηθήτω ὑμῖν*; but this is only an instance of Matthew's employment of a favourite formula of his own, as in 8^{13} to the leper, *ὡς ἐπίστευσας γενηθήτω σοι*, and in 15^{28} to the Syrophenician woman, *μεγάλη σου ἡ πίστις· γενηθήτω σοι ὡς θέλεις*. And in the account given of the disobedient promulgation of this miracle we seem to find Matthew, here as elsewhere, transferring the familiar language of Mark from one place to another, as may thus be seen—

Mk $1^{43ff.}$ *καὶ ἐμβριμησάμενος αὐτῷ . . . λέγει αὐτῷ, Ὅρα μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἴπῃς . . . ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν πολλὰ καὶ διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον.*	Mt $9^{30f.}$ *καὶ ἐνεβριμήθη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων Ὁρᾶτε μηδεὶς γινωσκέτω· Οἱ δὲ ἐξελθόντες διεφήμισαν αὐτὸν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ.*

The rarity of the verb *διαφημίζειν*, which is used only three times in the N.T. and never in LXX, adds a special probability to the supposition of such a transference of Marcan language. And if that view is accepted, there remains nothing distinctive and unparalleled in the narrative now before us except the fact of the entry into the house. For the substance of the question, 'Believe ye that I am able to do this,' and of the affirmative answer, is undoubtedly implied in the Marcan and Lucan saying, 'Thy faith hath made thee whole.'

Unless we are to assume that Matthew had some special chronological information of his own, which on general grounds does not seem likely in this division of his Gospel, we must suppose that

the words παράγοντι ἐκεῖθεν (9[27]) were added by him or some other editor as an inference from the juxtaposition of the Jairus-miracle and this one. Possibly the two incidents had been placed next to one another among the ten, merely because they set forth so similarly the spread of the fame of the miracles of Jesus. Compare the concluding words of the two—

Mt 9[26]. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἡ φήμη αὕτη εἰς ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην.	Mt 9[31]. οἱ δὲ ἐξελθόντες διεφήμισαν αὐτὸν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ.

(β) The tenth and last miracle (Mt 9[32-34]) shows no more independence than the ninth. Whether we accept v.[34] as original or reject it as being of the nature of a 'Western non-interpolation' (see W.H., *Introd.* p. 176; the verse is omitted in Syr[sin]), the narrative is closely parallel to, and appears to be a doublet of, Matthew's later account in 12[22-24] of the exorcism which gave occasion to the great 'defensive discourse' in chap. 12[25ff.] (It is curious, by the way, that in 12[22] Matthew speaks of the demoniac as blind as well as dumb, and uses the title υἱὸς Δαυείδ, thus suggesting links of connexion with both the miracles which we find together here.) But the narrative now before us is even more closely parallel to Luke's record (11[14. 15]) of the miracle, which leads to the defensive discourse; this appears in the use of the verb ἐκβάλλειν, of the genitive absolute, and of the verb ἐθαύμασαν, where Mt 12[23] has ἐξίσταντο. These similarities seem to point to a Logian origin of the incident. It will be remembered that in Mk 3[22] no account of the expulsion of a demon is prefixed to the defensive discourse, though it is assumed that such expulsion had previously occurred. There is indeed one point in which this record does not merely reproduce the description of the later miracle, namely, the exclamation of the multitudes, Οὐδέποτε ἐφάνη οὕτως ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ. But here an explanation suggests itself which is analogous to that which we applied to a sentence of our ninth miracle; Matthew seems here, as in other cases, to have adopted Marcan words from another context, namely, Οὕτως οὐδέποτε εἴδαμεν (Mk 2[12]), and to have blended them with his favourate verb φαίνομαι, and with the name Ἰσραήλ which occurs to him much more frequently and naturally than to Mark (he uses it twelve times, and Mark but twice).

In both divisions of this article, and especially in this second one, we have been occupied with a department of the Synoptic Problem, in dealing with the details of which, positiveness of assertion is singularly out of place. For anything like certainty concerning them is unobtainable. The compiler of these two chapters has left us no rationale of his plan and procedure, and therefore we can only say—as I have been saying or implying so often here—that he *may have* been influenced by such and such considerations in the selection and arrangement of his materials. For of course he may have been also influenced by other considerations—by his own information or lack of information, or by the special needs of those for whom he wrote—in ways at which we cannot even guess. So all that is really practicable, and I think all that is really important, is to point out some fairly probable causes, by some or all of which he may have been guided in his compilation, and which support, or at least harmonize with, the chief conclusion which seems to be resulting with a fair amount of certainty from the study of the Synoptic Problem, namely, the conclusion that our First and Third Gospels rest mainly on a constant though sometimes a free use of our Second Gospel, with the insertion of supplementary matter drawn from various sources, but especially from a second documentary source which consisted mainly of sayings of Christ, and which is usually identified with the *Logia* of Matthew.

Tinsel Crowns and Golden Streets.

By the Rev. J. S. Maver, M.A., Aberdeen.

'On their heads were as it were crowns like gold.'—Rev. ix. 7.

'The street of the city was pure gold.'—Rev. xxi. 21.

We expect of a crown that it shall be of costly material. Better no crown at all than a poor pinchbeck thing. It ought to be something of value, something worth looking at, something worth preserving. On the other hand, we do not expect much of a street. It is for ordinary every-day traffic, open to all, free to the tread of every foot. All we ask of it is that it be of hard, durable, serviceable material. But the crowns in the kingdom of darkness are a sham and a delusion, while the very street of the holy city is of pure gold. The crowns are tinsel, the street is gold.

These strange creatures, called locusts, on whose head are the crowns, may be taken to represent the evil thoughts and passions that debase and destroy man. Locusts are often referred to in the Bible as a plague. A swarm of them will devastate a country with more completeness than a horde of wild beasts. And terribly destructive can be the desires and cravings of our own evil nature if they get their way; while all the time they have something attractive and alluring about them, too, like the glittering crowns on the locusts' heads.

And just as the locusts with their crowns refer to the evil in this world, to the evil in our hearts, so the heavenly Jerusalem that St. John speaks of also applies to this world, to the spiritual beauty that will yet one day characterize it. He is not speaking merely of something beyond the clouds and beyond the tomb. He says expressly, 'I, John, saw the holy city coming down from God out of heaven.' Men have ever dreamed of a better day that is to be, each one picturing it according to his own idea of what a happy life should mean. And the Bible, too, has its vision of a brighter day to come. In all other dreams that men have had, the chief thing lacking has been God and His glory. They have been too much of the mere self-seeking, self-exalting, God-excluding nature. Not so with the Bible vision. In the very forefront of his description of the city, St. John refers to it as 'having the glory of God.' God dwells in the midst of it, and obedience to Him is the greatest glory of it.

Putting these two together, then,—the locusts with their glittering crowns, and the holy city with its street of pure gold,—they suggest to us very forcibly a great distinction between the kingdom of darkness and the kingdom of light: *the things of the one are unsubstantial and deceptive, the things of the other are real and satisfying.* The kingdom of darkness is emphatically a kingdom of falsehood. It is false in its pretensions, false in its promises. You never get what you want, you never get what you expect. You are led to expect great things, but they always turn out to be a delusion. The locusts had on their head something that had only the appearance of a crown,—crowns *as it were*, and crowns *like* gold. And therein lies the power of the kingdom of evil. Its deceptions are so attractive and so promising.

Bunyan tells us of the man with the muck-rake absorbed in drawing to himself the straws and sticks and dust of the floor, while there stood one over his head proffering him a celestial crown for his muck-rake. But often the things sought and gathered with the rake do not *appear* like sticks and straws. Were that so we should have no desire for them. They have rather the appearance of a crown itself. And many are rather like the dog in the fable, who let go his real bone to grasp what *seemed* to be a bone in the water. But, like him, you find yourself cheated, and a loser all round in the long-run.

And that is true, indeed, of everything in our life that is severed from God's glory and service. Even things innocent in themselves have no lasting beauty and power save as we connect them with God's love and God's will. Only thereby will the sweet preserve its sweetness. And, without that view of life as a whole, one could well understand the statesman who said that he had 'weighed most things in life, and found their metal not worth the clink it made.'

Secondly, the distinction is so great that *the*

highest things in the kingdom of darkness are worthless, the lowest in the kingdom of light are substantial and real. Nothing is higher than the crown, nothing more common than the street, but the crowns were tinsel, the street was gold. The richest treasures of evil are counterfeit. They are like the money Raphael is said to have once paid an innkeeper for his board. He painted some coins on the table that looked at a distance like gold, and only on his departure was the deception discovered. In his case, however, it was good value he gave, for a painting of his was worth more than the golden coins represented. Not so is it here. Delusion leads on every seeker, and disappointment awaits him.

Very different is it with the things of the kingdom of God. The very street is of pure gold. As the prophet said of old, 'He maketh the place of his feet glorious.' And what is the street in our cities for? For the common traffic and business of life, so full, as things are, of worry, anxiety, keen competition, and overreaching. But in this heavenly city with its street of gold, does it not mean that the traffic there will be of a transfigured kind like the ground we tread? And is not that, above all, what we need in our religion?

Some one recently referred to a saying of Samuel Rutherford, that our religion should be 'market-sweet.' That is the most difficult thing of all to make it, and the most needful. It is comparatively easy to make it church-sweet and prayer-meeting-sweet. But the most precious and most telling characteristic of it is when it becomes, say, home-sweet,—a home-sweet religion, bringing peace and pleasantness into the home relationships; and when it becomes market-sweet, making us meet our fellows on the street and market with honest dealings and kindly greetings and friendly helpings. And the miriest street in our cities would become a street of gold, were that the nature of the daily traffic passing through it. Said the wise man to a farmer, who was wont to return from the market boasting of his gains, and that no one was ever able to cheat him, 'Oh, my friend, were you *as* anxious not to cheat others, that lumbering cart of yours would become glorious as a chariot of the sun.'

Now, *sooner or later the distinction between the false and the real is fully recognized by all.* At first we are like those savage tribes among whom traders go, getting the costliest products of the country in return for a few beads, or a trumpery trinket, or any worthless thing that is bright and glittering, that catches the fancy of the savage eye. We are all just like the poor cheated heathen in connexion with this great kingdom of darkness; we are attracted by glitter and show, and part with treasure beyond price for a few gaudy trifles. We give years for hours, we give soul for body, we give lifelong heartsease for a passing delight. But by and by, though often after great loss, we begin to realize that always, and in all things, without exception, the promises and rewards of evil are never fulfilled as we expected.

There was a picture in last year's Royal Academy that attracted considerable attention. It represented a young king making a triumphal entry into his capital. Banners hang out from the houses, and bright maidens scatter flowers in his path. Who could be happier, one might say, than this king as he rides through his flattering subjects? By the side of the road is a plain crucifix, and on it hangs a figure. On this figure is also a crown. The king's crown glitters with jewels, but this is a crown of thorns. The people seem to be paying no attention to the crucifix, but the king observes it as he approaches. He checks his horse, and thoughts other than those of triumph come into his face. It is that moment that is represented in the picture. The thought is passing through his mind, 'After all, what is all this but a vain show? Here, unnoticed by the shouting and acclaiming crowd, here is the true king.'

Yes, but the crown may be worn, as well as the streets trodden, in the spirit of Him whose noblest wreath was a crown of thorns, as was seen so long and so beautifully in the reign of Queen Victoria. And when that is so, there could be no lovelier spectacle, and none more worthy of homage and regard. Let us all choose, in our different spheres, the better part. It is one thing to see the distinction between that kingdom whose crowns are tinsel and that whose very streets are gold. We all come to see that, as life goes on and we meet with one disappointment and grief after another. But may God incline our hearts to choose the unsearchable riches of Christ. And then, in humble and joyful trust, it may be ours to make our own the apostle's words, 'Henceforth there is laid up for me a

crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love His appearing.'

Glorious things of thee are spoken;
Zion, city of our God;
He, whose word cannot be broken,
Formed thee for His own abode.
. . . . .
Fading is the worldling's pleasure,
All his boasted pomp and show;
Solid joys and lasting treasure
None but Zion's children know.

Recent Foreign Theology.

Harnack's 'Probleme im Texte der Leidensgeschichte Jesu.'[1]

THERE has just been published in separate form the interesting paper read by Professor Harnack before the *Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Berlin, in February last, dealing with certain textual problems which arise in connexion with the history of our Lord's Passion. And whether the veteran scholar's conclusions are generally accepted or not, they at least demand careful consideration at the hands of all workers in the field of textual criticism. We shall content ourselves here with simply indicating what these conclusions are, for the benefit of those who may not have access to the original paper.

The first passage discussed is Lk 22^{43-44}, a passage which, as is well known, is not regarded as part of the original text by such modern editors as Westcott and Hort, B. Weiss, and Nestle, who are able to point to an imposing array of authorities (ℵ[a]BART Syr.-Sin., etc.) in support of its omission. Harnack, however, regards this conclusion as too hasty, in view of the genuine Lukan ring of the words (note especially the mention of the angel compared with Lk 1 and 2, 24^{23}, and Ac 5^{19} 8^{26}, etc., and such characteristic Lukan expressions as ὤφθη, ἐνισχύειν, ἐκτενέστερον προσηύχετο, and γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ . . . καὶ ἐγένετο), and the traditional support they receive so early as the first half of the second century in Justin, Tatian, and Irenæus. The main difficulty, if the words are genuine, is to discover why they should ever have been omitted. But here Harnack, as against Westcott and Hort ['There is no tangible evidence for the excision of a substantial portion of narrative for doctrinal reasons at any period of textual history' (*N.T.* ii. App. p. 66)], does not hesitate to appeal to dogmatic grounds. Exception, so he thinks, was early taken to the passage, both on account of the idea of an angel strengthening the Lord and of the mention of the drops of blood, as pointing to outward agony, rather than to inward conflict of soul, and in consequence, in a certain number of authorities, the words were altogether omitted. Further confirmation of this is also sought in the use made of the passage in the Fourth Gospel. For if it is referred to, as seems probable, in chap. $12^{27\,ff.}$, the 'softening' that it there undergoes at the writer's hands is obvious. A voice out of heaven now takes the place of the angel, and the 'strengthening' and the 'drops of blood' disappear. On the whole, then, Harnack is of opinion that the verses are to be regarded as an original part of Luke's Gospel, and that in BA and Syr.-Sin. we have a purposely abridged text.

Harnack's second passage is Lk 23^{33-34}, our Lord's prayer on the cross for forgiveness for His enemies, words which are awanting in ℵ[a]BD Syr.-Sin., and which in consequence are omitted by Lachmann, B. Weiss, and Westcott and Hort, though the last named claim them along with the passage we have just been considering as 'the most precious' among the remains of evangelic tradition (ii. App. p. 67). It is indeed just this very preciousness of the words, it is argued, which makes it so difficult to understand how they could ever have been dropped out, if they formed part of the true text; whereas, on the other hand, it is said to be quite intelligible how, say about the beginning of the second century, such a prayer should have been inserted either from tradition or with reference to Ac 7^{60}. If Stephen prayed for his enemies, how much more likely that Jesus

[1] *Aus Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.* Berlin: G. Reimer. 8vo, pp. 16. M.0.50.

should have prayed for His. But, rejoins Harnack, if the necessity of ascribing such a prayer to Christ was felt so strongly, how was it that it is found only in the Lukan text, and that not a single copyist seems ever to have thought of inserting it in the closely parallel accounts of Matthew and Mark? Moreover, he continues, once grant the originality of the words, and their omission may be accounted for in one of two ways. Either it was accidental or, more probably, it was deliberate, owing to the ancient Christian prejudice against the Jews. For though Harnack, wrongly we venture to think, makes the prayer refer in the first instance to the Roman soldiers, he holds that this reference might easily be extended to all enemies of Jesus, especially the Jews, and consequently, that in various quarters it would come to be asked, How could Jesus have prayed in these terms for those who were in the very act of committing such a crime, and that too not in ignorance, but of set purpose? It was in deference to this objection therefore, and consequently again on doctrinal, or perhaps rather ecclesiastical, grounds that the words were in the authorities noted above left out. To say that they certainly belonged to the true text of Luke's Gospel may be too strong; but at the most a query should be attached to them.

Our third and last passage is Mk 15^{34}, where Harnack discusses the strange but very interesting reading ὠνείδισας for ἐγκατέλιπες.[1] The reading is found only in the Western text, and has been generally neglected by the editors, though Westcott and Hort place it in the margin. But Harnack believes it to be the original reading, and that mainly on the ground that only in this way can a satisfactory explanation of its occurrence be found. For if Mark originally wrote ἐγκατέλιπες, how could any copyist ever have changed this into ὠνείδισας, the more so as no trace of this change is ever found in the corresponding Matthæan passage? On the other hand, we can easily see how Matthew, using here the Mark text, and finding in it ὠνείδισας, would readily change this back into the correct LXX translation ἐγκατέλιπες. But what are we to understand by ὠνείδισας, and why should Mark ever have thought of substituting it? This can only have been, Harnack thinks, because he had found that the traditional ἐγκατέλιπες, as pointing to desertion on the part of God, had proved a stumbling-block to some, and looking about for an easier expression, was arrested by the ὠνείδιζον of v.[32]. Reviling, as he had already shown (chap. $15^{17-20.\ 29-32}$), had played a large part in the sufferings of Jesus, and by inserting ὠνείδισας in the Psalmist's cry, which Jesus adopted, the Evangelist desired to point to God as, at least, the permissive cause of this reviling. The word was thus an *erklärende* translation, and one rendered all the more natural by the stress laid upon the ὀνειδισμὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ in the early Church, as evidenced by He 11^{26} 13^{13}.

In each case therefore, it will be observed, in determining the true text, Harnack attaches a definite weight to dogmatic influences, with this difference however, that in the first two instances these influences led in certain quarters to the omission of what the original author had written; but in the third, the author himself, taking exception to what had been handed down to him, substituted an explanatory translation of his own.

Want of space has prevented our reproducing in full the MS. evidence for and against these three passages; but, in general, Harnack claims that if his conclusions regarding them are correct, then neither the combination BA Syr.-Sin. nor BD Syr.-Sin. can be regarded as the infallible authority sometimes imagined; and, further, that in at least one crucial passage the Western tradition, without the support of the Syrian, has been shown to preserve the original text.

G. MILLIGAN.

Caputh.

[1] See also the discussion on this text in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, 1898, p. 521; 1900, pp. 237, 287, 334; to which Harnack refers, though he is not personally acquainted with the articles.

The Syriac Version of Eusebius' 'Church History.'[2]

DR. NESTLE has made a valuable contribution to the admirable series of *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, which is being published under the joint editorship of Dr. von Gebhardt and Dr. Harnack. The Syriac version of the original Greek text of Eusebius' *Church History* was, in all probability, the earliest translation of this great work; many scholars are of opinion that it was made within the lifetime of

[2] *Die Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius.* Aus dem Syrischen. Übersetzt von Eberhard Nestle. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1901. M.9.50.

Eusebius himself, and some believe that the translator worked under the author's supervision. Dr. Nestle finds errors in the translation which render the theory of consultation with Eusebius incredible; the version was made, he thinks, not long after the time of Eusebius, and has been preserved — with some lacunæ — in two ancient manuscripts, one of the fifth and the other of the sixth century. As the earliest Greek MS. which has yet been discovered cannot be dated earlier than the tenth century, it is obvious that the Syriac version furnishes important evidence for a critical restoration of the true text of Eusebius.

Dr. Nestle's name is a sufficient guarantee for the successful accomplishment of his purpose, which is to give a translation of the Syriac version, 'as exact and as literal as possible.' By the publication of such a rendering he has made accessible to students of patristic literature, who do not read Syriac, material which cannot but be of the utmost value. The text translated is that given in the Wright-M'Lean edition of the Syriac, published by the Cambridge University Press in 1898.

As an example of the freedom with which the Syriac translator dealt with the Greek text, Dr. Nestle refers to the quotations from the Bible. These are usually given from the version known as the Peshito or the Syriac Vulgate, even when the Greek text of Eusebius differs from it. In the famous passage in which Eusebius quotes the testimony of Irenæus to the writings of Papias (iii. 39), Dr. Nestle translates: 'These things Papias says and testifies in writing *at the beginning* of his books.' The Greek text has 'in his *fourth* book' (τετάρτῃ); the Syriac version 'requires ἀρχῇ, and if this be the original reading, the meaning of the words of Irenæus accords well with the subsequent argument of Eusebius, which dwells upon what Papias declares 'in *the preface* to his discourses.' J. G. TASKER.

Handsworth College.

Three French Books.[1]

THE abnormal manifestations of the religious sentiment are the dark shadows of its brightness. M. Murisier follows the pathological method of Ribot. Ecstasy, fanaticism, and the contagion of religious emotion are studied with the scientific severity which is a distinguishing feature of the work of Frenchmen.

We have Moses and the prophets. Do we read them? Certainly not so much as we ought to do. This bright little book on the call of Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Amos shows us something of their perennial interest and profit.

'The least of all lands' is the best known of all lands. We never cry 'Hold, enough,' to those who have made the happy pilgrimage. This interesting book is the fruit of a second visit made to the Holy Land by its distinguished author in 1899. The interest and value of the book is much increased by the thirty-four illustrations it contains, from photographs taken by M. Gautier.

JOHN REID.

Dundee.

[1] *Les Malades du Religieux Sentiment.* Par Professor E. Murisier, Neuchâtel. Paris: Felix Alcau, editeur.—*Vocations de Prophètes.* Par Lucien Gautier. Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie., editeurs.—*Autour de La Mer Morte.* Par Lucien Gautier. Genève: Ch. Eggiman et Cie., editeurs.

Among the Periodicals.

The Number of the Beast.

THE much discussed question as to who or what is referred to under the number 666 or 616 of Rev 13^{18} forms the subject of an article in the *Z.N.T.W.* (1901, Heft 2) by Dr. Carl Clemen. In opposition to Zahn and others he is quite clear that we have to do here with an instance of interpretation by Gematria. The beast is the Roman empire; the one [or possibly μίαν of 13^{3} may mean 'the first'] head wounded as unto death he refers to Julius Cæsar, whose assassination threatened to be fatal to the continuance of the Roman Empire. As to the word or title whose numerical value = 666 or 616, Clemen does not favour the notion that a *Hebrew* basis must be sought for this value. The readers of the Apocalypse could never have thought, without special instructions, of seeking any but a Greek equivalent. The author of the book does not assume that they were acquainted with Hebrew; on the contrary, he explains the meaning of Hebrew terms (9^{11}), or at least notes Hebrew terms when he employs them (16^{6}). Clemen sees no reason to conclude that even the author himself had a knowledge of Hebrew. For this and for other reasons he rejects Gunkel's proposal to equate 666 with תהום קדמוניה, the

primeval chaos. The same objection applies to the explanation of Bousset and others, נרון קסר or נרו ק; as well as to תריון (or תרינו), *i.e.* Trajan, or טיריון אדרינוס (or טרינוס אדרינוס), *i.e.* Trajanus Adrianus. It so happens, indeed, that Γάιος Καῖσαρ in *Greek* letters = 616; but this interpretation, like those just mentioned, is exposed to the objection that the number of the Beast can be represented only by a Greek name for the Roman *empire* and not for an individual *emperor*. A term satisfying this condition and yielding either 666 or 616 Clemen believes he finds in ἡ Ἰταλὴ βασιλεία (666), or ἡ Λατίνη βασιλεία (616).

Wanted a Bibliography.

A somewhat novel but very practical suggestion is put forward in the same number of the *Z.N.T.W.* by the editor, Dr. Preuschen. It is well known that a number of our first-class theological magazines publish either periodically, or in every number, a Bibliography duly classified (cf. *e.g.* the *Z.A.T.W.*, the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, the *Critical Review*, the *American Journal of Theology*, etc.). The *Z.N.T.W.* itself has been following suit, and the editor has been forcibly struck with the superfluous labour expended on so many separate lists of what is to a large extent the same material. He suggests that a body of competent men, by preference those engaged in libraries, each entrusted with a special department, should prepare a list to be published every two months, and of such a form that it could readily be issued as an appendix or supplement to the various periodicals. Dr. Preuschen is convinced that such a scheme would be a financial success as well as a great saving of time-exacting labour to editors and others, and he trusts that some enterprising publisher will come forward to take it up, or that joint action may be taken by the various editors concerned.

Apologetics and Biblical Criticism.

In last February's issue (p. 238 f.) we gave some account of the remarkable series of letters in course of being addressed by Mgr. Mignot, archbishop of Albi, to the clergy of his diocese. The aim of these is to fix the right attitude of the Catholic Church towards the conclusions that are increasingly urged upon the public attention by the historical criticism of the O.T. A special interest belongs to the papers as bearing witness to the extent to which the leaven of criticism has pervaded the Church of which Archbishop Mignot is an ornament; and it may be added that, while there are naturally a good many considerations put forward which have full weight only with Roman Catholic readers, the greater part of the letters are suited to any branch of the Christian Church.

The writer begins his fifth letter, which lies before us, by urging the necessity of the Church taking her share in the settlement of critical questions. 'If these are decided without us, they are decided against us.' To ignore criticism will not prevent its progress. But the Archbishop is fully persuaded that the Church has no occasion for alarm. No dogma will be endangered even if many of the critical theories (as he prefers meanwhile to call them) should one day be established. All that will be necessary will be for the Church to alter the order and the form of her defence. 'No apologetic escapes the errors of its age or rises above the level of contemporary knowledge.' Criticism, he insists, is neither Christian nor anti-Christian, neither good nor evil, any more than are mathematics and the natural sciences. It is simply a method of work, an instrument of research which is being daily brought to higher perfection; it consists in an examination of the text in the light of modern discoveries, with the resources, historical, scientific, linguistic, etc., put at our disposal by the constant advance of human learning. It has not to do exclusively with Scripture; biblical criticism is but a branch of historical criticism in general. No doubt it is a two-edged weapon, and one that is not safe in all hands. 'One does not trust firearms to a madman or a child.' Still criticism is the appreciation (*discernment*) of the true, not its depreciation (*dénigrement*), as those are only too willing to believe whom it disturbs in their old habits of thought, and who cling to their ideas from vanity or interest or spiritual sloth, or at times, as they imagine, for the glory of God. The one method of meeting the danger of false criticism is to set up the right critical system.

It is a commonplace that the books of the O.T. are the result of a religious and literary development. The Psalter, the Proverbs, the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings all bear traces of having been composed at various epochs and from a variety of sources. Assuming this to be the case, is our faith imperilled? Not in the least. And

why should it be endangered if it be proved that the Pentateuch is in a like case, if Deuteronomy should turn out to be a late edition of ancient laws, and that many enactments of recent origin have been attached to the primitive works of Moses? In like manner the Archbishop shows how neither the supposed authority of our Lord and His apostles nor of the Church have closed those questions of authorship and date upon which historical criticism alone has a right to speak. But, granting to the fullest degree the late date of much that used to be supposed to be very early in the O.T. literature, the history of Israel could be in all essentials reconstructed from the prophets, from Amos, Hosea, and Micah, whose authenticity is as indisputable as that of the Epistles to the Romans, the Galatians, and the Corinthians. Archbishop Mignot practically adopts, in fact, the apologetic argument of the late Professor Bruce, of which he speaks in laudatory terms. From the prophets we can learn what was the religious past of Israel, and in their writings we can see the rôle they played in the preparation for the Messianic kingdom. The value of all this is unaffected by critical conclusions as to the historical books. In the history of prophetism our author finds the true Scripture basis of apologetics. J. A. Selbie.

Maryculter.

Science and Faith.

By the Rev. G. Ferries, M.A., D.D., Cluny, Aberdeenshire.

III.

Advantages derived from the Interaction of Religion and Science.

It is but half the truth to say that recent science makes the acquisition of faith difficult, and that many are chiefly impressed by the difficulties and are overborne by doubt. In the case of those who have gained a spiritual faith, and who are also in sympathy with the proper aims of science, as those may be expected to be who have grown with its growth, the latter exerts a rejuvenating, stimulating, and widening influence on their religion itself. A happy change in this respect is now in progress. Even so lately as a generation ago, the most noticeable effect on religion of the advance of science was to draw forth from pious and reflective people a cry of distress. They made many anxious endeavours to reconcile the cosmogony of the opening chapters of Genesis with astronomy and geology, and were alarmed at the doctrine of Evolution, as if it implied Atheism and the overthrow of Scripture, and found themselves threatened with a philosophy which saw in Matter 'the promise and potency of all terrestrial life.' In this connexion it was the mere struggle for existence on the part of religion that mainly bulked in men's minds. But truth in religion as elsewhere is set in a clearer light, and is therefore promoted, by inquiry and conflict; and, accordingly, it is fitting that reference should be made to some of the gains for faith which may now be registered as the fruit of many years of earnest effort; although multitudes still find themselves unable, for such reasons as those already mentioned, to share in those fruits, and although an Agnostic philosophy (often but an ill-defined habit of thought) has come to succeed the other sceptical systems whose influence has waned.

The interest with which Schleiermacher invested the inquiry into the subject of religion as an existing fact continues till now. The study of man's nature and powers shows religion to be an essential feature of his life, placed as he is in this world. Religion, it is made apparent, is not merely imposed upon him by authority, whether of priests or sacred books, nor does it consist of questionable speculations; it is an element of his nature without which he could not attain the full dignity of his rank among the creatures; and men and books can only serve as the means for bringing this religious faculty to full exercise and fruition. One returns with fresh zest to the cultivation of what he knows to be a phase, and the richest phase, of his own life, and feels the stimulus

which is imparted to him who works with a high, intelligent appreciation of his position and privileges, and not merely because he is impelled by authority or custom.

Historical science, having first been tested in other fields, could not fail to introduce its spirit and methods into the study of the religious life of old Israel and the first Christians, and to elucidate as far as possible the record of that life which we possess in Scripture. In this country, Robertson Smith, following in the steps of Graf and Wellhausen, pointed out (*O.T. in the Jewish Church*, lect. vi.) how the Canon of the O.T. was established, not by some inexplicable divine decree, but by the discernment of the pious community of the Jews, who, with devout care, assigned pre-eminence and exclusive authority to the writings which, as a matter of fact, responded to the faith of their hearts. The principle of selection there brought to view is of far-reaching significance. Scripture holds its high rank in our esteem as being the record of the religious life at its best. We are invited to examine the grounds of its claims, and to enter into the life to which it testifies, and we cannot fail to derive much benefit by so doing. The aim is now to reproduce, as far as may be, by the resources of archæology, general history, and literary criticism the exact situations in which the great men of Scripture were placed, and so to render their thought fluid, to discover their spiritual motives, and to reach their heart. Their life thus becomes a light to men in every age; for the hearts of mankind, their chief needs, are always the same. In particular, the prophets are no longer regarded as mere predictors, whose function was to supply material for the use of latter-day apologists; they were the religious guides of the people of their own land and time, 'spokesmen for God,' preachers of spiritual religion, moral and social reformers, whose principles can be apprehended by us in their original purity and force, and ought to be applied by all who seek the ends of Christian faith and eternal righteousness. The same line of remark applies to the N.T. writings. They were collected and set apart by the living faith of the Church; and they have the authority which is derived from the fact that the Church's faith was itself formed through the indwelling Spirit of God, which was supplied in the early times in special measure. And as regards the great men of the new dispensation, St. Paul, *e.g.* when viewed in his historical surroundings, is not simply a hard dogmatist, as he has often been supposed to be: he gains full sympathy and admiration; his spiritual aims stand out as the loftiest and purest; his life exhibits devoted self-sacrifice, and his intellect shows itself to be masterly. In him Christianity commends itself to our soul and conscience by its magnificent fruit.—Above all, historical inquiry has impelled men to set less store by tradition, which often obscured the will of God, and to 'return to Christ,' so as to find in Him the source and centre of Christian faith and life. This course cannot fail, when the necessary precautions are taken, to convey incalculable blessing to the Churches. For the gospel message, as brought by Jesus Himself, has a peculiarly convincing efficacy, being at once simple, translucent, profoundly ethical, and satisfying to the heart by its Revelation of God as Father. It is true that there is not material to form a 'Life of Christ,' though there have been many so-called Lives; but the mind, the teaching, the Personality of Jesus can be largely understood, and in so far as they are apprehended, the will of God with every man is discovered. Christ is not merely the Redeemer of the world by His death, in a way which it is impossible to realize: He can be known as the effectual Revealer of God by the perfect goodness of His Personality, and the death of the Crucified One may be recognized as the crown and completion of the goodness manifested in His life. Christianity, as seen in its source, is not an infertile body of dogma, but a living power of the Spirit, uniting God and man by the bond of a spiritual faith and an ideal morality. The spirit and the morality are perennial, and can be infused with transforming effect into the life of the present. They are applicable to all circumstances; and as the men of to-day allow themselves to be baptized with that original spirit, and enter into its aims in their worldly practice, they find that fresh intuitions of Christian truth are caught by them in countless number; endless vistas are opened up in all directions; it is felt that the whole of modern life can and ought to be spiritualized. And, again, when Christians are led by careful scrutiny to look beyond the letter of Scripture, and to acknowledge the spiritual Christ and His perfect morality as the enduring essence of the N.T., they have attained a principle of union by which they can

be drawn into one spiritual brotherhood and be conscious of their fellowship.

Furthermore, history throws light on the origin and essence of dogma, disclosing the circumstances which led to its formation, and so affording guidance for the intelligent and profitable use of it, assigning a relative significance to it, and making it cease to appear as an intolerable yoke.

But natural law, universal causation, which science brings to light, appears to many to have a chilling effect for faith, and to undo the comforting conviction that their life is secured in all its interests by a watchful Providence. Now, without order in nature, so steadfast that it can be counted on, they could not get the best and most necessary gift of all, namely, righteousness. They have the means of improving in moral character, only if they know the natural consequences of their action, from past observation and from memory, and if they choose their course of action with the conviction that the laws of nature will hold good in the present and future. In proportion, therefore, as those laws are ascertained, the more opportunities for moral advancement will there be, the more benefits of the highest value will be available, the more occasions will be found for pleasing a righteous God. Causation in the material sphere should be welcomed in the interest of ethical religion. The soul has its own means of rising to felt union with God, and in hours of devotion it is clearly realized that He is the God 'who holds all nature up,' and that no operation whatever is withdrawn from His control. This persuasion can be retained in those other hours when one pursues the even course of obeying natural law and using it for righteous ends: the spiritual is now and always set over the material. And in that case nothing but advantage can accrue to faith from any possible advance of natural science in future. In any event, the spiritual God and the perfect righteousness known through Christ will remain immovable; and the more the wonders in nature and history are unfolded, the more will our estimation be enhanced of that spiritual domain which is yet more marvellous than the earth, and the more cause will be found for ascribing glory to God who rules the universe both of matter and spirit.

But though there have been advantages to faith from the growth of the scientific spirit, the new process of thought in theology is still very imperfect; it has only accomplished a stage in its onward march, and has not reached the goal. Men have to brace themselves to the intellectual tasks which are now incumbent on them. In particular, while science meets with universal acceptance, it has to be admitted that no statement of the Christian faith exists which commends itself as a necessary and sufficient presentation of the truth, in the judgment even of that body of Christians who are in sympathy with modern science. To frame such a statement is a work of the first importance that is now pressing. It ought not, however, to be surprising that the task has not yet been accomplished, and no blame is necessarily implied by the non-fulfilment of it. For the historical sciences are but a recent product; it was previously stated that not long ago the idea of Evolution came upon people as a surprise. It is in our day that that idea has been applied to all departments of knowledge, and people are only yet trying to realize the changed aspect of things. An adjustment of religious thought to a view of the world which is only now beginning to assume definite form was hitherto, as a matter of course, not practicable or conceivable. But already men are animated with hope in this regard, and in view of the spiritual gains actually achieved, that hope is well grounded; indeed, those who are convinced that Christianity is the truth must be certain that with patience and persistent effort it will be realized. As a matter of fact, there have been praiseworthy endeavours of late to carry out the task referred to. But at most there can only be a relative and temporary settlement. For secular thought will move on; new truth will be gathered in future both in the sacred and in the secular sphere; and, as in a chemical combination, any theology that may arise will be transformed in turn when new truth is added to it, for it will be seen in a new light. Hence the applicability of the maxim, *Ecclesia semper reformari debet.*

The great bulk of recent theological works, having for their aim to commend religious truth to the present generation, have striven to reconcile the spiritual sphere with science. Such books are countless, some of the best work being done in special and very limited fields, or in commentaries on single Books of Scripture. Martineau's *Study of Religion* is a valuable eirenicon between spiritual faith and current science. Jevons' *Principles of Science* and Eucken's *Die Grundbegriffe der Gegen-*

ward insist on the rights of the spiritual nature of man in face of certain widespread pretensions which are fathered on science. The appeal which faith makes to the intelligence, the essentially rational character of Religion, is brought out in Biedermann's *Dogmatik*, Caird's *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion* and *The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, and in Fairbairn's *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*. These show an affinity with Hegel's philosophy, and supply the means of combating Agnosticism. Other sceptical systems are refuted in Flint's *Anti-Theistic Theories*. From the school that succeeded Hegel and aimed at placing theology in touch with positive science there are, *e.g.*, Ritschl's *Justification and Reconciliation*, Herrmann's *Communion of the Christian with God*, Kaftan's *Truth of the Christian Religion* and *Dogmatik*, and in Church History the voluminous writings of Harnack, especially *History of Dogma*; also articles in the *Christliche Welt* and in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*. Hatch's *Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages on the Christian Church* is written in this sense. Ecke's *Die Theologische Schule Albrecht Ritschl's* is a sympathetic and discriminating critique; so too is Garvie's *The Ritschlian Theology*. Useful matter on the nature of religious knowledge is given in the first part of Lipsius' *Dogmatik* and in Biedermann's *Dogmatik*, vol. i., and in the Philosophies of Religion, *e.g.* Sabatier's *Sketch*, a lucid and attractive exposition, or Tiele's Edinburgh *Gifford Lectures*. Dillmann's *Commentary on Genesis* and Schultz *O.T. Theology* treat of the records in the earlier part of Genesis from the point of view of science and history.—The Lectures on the Gifford foundation at the Scottish universities are designed to investigate the evidences for religious belief, so far as these may be open to scientific or rational inquiry, and do not rest on mere authority.—The more important works on Theology and its relation to science and philosophy are discussed in Pfleiderer's *Development of Theology in Germany and Britain*.

The Great Text Commentary.

THE GREAT TEXTS OF HEBREWS.

HEBREWS XII. 1.

'Therefore let us also, seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us' (R.V.).

EXPOSITION.

'So great a cloud of witnesses.'—The writer regards himself and his fellow-Christians as placed in an arena and contending for a great prize. The image of the amphitheatre with the rising rows of spectators seems to suggest the thought of an encircling cloud. The witnesses of whom the cloud is composed are unquestionably the countless heroes of faith whose deeds have been summarized in chap. II. The testimony which they bear can only be the testimony which they bear to God, either by victorious achievements or by courageous sufferings, answering to that which He has wrought for and in them. In both respects, as conquerors and as sufferers, they witness to His power and faithfulness; and those who regard them cannot but be strengthened by their testimony.

THERE is apparently no evidence that *μάρτυς* is ever used simply in the sense of a spectator. . . . At the same time it is impossible to exclude the thought of the spectators in the amphitheatre. The passage would not lose in vividness though it would lose in power if *θεατῶν* were substituted for *μαρτύρων*. These champions of old time occupy the place of spectators, but they are more than spectators. They are spectators who interpret to us the meaning of our struggle, and who bear testimony to the certainty of our success if we strive lawfully.—WESTCOTT.

'Every weight.'—The word 'weight' was used technically, in the language of athletes, to mean 'superfluous flesh' to be reduced by training. The training requisite to make the body supple and sinewy was severe and long-continued. Metaphorically the word comes to mean 'pride,' 'inflation.'—FARRAR.

THE things called 'weights' are distinguished from 'sin,' and are possibly things that are laid aside by one who desires to run well, though in others and in their own nature they may not be objectionable, or faulty, but even comely. An appetite, though lawful, that tends to gain on one; devotion to some pursuit in danger of absorbing the mind; an affection that threatens to turn away the heart,—such things are weights.—DAVIDSON.

'The sin which doth so easily beset us.'—The reference is not to *one particular* sin as specially dangerous, but to *sin itself*. The article is generic. *All sin.*—VAUGHAN.

THE six words 'which doth so easily beset us' represent one Greek word, *euperistaton*, of which the meaning is un-

certain, because it occurs nowhere else. It means literally 'well standing round' or 'well stood around.' (1) If taken in the latter sense it is interpreted to mean (*α*) 'thronged,' 'eagerly encircled,' and so '*much admired*' or 'much applauded,' and will thus put us on our guard against sins which are popular; or (*β*) 'easily avoidable,' with reference to the verb *peri-istaso*, 'avoid' (2 Ti 2^{16}, Tit 3^{9}). The objections to these renderings are that the writer is thinking of private sins. More probably it is to be taken in the *active* sense, as in the A.V. and the R.V. of the sin which either (*α*) 'presses closely about us to attack us'; or (*β*) which 'closely clings . . . to us' like an enfolding robe (*statos chiton*). The latter is almost certainly the true meaning, and is suggested by the participle *apothemenoi*, 'stripping off' (cf. Eph. 4^{22}). As an athlete lays aside every heavy or dragging article of dress, so we must strip away from us and throw aside the clinging robe of familiar sin.—FARRAR.

'**With patience.**'—Endurance characterized the faith of all these heroes and patriarchs, and he exhorts *us* to endure because Christ also endured the cross.—FARRAR.

METHODS OF TREATMENT.

I.

Weights and Sins.

By the Rev. Alexander Maclaren, D.D.

There is a regular series of thoughts here. The central injunction is, 'Let us run with patience'; the only way of doing that is by 'laying aside all weights and sin'; and the only way of laying them aside is 'looking unto Jesus.' Sin here is sin generically—all transgression. We must throw aside the garment that wraps us round—'the sin that easily besets us,' but also 'every weight.'

1. *There are hindrances which are not sins.* Sin by its very nature is transgression of God's law. A 'weight' may be legitimate in itself, yet a hindrance to *us*. Sin is sin whoever does it, but weights may be weights to me and not to you. They are not so much external circumstances as the habits of mind by which we abuse God's good gifts. We have an awful power of perverting God's greatest gifts into occasions of sin, as men distil poison from flowers. By cleaving to them too much or wrongly we may make them hindrances.

2. *If we would run we must lay these aside.* Our material bodies have but to be nourished and they grow. But the spiritual growth involves warfare. Every step of the way must be fought for. Every progress involves a sacrifice of the natural man. Not only must sins be swept away, but 'every weight.' But how can we lay aside our weights? (1) By growing so strong that they are no longer weights; (2) By putting them utterly aside. The first condition is the highest, and we shall reach it one day; but most of us are so weak that the second course is safest. There are duties and circumstances which, by our own sinfulness, we have made weights, which we yet dare not leave, because God has given them to us, and to leave them would be sin. But from other occasions of temptation we are wise to flee. We must be guided by our own experience of what does us harm. No man can judge for another. There is danger in freedom, the danger of licentiousness and of contempt for the narrowness of others, which may be the fruit of more earnest Christian principle. 'Let not him that eateth *despise* him that eateth not.' On the other hand, there is the danger of self-righteous condemnation of those perhaps stronger and wiser than ourselves. 'Let not him that eateth not *judge* him that eateth.' We must remember in things indifferent (1) for ourselves, that a weight retained is a sin; (2) for others, that we must neither judge their strength nor offend their weakness.

3. *Laying aside every weight is only possible by looking to Christ.* Some think that in laying aside a weight they have done a meritorious action. It is of no use unless it fits us for positive progress. The runner puts off his garments *that he may run.* We empty our hearts that Christ may fill them. All surrender not based on love to Him is but surface work. A man may tinker himself into the outward appearance of a perfect man, and be but a whited sepulchre. Look to Christ and let His love flow into your soul. As the old leaves drop from the tree when the new buds of spring come out, the new affection will expel the old. Then you will find all given up for Him given back by Him. The hand cut off, the eye plucked out—all are given back when we stand perfect in glory.

II.

Help and Cheer from the Glorified Dead.

By the Rev. David Gregg, D.D.

The simplest interpretation of the text is that the Church in heaven is interested in the Church on earth—the glorified dead cheer us on to our goal. There is great help in a cheer. It adds the life of those who cheer to ours, and inspires us with their courage. We need this added life

if we are to reach our goal. What is the goal of life? Perfect manhood in Christ—our best self reached—a life in earnest—useful service—honest success in life,—all are our goal. Success is so much power added to the personality we give to God; it is therefore our duty to God and man. But success in anything means hard work and strenuous effort, and so it is in the Christian race. How do the glorified dead help us?

1. *By the heritage they have left us.* They have left us (1) the fruits of their labours; (2) their influence; (3) a holy fellowship; (4) they have left for our admiration genuine greatness worked out in human nature; (5) their grand words.

2. *By their present interest in us, and expectation for us.* They are interested witnesses of our race. Going to heaven has not made them indifferent to us. Because their love has been perfected, their interest is more intense than during the earthly life. Those in heaven took an interest in the transfiguration. The angel told Cornelius that his prayers and alms were a memorial before God in heaven. Christ said that there is joy in heaven over every sinner that repenteth. This interest is a help to us. The approbation of those in heaven outweighs our low ambitions. We keep ourselves pure for them. The saints have a place in our lives, but above all we must look to Jesus. Are you letting Him into your life as the dominating influence? Let Him come in. He will teach you your possibilities. Men must learn that they can be made better. Christ teaches them what they may be. But if you are to be anything He must make you. Let Him into your life. Surrender soul, body, and spirit to Him, that you may realize your best self, and reach the goal of life.

Illustrations.

A cloud of witnesses.—The North American Indians believed that when the flowers faded in the forest and prairie their beauty passed into the rainbow: thus our kindred and companions, the joy and pride of our homes and Churches, fade away; but lifting our eyes, we see our lost ones blossom forth again in the holier beauty of the rainbow about the throne.—W. L. Watkinson.

One of the finest pictures in the world is that of the Madonna de San Sisto at Dresden, which depicts the infant Saviour in the arms of His mother, surrounded by clouds, which attracted no special notice until lately; but when the accumulated dust of centuries was removed, they were found to be composed of myriads of angel faces. Surely this is the thought of the inspired writer when he speaks of 'so great a cloud of witnesses.'—F. B. Meyer.

Weights.—When the Californian steamer the *Central America* caught fire and was sinking, the stewardess ran to the cabins of the passengers and collected all the gold she could; she then tied it in her apron round her waist. A boat was ready to start. In her eagerness to be saved, she sprang from the deck, missed her aim, and shot head first into the brine like a cannon ball, the weight of her ill-gotten booty dragging her down as effectually as a millstone would have done.

Sometimes professing Christians are beset by special hindrances to their usefulness—tendencies of speech or action that mar the beauty of holiness most sadly. What are you going to do with the evil habit, or the half-dozen, that are hindering you? Fight them one by one; that is one way. What did you do last winter when the panes of the window were covered with frost, and you could not see out of them? Did you scratch it off with a knife? That would take too long. Heat up the room and the frost goes off the pane. Warm up the soul with the love of Christ and the bad habits will run off. That is what Chalmers calls the 'expulsive power of a new affection.' Bring Jesus Christ into the soul, and you will overcome the evil habits.—T. L. Cuyler.

Besetting sin.—The words 'easily beset us' are better rendered 'subtly encircling us.' And that is more worth saying than the other. It is not the sin to which we are most liable that is our greatest danger. We are conscious of, and on guard against the main temptation of our life; but the sin that has grown upon us, we know not how; slowly, subtly; whose beginnings we thought little of, or thought good; whose magnitude we did not conceive till we were at its mercy, till one morning we found ourselves its slaves—that is the terrible serpent that collars and strangles our race. We are like a runner who has been drugged. At first there is drowsiness, then languor, then failure of will, then faltering steps, then blindness that cannot see God, and singing ears that cannot hear Him. Or it is as if a fine net—so subtly threaded that it seems invisible—had settled down over our head, and slowly crept down our body as we ran, till we are altogether entangled, and fall on the path, as falls the dead. Awake, ere it be too late—cast off the entanglements of life. So run, as not uncertainly. It is a piteous and dreadful thing to be mastered by a subtle sin.—S. A. Brooke.

I never think of this Scripture but there comes back to my memory an experience of the war of the Rebellion which a man once related to me. He was a prisoner in a Southern prison, and managed, with some others, to escape, and after almost intolerable hardship they reached the North and their homes. They were pursued by bloodhounds, and he said that no other trouble or threat of trouble that had come to him in the course of an eventful life ever made such a horrid sensation in his breast as the baying of those bloodhounds. At last they were chased so hotly that they saw they must be overtaken and probably fearfully mangled by the cruel

beasts unless they could in some way throw their pursuers off the scent. Suddenly they came on a lagoon, or dead slough, in the edge of a swamp. The water was filthy, but into it they went, wading where they could, sometimes being compelled to swim, but not daring to leave the stagnant stream, where sometimes deadly moccasin snakes writhed near them. They pushed on, keeping as closely under cover as possible, and remained in this water for hours, until they had completely thrown off the bloodhounds that had been following them.—L. A. BANKS.

'**Let us run with patience.**'—They needed the exhortation, for if they had not much persecution now, it was different a little while afterwards. Then another amphitheatre encompassed them, and another cloud of witnesses full of cruel eyes; and cruel voices shouted for their death. The sand on which they ran was stained with blood and black with fire, and when they died the Roman world cried, 'Fool!' It was something great not to be faint-hearted then; it needed then something more than our untortured faith to run the Christian race.—S. A. BROOKE.

DEAR Angels and dear disembodied Saints
  Unseen around us, worshipping in rest,
May wonder that man's heart so often faints
  And his steps lag along the heavenly quest,
What while his foolish fancy moulds and paints
  A fonder hope than all they prove for best;
A lying hope which undermines and taints
  His soul, as sin and sloth make manifest.
Sloth, and a lie, and sin: shall these suffice
  The unfathomable heart of craving man,
    That heart which being a deep calls to the deep?
  Behold how many like us rose and ran
    When Christ, life-giver, roused them from their sleep
To rise and run and rest in Paradise!—C. ROSSETTI.

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Contributions and Comments.

The Four Rivers of Paradise.

IN his article last month, under the heading 'Recent Biblical Archæology,' Professor Sayce has a very friendly notice of the part of my *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* that appeared during the summer (III. i. = pp. 273–474, München: Lukaschik-Franz, 1901). I may be allowed to offer some remarks on what he says on the first of the essays [1] there included.

[1] This essay may be obtained separately under the title: *Vier neue arabische Landschaftsnamen im A. T., nebst einem Nachtrag über die vier Paradiesesflüsse in altbab. und allarab. Ueberlieferung.* 8vo, 60 pp. Price M. 3.50.

Professor Sayce cannot, to use his own words, 'believe in Professor Hommel's attempt to find the four rivers of Eden in northern and central Arabia'; he regards my arguments as 'not convincing'; all this especially on the ground that he cannot admit that Beke and Winckler are right in finding 'the Mizraim of the O.T. in N.W. Arabia instead of Egypt.' These last words may form the starting-point of my defence, since they would leave on the mind of the uninformed reader the impression (1) that I would understand Mizraim *everywhere* in the O.T. of the land of Midian, and (2) that this identification is the whole basis of

my new discovery of a Babylonian list of the four rivers of Paradise, whereas it supplies such a basis at best for my arguments as to the Arabian situation of these rivers (and even here only to a partial extent).

As it is impossible to recapitulate here all that I have written in my essay, I would urge every reader who is interested in this question to read for himself the readily accessible brochure. Careful study of it will show that it is by no means the case that I identify the biblical Mizraim *everywhere* with the land of Midian (Mozar, Muṣur), but that it is only 'in a whole series of passages,' all of which I cite in translation, that I maintain that Mozar has been misread Mizraim. On p. 323, for instance, I have expressly insisted that in the passages where the sojourn of the children of Israel in Mizraim is spoken of, I do not see, with Winckler, Midian but Egypt. Besides, in the Paradise question, Mizraim or a misread Mozar does not come into account, but other two names of countries, which are, indeed, associated in many O.T. passages with Mozar, namely, Kôsh (in my opinion = Central Arabia) and Ashur (which I hold to be in many, but not of course in all passages = Edom, instead of denoting, as usual, Assyria). Now, of course, anyone is entitled, from the old traditional exegetical standpoint, to refuse to admit of these identifications in *any* O.T. passage. If so, he will naturally continue to refer the statement that the Gihon compasses the land of Cush to an Ethiopian river, and we are just where we were in regard to the mysterious statements of Genesis about the rivers of Eden, statements which do not fit into any scheme of geography. Gunkel and Zimmern consequently adopt what is decidedly the most convenient course in flinging these statements overboard and transplanting the rivers of Paradise to heaven; as a matter of fact, the Babylonians gave the names Euphrates and Tigris to the two arms of the Milky Way that cut the Zodiac between the signs of Scorpio and Sagittarius.

All the above concerns simply matters of opinion. But I should like finally to emphasize the circumstance that my 'Nachtrag' on the Four Rivers of Paradise (pp. 326–343) in any case (and thus even if the arguments of Winckler and myself about the new countries, Ashur = Edom, Kôsh = Central Arabia, and Mozar = Midian, should prove to be false, a question which O.T. scholars may now be left to discuss in all its length and breadth) contains the discovery *that the Babylonians, too, knew four Paradise rivers.* I have been the first to direct special attention to a list of four rivers published as long ago as 1866. These are marked as *sacred* rivers by the circumstance that each one of them has before it the determinative for 'god.' Moreover, as I further pointed out, the fourth of these rivers plays elsewhere also a prominent rôle in the Babylonian exorcism formulas. What, now, can these four sacred rivers be but a direct analogy to the four rivers of Paradise of the Hebrews, in whose primeval history there are so many other points of contact with Babylonia? Herein consists the abiding significance of my 'Nachtrag' for O.T. science, however the question may be answered as to the localizing of these rivers, and I am sure that Professor Sayce will not be the last to admit its importance from this point of view.

On matters of detail I may perhaps yet enter in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, unless others, as I should much prefer, do it before me. To satisfy the curiosity of readers, I will only add the names—

1. River-god *κατ' ἐξοχήν*.
2. . . . . of diorite (the chief product of E. Arabia).
3. . . . . of affection.[1]
4. . . . . of the preparer of asphalt.

The S. Arabians also knew four sacred districts, namely—

1. That of the god *κατ' ἐξοχήν*.
2. . . . . messenger of the gods.
3. . . . . cord (see the note *ad loc.*).
4. . . . . asphalt.

That this S. Arabian list is connected in some way with the Bab. list of the four river-gods ought to be clear to every unprejudiced mind. But this alone, whether my geographical explanations be adopted or not, invests the whole with an importance which is not apprehended at the first glance.

May my brochure then be diligently read and studied! Whatever may be the ultimate decision, I have fully established a primitive connexion of traditions regarding four sacred rivers. Nay, I am even persuaded, further, that the Egyptian names of the four rivers of the Isle of the Blest are to be brought into the same connexion (Book

[1] The 'stone of affection' is, as I showed, the chief product of Meluch (= O.T. Kôsh) or W. Arabia. Another synonym of this river was 'band of the king,' and *gihannu* (Gihon) means in Bab. 'band' or 'cord.'

of the Dead, chap. 110), in spite of the imperfect way in which they have come down to us. This point, however, would require an article to itself.

Munich. FRITZ HOMMEL.

1 Peter and Enoch.

DR. RENDEL HARRIS, in the *Expositor* (September 1901), explains 1 P 1^{12} by a parallel in the Book of Enoch, and proposes to read *διενοοῦντο* (En 1^2 *διενοούμην*) for *διηκόνουν*. The verse ends with the remarkable statement, 'which things *angels* desire *to look down* into.' This is illustrated by En 9^1, where it is said that the four great archangels, Michael, etc., *looked down* upon the earth in the days of violence before the Flood, *παρέκυψαν* (P *παρακύψαι*) *ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*.

Dr. Abbott, in *Clue*, § 272, quotes 1 P $1^{10.12}$ in his discussion of Mt 13^{17}, 'prophets and *righteous men* have desired to see,' etc., and the parallel Lk 10^{24}, 'prophets and *kings*,' etc. It is pointed out that in Hebrew *angels* might easily have been misread *kings*. A word which means both *saints* and *angels* is 'holy ones.' It occurs several times in the Book of Enoch, where its meaning in one or two places is doubtful. Mr. Charles explains it in En 103^2 by *angels*, but Dillmann 'takes the holy ones here to mean the saints or *righteous*.' Mr. Charles writes on the 'mysteries of the *holy ones*' in En 106^{19}, 'Either the secrets known to the *angels* or the secrets relating to the *righteous* in the future.' The ambiguous word is also an epithet of the prophets. C. TAYLOR.

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Amos ii. 8: 'Pledged Clothes.'

ועל־בגדים חבלים יטו אצל כל־מזבח ויין ענושים
ישתו בית אלהיהם׃

THE meaning of the first half of this verse is usually explained by a reference to Ex 22^{26-27}.

This explanation is inadequate. But to deal first with the M.T., we notice that as it stands it is ungrammatical, נטה is never used of people stretching *themselves* out, and even if it were so used we should require a *niphal* here; its ordinary usage may be seen from the following:—

2 S 16^{22} ויטו לאבשלום האהל על־הגג׃
2 S 21^{10} ותקח רצפה בת־איה את־השק ותטהו לה אל־הצור׃
Is 54^2 ויריעות משכנותיך יטו׃

Moreover, Amos himself uses different words when speaking of people stretching themselves out, viz.:—

Am 6^4 השכבים על־מטות שן
וסרחים על־ערשתם
Am 6^7 [1] וסר מרזח סרוחים

It is therefore clear that as the text stands יטו has no object. This difficulty is, however, overcome if, following Oort, we delete ועל; by doing so we get perfect *grammatical* sense, and we have the authority of the LXX behind us; moreover, as is pointed out by Löhr in his recently published book on the text of Amos,[2] the presence of ועל spoils the symmetry of what is otherwise a well-balanced couplet.

The sentence thus emended reads: בגדים חבלים יטו אצל כל־מזבח, *Pledged garments they spread out beside every altar*; that the subject of יטו is the priests of the sanctuary would seem to be clear from the context.

But what does this mean?

Before attempting an answer we should like to offer the following points for consideration:—

1. The LXX rendering of the passage: *καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν δεσμεύοντες σχοινίοις, παραπετάσματα ἐποίουν ἐχόμενα τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*, *And tying their garments together with cords, they make curtains* (*or hangings*) *beside the altar.* While fully realizing the need of caution in making use of the LXX, it may nevertheless be surmised that the LXX is giving (in the words *παραπετάσματα ἐποίουν*) an explanatory gloss such as is frequently found in that version.[3]

2. In 2 K 23^7 we have the following interesting note:—*And he brake down the houses . . . that were in the house of the Lord, where the women wove hangings for the Asherah.* It is worth pointing out that both here and in the verse of Amos preceding that under consideration, mention is made of gross immorality in the sanctuary.

3. The Asherah was the 'lineal descendant' of the sacred tree, which seems to have been indispensable in early days wherever an altar was set; cf. Dt 16^{21}: *Thou shalt not plant thee an Asherah of any kind of tree beside the altar of the Lord thy*

[1] The metaphorical sense which some commentators claim for סרח in this verse does not affect the argument.

[2] *Untersuchungen zum Buch Amos.* Max Löhr. Giessen, 1901.

[3] *E.g.* 1 S 1^5, where after ולחנה יתן מנה אחת אפים, the LXX adds: *ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῇ παιδίον.*

God, which thou shalt make thee; a prohibition which clearly bears witness to the presence of Asherahs in the sanctuaries.[1]

4. In speaking of the myth told at Byblus of the sacred *erica* which was worshipped in the temple of Isis, Robertson Smith says: 'The sacred *erica* was a mere dead stump, for it was cut down by Isis, and presented to the Byblians wrapped in a linen cloth, and annointed with myrrh like a corpse. It therefore represented the dead god. But as a mere stump it also resembles the Hebrew *Asherah*.'[2] Isis and Osiris are really the same as Astarte and Adonis, so that, as Robertson Smith surmises, the Byblian myth may have come from a Semitic original.

But, further, there was a practice among the Semites 'of leaving,' to quote Robertson Smith again, 'at the sanctuary offerings of part of one's clothes or other things that one has worn, such as ornaments or weapons. . . . The clothes are so far part of a man that they can serve as a vehicle of personal connection. Hence the religious significance of suspending on an idol, or *Dhāt Anwāt* ("tree to hang things on"), not only weapons, ornaments, and complete garments, but mere shreds from one's raiment. These rag-offerings are still to be seen hanging on the sacred trees of Syria, and on the tombs of Mohammedan saints; they are not gifts in the ordinary sense, but pledges of attachment.'[3] Rawlinson, in his *History of Phœnicia*, describes a Phœnician cylinder which has upon it 'a rude representation of a sacred tree in the central position. To the left stands a worshipper with the right hand upraised, clad in a very common Assyrian dress. Over the sacred tree is a coarse specimen of the winged circle or disk, with head and tail, and fluttering ends of ribbon.'[4] May not these ribbons or rags be a further example of the *pledges of attachment* mentioned by Robertson Smith?

These considerations have led me to form the following conclusion with regard to the verse under discussion:—

The prophet has in view the various offerings (garments, clothes, etc.) which were displayed in the sanctuary as tokens of piety by the priests. They were hung up ('stretched out') as pledges of attachment to the Asherah, *i.e.* the conventional tree-symbol of the goddess, which was erected by the side of (אצל) the altar. With a fine touch of irony, the prophet emphasizes the fact that these garments are 'pledged,' and so far from being emblems of piety, they testify to priestly oppression, for (so one is led to infer from the context) these garments had been pledged by those who were too poor to pay the exactions demanded for the sanctuary for real, or more probably imagined, offences. These garments the priestly oppressors, who were zealous in their outward show of religion, offered up in the sanctuary to 'their god.'[5]

This last expression אלהיהם is significant; it evidently points to the worship of some foreign deity, and I have ventured to identify it with the Asherah-worship connected with the cult of Astarte, although strangely enough neither the Asherah nor Ashtoreth (Astarte) are anywhere directly mentioned by Amos. The existence of this type of worship in the time of Amos is, however, sufficiently well guaranteed by passages in other books,[6] and it is difficult to suppose that it was absent from the prophet's thoughts when he was denouncing the false worship of the time.

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[1] Cf. Jg 6^{26}, Is 17^{8} 27^{9} (where the LXX translate אשרים by τὰ δένδρα), Jer 17^{2}, 2 Ch 33^{3} 34^{7}.

[2] *Religion of the Semites*, p. 191, n. 3.

[3] *Op cit.* pp. 335–336. It may be mentioned, in passing, that similar things are to be seen nearer home as well. In Bornhoven, on the Rhine, nearly opposite Boppard, is a *Wallfahrtskirche*, which the present writer has frequently visited; inside this church may be seen various curious offerings, such as crutches, wax limbs, handkerchiefs, etc., hanging by the side of the altars. They are thankofferings, and though the immediate object of hanging them up may be, and probably is, different from that of the cases mentioned by Robertson Smith, nevertheless the principle underlying each must ultimately be much the same.

[4] *History of Phœnicia*, p. 233.

[5] The spirit animating the priestly offerers, on this view, may be compared with that of the people denounced in the Book of Malachi (1^{13}), who *have brought that which was taken by violence, and the lame, and the sick* to the altar; cf. also Mal 1^{6-8}.

[6] 1 K 15^{13} 16^{33}, 2 K 13^{6} 17^{16} 18^{4} 21^{3} $23^{6.15}$, Is 17^{8}, Mic 5^{14}, etc.

Dr. Ed. König on Ezekiel i. 1–4.

I HAVE every reason to be satisfied with the reply of Dr. König (September number, p. 566) to my objections (August number, p. 525 ff.) to his view of the above passage, for, in spite of its brevity, it is full of important admissions.

It will not be superfluous to note these expressly, and draw the conclusions where this seems desirable.

From the silence of Dr. König it follows, first of all, that I had not at all misunderstood him in attributing to him, as I did only with hesitation, the view described on p. 527. That is to say, he really means that the original title of the book has been handed down to us in the unpointed יחזקאל that stands outside the text. On the other hand, he silently admits that *he* has misunderstood *me*. For he is now aware that I meant to represent Ezekiel as reckoning the 'fifth day of the fourth month' not from the day of his birth, but according to the calendar year; and, even by urging that this would be less likely to happen with a personal date than with an affair of state, such as a ruler's accession, he yet admits its possibility.—Unfortunately Dr. König has once more read a little hastily what I had written. He makes me say simply that 'Neh 1^1 looks back to Ezr 7^7,' and refutes this by pointing out that 'Neh 1^1–7^5 belongs to the Memoirs of Nehemiah, but Ezr 7^7 to the later [the Chronicler's] parts of the Book of Ezra, which could not yet have been taken into account by Nehemiah.' Any reader would think from this that I had made the latter assumption. But I said expressly —I state it at present in somewhat different words —that Neh 1^1 must be considered *either* as being part of the work of the Chronicler, *i.e.* from the standpoint of the redaction, or as having had its origin in the Memoirs of Nehemiah. *Only in the former case* did I argue, and Dr. König himself must admit this, that the date in Neh 1^1 is to be explained from Ezr 7^7. From the latter point of view, again, I referred to Neh 2^1 13^6 as witnesses for Nehemiah's way of dating, and hence concluded that either the omission in 1^1 'is due to a textual loss, or the verse has been torn from a context in the Memoirs where an exact date, *with* the name of the king, immediately preceded.' Against these conclusions Dr. König has adduced nothing.

Dr. König's most important admission is, that he, too, is now inclined to accept of a genuine Ezekiel element in v.$^{2f.}$, and that in the very words 'this is the fifth year of the captivity of king Jehoiachin,' which I picked out of v.^{2} as genuine. 'This note,' he says, 'may have been written by the prophet in v.^{1},'—precisely my view again. Dr. König makes out, indeed, that his language (p. 376) about Ezk $1^{2f.}$ 'did not exclude the supposition that a genuine Ezekiel element has been expanded by a later hand into the present verses'; but all the same it is true that no one could have gathered that this was his meaning when he simply said: 'Vv.$^{2f.}$ are a later expansion, and I am now inclined more than formerly to the opinion that this expansion is due to a later hand than that of Ezekiel himself' (*loc. cit.*). But it is of little or no consequence whether Dr. König was first led by me to the above recognition of a genuine Ezekiel element in v.$^{2f.}$, or whether that was his view beforehand. Of far greater importance are the inferences that follow from this admission. If the prophet himself considered it necessary to explain the date, 'in the thirtieth year,' in v.^{1} by the addition, 'this is the fifth year of the captivity of king Jehoiachin,' Dr. König's statement that 'the prophet who lived in Babylon could assume that this era was familiar to his readers,' falls away. This alone makes it unlikely in the extreme that in the date, 'the thirtieth year,' we have to do, as Dr. König holds, with 'the publicly recognized system of reckoning.' He has further admitted by his silence that in not one of the mass of dates which have come down to us in inscriptions from the time of the Chaldee kings is there an instance of reckoning by the year of Nabopolassar's accession. Thereby his view is condemned, for the time is once for all gone by when one was at liberty to put forward any hypothesis he chose, because it was impossible to check its accuracy.—But the recognition of a genuine Ezekiel element in v.^{2} is important from yet another point of view. Dr. König detects 'the germ of death' in my view 'in the supposition that the very expression (לְחַיַּי, 'of my life') on whose presence his [viz. my] theory depends was afterwards dropped out.' Here Dr. König forgets, in the first place, that I am by no means alone in this supposition, but that my לְחַיַּי is only an improvement upon three different proposals by other scholars. But, secondly, he himself testifies to the possibility of our proposal by also assuming that something 'has dropped out' of v.^{1}. Whether this has been preserved somewhere else or not, cannot alter the fact in question. And, further, if v.^{2b} is derived from v.^{1}, my view is correct also for בַּחֲמִשָּׁה לַחֹדֶשׁ of v.^{2a}, namely, that this expression

simply coincides with the same words in v.[1], that it is nothing other than the catchword to indicate the right place of v.[2b]. But in that case v.[2b] is not, as Dr. König supposes, 'torn from this connexion [in v.[1]] by a later hand, with a view to its expansion,' but this explanatory date was only meant to be restored by v.[2a] to its original place. Moreover, it is difficult to see how v.[3] can be an expansion of the explanation taken from v.[1]. On the contrary, if cut off from v.[2], this third verse becomes quite isolated, and in this way again the considerations that tell in favour of my proposal to regard v.[3] as the original title of the book are materially strengthened. Everyone who feels unable to believe, with Dr. König, that the יחזקאל of the MSS, which stands outside the text, belongs to the original text, has every reason to abide by v.[3].

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Recent Opinions on the Date of the Acts of the Apostles.

III.

The Rev. R. B. Rackham's Plea for an Early Date.

In an interesting article on 'The Acts of the Apostles' contributed to the first number of the *Journal of Theological Studies*, the Rev. R. B. Rackham puts in an attractive 'plea for an early date.'

The case for the earlier date mainly rests, he says, on the difficulties attaching to any date as late as 70 A.D. 'The crucial difficulty is the silence of the Acts as to St. Paul's martyrdom.' And this difficulty confronts us whether we consider the structure of the Acts as a whole or the position which St. Paul personally occupies in the book. The Acts, as a whole, is constructed on a plan which would have been much more complete if the death of St. Paul had been recorded, and in the second part of the Acts (chaps. 13–28) St. Paul is the central figure (pp. 78, 79). For two reasons therefore, it is incredible that St. Luke should not have related the fate of his hero, if he knew it.

'A similar chain of reasoning will make it probable that the Acts was composed before the end of St. Paul's first Roman imprisonment, if, as we believe, that ended in a trial and acquittal' (pp. 79, 80). Can we suppose that St. Luke knew of the acquittal, and did not relate it?

'Yet another difficulty lies in the tone of the Acts. A note of joy and an air of peace pervade the whole book. . . . Could this tone have been possible after the martyrdom of the apostles' and 'the wholesale slaughter under Nero?' (pp. 80, 81).

'If, then, St. Luke wrote subsequently to the Neronian persecution, it could only have been when the lapse of some years had restored peace to the Church, had healed its wounds, and had mitigated the personal grief for the loss of the apostle. This could hardly have been before *circa* 80 A.D.' (p. 81).

'Such a long interval, however, has its special difficulties. A characteristic of the Acts is the remarkable fidelity of its pictures to the contemporary situation. . . . The most noteworthy illustration is given by the early history of the Church at Jerusalem. There we find reproduced with exactness the condition of Jerusalem between 30 and 40 A.D., the relations of Pharisees and Sadducees, of Gamaliel and the high priestly party, of Jews and Hellenists; the attitude of different parties to the Church; the simplicity of the Christian Society, which appears as a continuance of the band of disciples in the gospel, the place of the Lord being now filled by the apostles, and the whole body being nothing more on the outside than a Jewish αἵρεσις, "the Nazarenes." These conditions passed rapidly away,' and such a picture of Jewish politics would have been hard to draw after 70 A.D. (pp. 81, 82).

'Great as were St. Luke's gifts, it would argue a literary self-control which is almost inconceivable that the destruction of Jerusalem should nowhere have visibly affected his retrospect' (p. 82).

'Not a hint in the Acts would enable a modern critic to conjecture the subsequent movements and fate of St. Peter, St. James the Lord's brother, or St. John, or the history of the Church at Jerusalem, at Ephesus, at Rome. How different it is in the case of St. John's Gospel. We can tell at once that St. Peter has been already girded and carried "whither he would not," and that the great age of St. John is arousing speculation among the brethren' (p. 83).

One of the subsidiary aims of the writer is 'the *apologia* for Christianity to the Roman authorities.' This would have been of no use after Nero's persecution. 'That was settled from 64 A.D.; the emperor had declared war; Christianity had become a *religio illicita*; and St. Luke's arguments were thrown away' (p. 83).

'The Acts is a vindication of the Catholicity of the Church, and a proof of the true communion between Jewish and Gentile brethren. But in 80 A.D. no vindication of the existence of "Churches of the Gentiles" was necessary. The question as to Jew and Gentile had been settled by facts' (p. 83).

'We might also notice that the Acts was written at a time when the question of John the Baptist's disciples and baptism was still a practical matter of some importance (18^{24}–19^{7})' (p. 84, note).

'If St. Luke was anxious to vindicate the apostolate of St. Paul as equal to that of St Peter, and yet prove the true unity between them, what better proof could he have had than the dramatic picture of the two brother apostles martyred at Rome, showing that "in death they were not divided?"' (p. 84).

'It is clear that the writer has not used our Epistles of St. Paul.' 'This is evident from some apparent discrepancies between the Acts and the Epistles of St. Paul, especially between the Acts and Galatians.' 'If St. Luke wrote at a date when the Epistles were the public property of the Church and widely read, we cannot imagine his leaving such inconsistencies in their present form. But if he wrote before St. Paul's death, all is clear' (p. 84).

On the above extracts, which contain a fair summary of Mr. Rackham's argument, we may make the following remarks:—The termination of the Acts is certainly perplexing when we compare it with later accounts of the end of St. Paul's life. But in our present state of ignorance as to the circumstances under which the book was written and of the object of the writer, and, we may add, of the real history of St. Paul's later life, it would be rash to conclude that it can only be explained by supposing the narrative to have been continued down to the time when the book was written. Dr. Salmon puts the argument with his usual force and point when he says: 'To my mind, the simplest explanation why St. Luke told us no more is, that he knew no more; and that he knew no more, because at the time nothing more had happened—in other words, that the book of the Acts was written a little more than two years after St. Paul's arrival in Rome' (*Hist. Int.* 4th ed. pp. 337, 338). And yet, if we apply these words to the finish of another composition to which they are equally applicable, we shall see that the conclusion which is drawn does not always hold good. The way in which the Gospel of St. Mark ends is equally abrupt, and just as surprising as the termination of the book of Acts, and yet no one ventures to argue that the writer stopped where he did because he knew no more.

I doubt if Mr. Rackham adds much to the strength of his argument when he appeals to the supposed intention of the writer of the Acts to make the structure of his work conform to the structure of the Gospels. The idea is that 'in both'—that is, in both the Gospel and the Acts, and also in both the Pauline and the Petrine portions of the Acts—'we have an Introduction or Preparation; then an outpouring of the Holy Spirit; this is followed by the body of the work, the active ministry. This ministry is concluded by a Passion, which is early anticipated, and is narrated at great length; but the Passion is followed by a Resurrection or Deliverance,' and that the writer having this plan in his mind cannot be supposed to have written after the death of the apostle, for then he would have 'not only missed in the Acts the obvious parallel to the Passion of the Gospels, but also made it hard for us to discover any plan at the bottom of his narrative' (pp. 77, 78). The supposed plan which this argument discerns in the Acts is not more certain than many other plans which have been proposed to explain the structure of the book. It is, moreover, a plan which will be of necessity more or less discernible in all Christian biographies. It can be found, for instance, in the story of Stephen, where it is even more complete than in the stories of SS. Peter and Paul, because the story of St. Stephen's life ends with the martyrdom which Mr. Rackham desiderates in the story of St. Paul's life.

There does not appear to be much force in the argument which seeks to deduce the date of the composition of the Acts from its relation to the Neronian persecution. It is said that the Acts is an apology for Christianity to the Roman authorities, and that such an apology would have been of

no use after persecution had commenced. But apologies might have been made later, as Justin's were. Indeed it might be said that before the close of the period covered by the book of Acts there was no occasion for an *apologia*, for all the decisions of the Roman authorities recorded in the Acts were uniformly in favour of Christianity.[1]

When we argue that a book must have been written at or near the time of which it treats because of the correctness of its historical colouring, we ought to be prepared to show (1) that we have some independent knowledge of the time with which to compare the book, and (2) that such knowledge would not have been accessible to a person writing at a later date.[2] It is not clear that the examples of historical knowledge which Mr. Rackham cites from the Acts fulfil these conditions. Our knowledge of the Pharisees and Sadducees, for instance, is, outside the New Testament, chiefly derived from Josephus, who wrote after the fall of Jerusalem, and may be supposed to describe Pharisaism as it was in his own day. Gamaliel was a well-known personage who was not soon forgotten. Why should the distinction between Jews and Hellenists have disappeared with the fall of Jerusalem? Distinctions of language and party do not generally fade so fast. As to the simplicity of the Christian society, we are unfortunately here concerned with a period of Church history of which we know very little indeed. Until we know from some independent source more than we do about the development of Church government both in Jerusalem and elsewhere, we can hardly argue with any confidence for the date of the Acts from the fidelity of the pictures of Church life which the book presents.

The argument from the silence of the Acts about the destruction of Jerusalem as contrasted with the references in the Fourth Gospel to the later years of St. Peter and St. John is open to the criticism that the passages referred to in the Gospel are all taken from the appendix, which is generally believed to have been an afterthought, written by the same or a different writer. Before this appendix was added, the Fourth Gospel was as free as the Acts from references to later history.

It may be added that it is dangerous to Mr. Rackham's cause when he argues from the predictions in Jn 21 as if they were prophecies after the event, for if the Fourth Gospel contains such prophecies, why may not the Third Gospel contain them? And if the references to the fall of Jerusalem in St. Luke were written after the event, then the book of Acts was written later still.

The baptism and disciples of John the Baptist were not forgotten so soon as Mr. Rackham's note on this subject implies. Instead of being forgotten, John was set up by some of his disciples as a rival Messiah, and certain well-known passages in the Fourth Gospel are with much reason supposed to have been directed against this claim. Even at the present day there is a small sect in the East who are called 'John's disciples,' and Bishop Lightfoot supposes that these people may have been descended from some who claimed to be disciples of the Baptist in the first century (see *Clem. Recog.* i. 54, 60; Lightfoot, *Coloss.* pp. 401–405, etc.).

It is argued that if St. Luke had written at a date when the Epistles of St. Paul had become the public property of the Church, he would have been careful to avoid the appearance of contradiction between the Acts and the Epistles. *Answer*—There are stranger things in the Acts than the appearance of contradicting St. Paul's Epistles. There are the contradictions (apparent or real) of the Old Testament, of the writer's own Gospel, and of the book of Acts itself. Indeed we may carry these observations farther, and apply them to other early Christian writings as well as to the Acts. The writers of the Gospels have not avoided the appearance of discrepancy with one another. Either the later of them did not know of the earlier, or if they did, they were not careful to avoid the appearance of contradictions.

[1] It is not quite clear what is meant by an *apologia*. Schmiedel speaks of 'the desire to say as little as possible unfavourable to the Roman civil power' (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. i. p. 42). But this seems hardly consistent with the way in which the Roman officials are commonly represented in the Acts. The portraits of the Philippian magistrates (Ac 16^{19-30}), of Gallio (18^{14-17}), of the chief captain Claudius Lysias (23^{27}), and of Felix (24^{26}) and Festus ($25^{9.16.25}$) are not more flattering than that of Pontius Pilate in the Gospels. The writer of the Acts certainly seems to dwell with pleasure upon the occasions when the verdict of the Roman authorities was pronounced in favour of Christianity. But this is not more marked in the Acts than in the Gospels, and is not more marked in the Third Gospel than in the First and Second, or in the Fourth.

[2] In the case of a book like the Acts we must also bear in mind that we are not dealing with a mere romance, but with the work of a writer who uses historical materials.

It may also be asked what certain information we have as to the exact date at which the Epistles of St. Paul became the public property of the Church.

JOHN A. CROSS.

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The Site of the Holy Sepulchre.

IN the paper contributed to the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, which was referred to in THE EXOSITORY TIMES last month, I carefully guarded myself from pronouncing that in my opinion the Tombs of the Kings are the veritable tomb in which, as in a mortuary chapel, the dead body of our Lord was deposited. I merely used that very remarkable excavation as affording the best extant specimen of what the Holy Sepulchre must have been; giving, as you have been good enough to mention, thirteen scriptural indications which must be reckoned with by our investigators before they can affirm that they have found it.

All the arguments which have been reproduced in recent articles in favour of what is called the traditional site, are to be seen stated with Christian courtesy and moderation in Williams' *Holy City*, published in 1845. They were answered and refuted with equal moderation by Dr. Robinson (whose great learning, modesty, and diligence are beyond dispute) in 1852. He did not profess to have found the true sepulchre, but he conclusively showed that there is no dependence to be placed upon the traditions by which the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre claims to cover so many sites of sacred story. Let any one read from p. 255 to p. 263 of his *Later Researches*, and he will feel how unjust is the imputation of 'slipshod reasoning' which one angry disputant has presumed to cast at him.

The arguments hitherto have chiefly turned upon the direction of the second wall. Much ingenuity has been expended on the effort to show that its course zigzagged round south of the traditional site, so as to bring the sepulchre outside that wall. Probably when Eusebius in the fourth century had to explain the case to Constantine and Helena, he forgot, or had not noticed, He 12^{13}, which demanded that the Crucifixon, and consequently the sepulchre, must be outside the city. In those dangerous times it would be far safer within, and his object was good—*i.e.* to convince all the crowd of pilgrims demanding ocular proof that the great facts had actually taken place in Jerusalem. Supply and demand are correlative, alike in the fourth as in the twentieth century. But when it is realized that the tomb must have been outside the limits of the city (which is interpreted by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews to have been typified by the camp), then the course of that wall ceases to have any bearing on the argument. It has been proved that the bounds of the city were at that time far northward of it; and that the mound adopted by Conder and Gordon was surrounded by a thickly populated suburb, to protect which Agrippa built his wall ten or twelve years afterwards.

In examining the evidence for the traditional site, we find it depends exclusively on the testimony of Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea. One does not care to disparage the character of a dead man who cannot defend himself; but when the only authentic account of an event, otherwise disputable, rests on one man, we are bound fairly to appraise his credibility, and see whether he had any known bias. We ask, then, was Eusebius in a position to give reliable evidence? Let any one read his biography of his patron the Emperor Constantine, and he will see how fully justified Lewin was in calling him 'a fulsome panegyrist.' Remembering what that potentate really was—a man whose stormy past looked so black that when he applied to the pagan Platonists, Sopatros and others, asking if they knew any means by which he could be absolved, it is said they told him that such crimes as his could never be washed away,—and he only consented to be baptized by Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia (at the instance of Hosius of Cordoba) as a last resort when death stared him in the face. Yet this man, with such slender grounds for being regarded as a Christian at all, is flattered by Eusebius with sickening adulation. We may ask then, Was this Eusebius the sort of man to withstand the tremendous pressure put upon him, not only by crowds of pilgrims, but by Imperial patrons, to find for them the very spots where the Crucifixion took place? and this after three centuries of terrible trouble, such as the world had never seen, had swept over Jerusalem, and tornadoes of destruction had removed many landmarks!

We may pity the unfortunate ecclesiastics who had to do it, and who did their best. No doubt they felt it was of paramount importance to convince their wavering patrons that the Crucifixion and the Resurrection had really taken place; and if they could not do so without producing the crosses and the sepulchre, why, at all costs, they must be produced. I do not suppose they thought they were committing a sin or a fraud of any consequence in doing so. They would certainly think it was a dangerous sin to check the newborn zeal of the Imperial patron, whose superstitious conscience and whose pious mother demanded it. Probably they dared not confess that the Christians did not care or perhaps did not know exactly where the true site was.

In a discussion of this nature I deprecate as heartily as you do, the use of such language as you have culled from one article. I am contented not to know for certain where the Lord lay; and I agree with my old acquaintance, Herr Schick, that probably it is 'ruled' that there should always be some uncertainty about it; but I should not be contented if I neglected any means afforded by such a sepulchre as the Tombs of the Kings of realizing in every detail, as far as possible, all the circumstances of the great fact to which it is the paramount function of the Church to testify.

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Did our Lord ever speak in Irony?

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for August begins with this question, 'Did our Lord ever speak in irony'? The question is an interesting one, but the case discussed—Mk 14^{11}—is by no means the strongest instance in the Gospels. If this question is asked in the absolute form, it is only right to give the *locus classicus* to which those who find irony in the Lord's words usually turn.

I have read somewhere, or been told, that Jowett was once at a dinner table where a distinguished ecclesiastic said emphatically that 'our Lord never used irony.' Jowett asked for a New Testament and read the passage beginning, 'Full well do ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your tradition' (Mk 7^{9-14}). If read in the Greek, καλῶς ἀθετεῖτε τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ, κ.τ.λ., it is evident that there is a vein of irony in the whole passage. Though it was entirely true from the Speaker's point of view, it would sound to some who heard it almost like a caricature of Pharisaism; the Speaker surely knew this and meant to rouse His hearers by appealing to the sense of the incongruous and unexpected. It is not without a touch of bitterness.

Jowett was considered, I remember, to have proved his case for the use of irony at least in this instance.

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St. John xvii. 1–3.

THE common interpretation of the third verse in the seventeenth chapter of St. John is that a knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ gives or constitutes, in some way, eternal life. But if eternal life is at all equivalent to what is meant by immortality, could we say, on the common view of the above verse, that heathen nations who know not God and Jesus Christ, are immortal beings? I have long felt that the common interpretation of the above passage is wrong, and that the true reading is, that eternal life is a 'gift' and not the result of knowledge, a 'gift' (v.^{2}) in order that men might attain to a knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ, partially at least here, but more fully and perfectly, hereafter, in the life to come. This would harmonize with all those Scripture passages from Job downwards which affirm that little is known, or can be known, of God in this life. And in the context, v.^{2}, eternal life is said to be a 'gift,' as in 1 Jn 5^{11} and other places. In v.^{2} 'authority over all flesh,' ἐξουσίαν πάσης σαρκός, is given to the Son that the Son might 'give eternal life' to whatsoever God had given Him. The πᾶσα σάρξ is equivalent to all mankind, all humanity, the point therefore is this,—was the 'gift' of eternal life in v.^{2} intended to lead to the attainment of the 'knowledge' in v.^{3}?—or does the knowledge in v.^{3} constitute, in any way, the eternal life of v.^{2}. The 'all flesh,' all humanity, makes for the former view, and against the latter. For the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ could not be predicated of all mankind, even in this age after nineteen centuries of teaching. But eternal life is believed to be the common lot or destiny of all mankind. It would therefore seem that the common interpretation of v.^{3} is incompatible with the common belief of mankind—while the common belief of mankind agrees with the interpretation suggested. Of course a distinction may be made between eternal life and immortality, but if so, that which

differentiates the former from the latter should be explained by those who adopt the common interpretation.

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Our Lord's Hard Saying to the Syro-Phoenician Woman.

MATT XV. 26; MARK VII. 27.

THE difficulty is not so much in the words used as in their attendant circumstances. Taken alone, they might have been spoken gently and carried a deep meaning (Gal 3^{16}), and thus have served to guide the woman's faith, as they actually did, to its true object (Eph 3^{6}).

It is their 'setting' that makes the words sound harsh and unsympathetic—Christ's previous deafness to entreaty—His apparent unwillingness to help. Yet is not all this capable of another explanation? Was it not *mental preoccupation?*

Christ had enough to occupy His thoughts just then. He was consciously nearing the crisis when culminating opposition and unbelief with their necessary effects (Mt 16^{1-4}), including their leavening influence on His followers (Mk 8^{17}—note the Revisers' just omission of ἔτι), were to compel Him to close His ministry in Galilee, and force Him (as they shortly did) to prepare for His coming Death and Resurrection (Mt 16^{21}).

It was a momentous decision to take, and He needed time and place where thought would be possible and uninterrupted. These could not be found on Jewish soil, where He had no leisure so much as to eat, and where, like a clergyman in his own parish, He was not only subjected to the calls of any and all, but where it was His duty in fulfilment of His divine mission to attend to them. The needed refuge must lie beyond His appointed field of labour—where without neglect He can permit Himself the necessary abstraction and mental concentration. And so 'He arose and went away into the borders of Tyre and Sidon . . . and would have no man know it.' Metaphorically speaking, He locked Himself in His study with orders not to be disturbed. The one answer to all applicants is to be, 'I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel.'

We distinguish four stages in His mental preoccupation. The first is that of complete absorption. 'A Canaanitish woman came, and cried, Have mercy on me, O Lord, Thou Son of David; my daughter is grievously vexed with a devil.' 'But He answered her not a word'—He simply did not hear her. His mental absorption rendered Him oblivious of all that was passing around. This continued until His disciples in concern ventured to call His attention to the woman, and, misinterpreting His silence, begged Him to send her away. Here we reach the second stage. Partially aroused for the moment, He dismisses the interruption with the predetermined formula, 'I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel.' It is His answer, not to the woman (of whose presence and petition He is still unconscious), but to the interruption—and He relapses into deep thought.

Thus they arrive at the house (Mk 7^{24}), the object of their journey, the needed and needful seclusion. Hither the woman follows, and making her way in, falls at His feet and there urges her petition with, we may presume, intensified vehemence. This interruption (third stage) is effectual in arousing Him to consciousness for the first time of her presence and the nature of her petition. Need we import any bitterness or harshness into the dignified reply with which He first met her request? Did it not seem to Him needed, to rebuke an importunity that would appear to Him (oblivious as He was of her long-tried patience), somewhat too insistent—too eager and passionate? If we cannot but regard the words as stern—were they not *natural*, when we remember the nature of His own thoughts just then? In what dark colours would they paint everything! Were there not other 'dogs' to whom He had been fruitlessly casting the 'children's bread?'—'swine' before whom it was no longer meet to cast such pearls? With what bitterness was He realizing this (Mk 8^{12})!

The woman's answer in its absolute confidence of faith and appeal sets Him completely free from the last vestige of preoccupation (fourth stage). He sees her and hears her petition *as they are*—He meets her and her petition as Christ always meets the seeking soul—with full and complete satisfaction, 'O woman, great is thy faith: be it unto thee even as thou wilt.'

It cannot surely derogate from the honour of the Son of God to represent Him in the days of His flesh as subject like other men to mental preoccupation. It is impossible to think of Him as *too really* a man, so long as we know Him always Son of God. He was subject, we know, to sleep when weary. He needed to be aroused from it by His disciples before He was conscious of what was passing around—where lies the important difference if we substitute *mental preoccupation* for sleep?

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Printed by MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED, Tanfield Works, and Published by T. & T. CLARK, 38 George Street, Edinburgh. It is requested that all literary communications be addressed to THE EDITOR, 12 Clarendon Terrace, Dundee.

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

A DISCUSSION recently took place in the Upper House of Convocation on 'The Dearth of Candidates for Holy Orders.' A full report of the discussion appeared in the *Guardian* of 15th May. All the most prominent bishops of the southern province took part in it. The Bishop of Winchester surveyed the facts and suggested the remedies. He was followed by the Bishops of London, Rochester, Exeter, Lincoln. It was the last of a series of discussions on this subject which has been going on for eighteen months or more. When the Archbishop of Canterbury closed the discussion, everything seemed to be said that could be said.

That there is an increasing reluctance to enter into Holy Orders was admitted by everyone. Four principal reasons were given by the bishops for this reluctance. First, the poverty of the clergy. Second, the attractiveness of the Home, and, still more, of the Indian Civil Service. Third, the decrease in the number of clerical masters in public schools. And fourth, intellectual difficulties.

The last was reckoned the least. It was reckoned the least by all the bishops. 'The cause of poverty,' said the Bishop of Exeter, 'is, I am sure, the one great cause. The unsettlement of the boys' minds and the men's minds is really by comparison quite trifling. The unsettlement is, as a rule, an unsettlement in a man's first year of his University career. The second year will probably enable him to recover his equilibrium. There is a little wastage, but in comparison it is small.'

The Bishop of Lincoln, however, took a somewhat more serious view of the force and prevalence of intellectual difficulties. He recognized that in our teaching professions there was room for a new professor; there was need, as you might say, in our Colleges for the endowment of a new chair. 'We need some one,' he said, 'to help young men to get accustomed to the limitation of their faculties.' We have to hold truths in tendency, he said. 'We have to admit our inability to reconcile even the things which we know to be true. We have to confess that we cannot grasp really the whole of those truths which yet we say are necessary to salvation.' And these are just the things that young minds find it most difficult to do. They do not see why they should try to do them.

An anonymous contributor to the *Pilot*, whose account we are following, agrees with the Bishop of Lincoln. He even holds that intellectual obstacles are mainly accountable for the striking decrease in students of divinity. He does not

deny that the acceptance of the Creeds is easier at present than it was during the ascendency of Mill and his school. But he thinks that young men's minds are more vigorous now. And he says that sensitiveness to doubt and difficulties is, as a rule, in direct proportion to the vitality of the mind.

He gives his own experience. He himself, though now he can look back upon some years of clerical life, once hesitated to take Orders, and that for intellectual reasons. He believes that the difficulty arises from the age at which men have to decide to take Orders. At the age of twenty-three or twenty-four men look upon the facts of the Creed as something outside their own experience. They are propositions, to be accepted or rejected as they appear probable or improbable in themselves. By the time the man has reached the age of forty, the statements of the Creed have verified themselves in his own spiritual experience. If the man of four and twenty could so forecast the years as see himself a man of forty, subscription would have no terrors for him. He would, at the most, be surrendering his immature to his own riper and richer judgment. Therefore this writer agrees with the Bishop of Lincoln, and says that we are greatly in need at this time of some one to help young men 'to get accustomed to the limitation of their faculties.'

The latest commentary on Ezekiel has been written by Dr. C. M. Cobern and published by Messrs. Eaton & Mains, of New York. Its strength lies in its archæology. The explanations which it contains of Ezekiel's chariot and Ezekiel's cherubim owe their probability as well as their novelty to Dr. Cobern's acquaintance with the monuments. But there are also occasional touches of interpretation that are both new and notable.

Take that most difficult passage, Ezk $20^{25.\ 26}$. The rendering of the Revised Version is this: 'Moreover also I gave them statutes that were not good, and judgments wherein they should not live; and I polluted them in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb, that I might make them desolate, to the end that they might know that I am the Lord.'

What are those statutes that were not good, and those judgments wherein they should not live? Were they certain Mosaic regulations, which were permitted because of the hardness of their hearts? Or were they the edicts of evil kings, such as the 'statutes of Omri' (Mic 6^{16}), which they had to accept because they had accepted the kings themselves? Or are these statutes and judgments the cruel taxes which sin levies on every man who gives himself up to its dominion?

Dr. Cobern does not decide. He does not think it necessary to decide. While God retains His sovereignty, it is He that sends these statutes that are not good, and these judgments that are intolerable, even though from the side of science and of man they are to be described as the inevitable result of our own transgressions. It is the same laws, indeed, which are a savour of life unto life to the obedient, that become to the disobedient a savour of death unto death.

But the more difficult matter remains. In the 26th verse it is said that they caused their children to pass through the fire, and even this is somehow attributed to the ordinance of Jehovah. 'I polluted them in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb.'

Professor König doubts if this refers to human sacrifice. Dr. Cobern, though he gives the doubt its value, thinks it most probable that it does. But he will not have the suggestion of Kuenen, Wellhausen, Smend, Toy, and others, that in the early days of Israel Jehovah ordained child-sacrifice, and that this is one of the statutes

which now seem 'not good' to Ezekiel. He will not have the explanation of Renan, that God commanded this evil thing for the very purpose of avenging Himself on the nation that had disobeyed Him. He calls that a horrible suggestion. He says it is opposed to all that we know of the Mosaic legislation, and in flat contradiction to the statements of Jeremiah (7^{31} 19^{5}). Bertholet declares that 'the fact that Jeremiah is of a different opinion is of no importance to the decision.' But Dr. Cobern prefers to hold with Jeremiah that Jehovah did not ordain child-sacrifice, rather than with Bertholet and all the rest of the modern expositors who say that He did.

No doubt there is the sacrifice of Isaac. But the sacrifice of Isaac was not a sacrifice. It did not come off. And the very point of it lies in that. Other gods will have the best that their worshippers can give them. Jehovah will have the best also. Other gods demand the offering of the first-born son. Jehovah demands that also, but not for death, for life. For a moment it seems to be for death, in order that it may be seen to be for life for ever.

So this seeming command to the Israelites to offer their children in sacrifice, is in Dr. Cobern's eyes simply a particular example of the universal law that the way of transgressors is hard. The Israelites rejected Jehovah, and chose Molech. Choosing Molech they chose the ordinances of his worship. They had to pass their children through the fire. To Jehovah it was a 'pollution.' Yet the very pollution was administered by Him in order to bring the Israelites back to their obedience.

During the last eighteen months a series of short scientific studies have been appearing in Germany under the general title of 'The Ancient East.' These studies are now being translated into English by Miss Jane Hutchison and published by Mr. David Nutt. Two have already appeared, and have been noticed in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES: *The Realms of the Egyptian Dead*, by Professor Wiedemann of Bonn, and *The Tell el-Amarna Period*, by Carl Niebuhr. A third has just been published. It is entitled *The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis*. It is written by Dr. Heinrich Zimmern, Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Leipzig.

Dr. Zimmern begins by recognizing the interest of his subject. It is true that the centre of interest has shifted. Able editors who used to welcome articles on 'The Bible and Natural Science' do so no longer. It has been discovered that the Bible is content to leave Natural Science alone, and Natural Science has been induced to leave the Bible alone. Their provinces and their purposes are distinct. To speak of 'the mistakes of Moses' is therefore itself a fundamental mistake. For Moses never intended to say the things that are attributed to him. And more than that, Moses is at the best only a link in a long chain of poets and editors, who received the materials out of which Genesis is composed from some far-distant past, perhaps also from some far-distant province, and passed them on. As they passed them on, they purified and fitted them for the highest uses. But even in the form they at last assumed, a form in which they will charm and instruct the generations of men till the end of time, they still bear traces of the rock whence they were hewn, and the hole of the pit whence they were digged.

So the centre of interest is not in science now, nor even in Moses. The 'First Book of Moses called Genesis' has been discovered, at least in its earlier portions, to belong to the history and religion of the great nations of the East. Babylonia also has her story of the Creation, of Paradise and the Fall, of the early Patriarchs, and of the Flood. And the great questions of interest now are these: What is the connexion between the Babylonian narratives and those in Genesis? Are these ancient stories mere myths, or have they a historical foundation? And whether they are myths or not, what is the meaning of them, and wherein

lies their profit for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness?

Our first business is to know what these ancient narratives are. The narratives of the Bible we have before us. The Babylonian versions come from different sources. First there are certain extracts happily preserved by Eusebius and others from the work of a Babylonian priest named Berossus, who flourished near the time of Alexander the Great. Next there is the *Chaldæan Account of Genesis* of George Smith. Then there are the Tell el-Amarna tablets, especially the series now preserved in the Royal Museum at Berlin, which contain a story evidently related to the biblical narrative of Paradise. And lastly, there is the cuneiform tablet, quite recently discovered near Babylon itself, which deals with the Babylonian versions of the Deluge.

The narratives of the Bible we have before us. But do we understand them, and have we gathered them all together? Professor Zimmern presupposes a general knowledge of the biblical story of Creation, but he thinks it advisable to recapitulate its chief incidents as found even in Genesis, and he finds it absolutely necessary to gather together the references to it which are scattered through the Psalms and the Prophets.

The chief source for the Bible story of Creation is the first chapter of Genesis. There the creation of heaven and earth is ascribed to the word of the Almighty. The language, says Dr. Zimmern, is solemn and simple, and it is penetrated by a sublime theological conception, though its phraseology suggests priestly learning and abstract thinking rather than the freshness and spontaneity of popular belief. The universe is represented as lying in a state of chaos until order is introduced by the word of God, the Creator. The chief phenomena of this primal state of chaos are darkness and water. An almost personal name is given to the watery deep. It is called 'Tehom.' And the first act of the Creator, the first day's work of creation, is to bring light into this gloomy chaos.

Then the primeval waters, hitherto a single mass, are divided into two parts. One part forms the ocean that belongs to the earth. The other is sent to form the celestial ocean, which lies above the sky. The two oceans are understood to be separated by an actual and substantial vault of heaven, called the firmament. This is the work of the second day. On the third day the dry land appears and clothes itself in vegetation. The fourth day sees the creation of the heavenly bodies, and special emphasis is laid upon the 'rule' of the sun and of the moon. They are not mere lights in the sky, they have a certain control, the force of which we see when we turn to the Babylonian astrology. On the fifth day are created birds and fishes. On the sixth, beasts and reptiles, and, as crown of the whole, mankind.

This story is found in the first chapter of Genesis: is it the earliest written narrative in the Bible? No, says Professor Zimmern, it is one of the very latest. In its present form it is not older than the Babylonian exile, if it is as old. It dates at the earliest from the sixth century B.C. So its monotheism, for which we are so thankful, is no more, he says, than a reflection of the monotheism that marked the Jews of the exilic or post-exilic period. Its learned author, who betrays his hand in the carefulness, approaching to pedantry, with which the separate varieties of animals and plants are indicated, 'each after his kind,' has taken care that no gross polytheistic elements should be left in the story to scandalize a strictly monotheistic generation.

Nevertheless he has not eliminated every trace of its primitive origin. Chaos; 'Tohu-wa-Bohu'; the darkness on the face of the deep; 'Tehom'; the spirit of God moving, or more literally, 'brooding' upon the waters; the firmament dividing the waters above from the waters below; the

'rule' of the heavenly bodies; the conception of other divine beings besides the creative Deity implied by the use of the plural pronoun, 'Let us make man in our image'; the poetical form of expression retained in the account of the creation of man—

'And God created man in His own image,
In the image of God created He him,'—

all these are relics of an earlier age and an earlier belief. Their presence is unaccountable until we read the parallel Babylonian narrative.

But the first chapter of Genesis does not contain all that the Bible has to say about the Creation. Following now somewhat closely Gunkel's remarkable book, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, Professor Zimmern discovers a series of passages in the poetical books of the Old Testament which refer to a struggle between Jehovah and a mythical monster. This mythical Being is the primeval chaotic deep. It is personified, and appears under various names, as Rahab, leviathan, dragon, serpent, or simply sea, but more especially as Tehom, the name employed in Genesis.

He quotes first of all from the 89th Psalm, and in this translation—

'Thou remainest lord, when the sea rageth,
When the waves thereof arise, thou stillest them.
Thou hast defiled Rahab as carrion,
With arm of strength thou hast scattered thy foes.
Thine is the heaven, thine is the earth;
The world and its fulness, thou hast founded it.
North and south, thou hast created them.'

He sees there a close connexion between the overthrow of Rahab and the creation of heaven and earth by Jehovah. He sees that the Creation takes place only after the fall of Rahab. He sees that in the struggle Rahab has had auxiliaries. He sees that they were only scattered, while Rahab was slain and even treated with ignominy after death. And all these things he sees in the parallel Babylonian narrative, as we shall see them also.

His next quotation is from the 51st chapter of Isaiah: 'Arise, arise, arm thee with strength, O arm of Jehovah! Arise as in the days of old, in the generations of ancient times! Art thou not he that shattered Rahab, that defiled the dragon? Art thou not he that dried up the sea, the waters of the great Tehom; that made the depths of the sea a path, that the saved might pass over by it?' The last words refer to the passage of the Red Sea. But the passage of the Red Sea does not exhaust the reference. The cutting of Rahab in pieces and the defiling of the dragon seem to Dr. Zimmern clearly to describe the struggle of Jehovah with the chaotic monster before the Creation. And he strengthens his opinion by a quotation from the 26th chapter of Job, where it is said of God—

'By his power hath he stilled the sea,
By his understanding hath he shattered Rahab,
His hand hath defiled the wreathéd serpent.'

Lastly, he quotes from the 74th Psalm. Here the part played by Rahab is attributed to leviathan, and the slaying of the dragon is again associated with the creation of the world—

'But thou Jehovah art my king from of old,
That doest salvation in the midst of the earth;
Thou hast divided the sea with might;
Hast broken the heads of the dragons in the water.
Thou hast bruised the heads of leviathan;
Gavedst him for meat, for food to the jackals . . .
Thine is the day, and thine is the night;
Thou hast established moon and sun.
Thou hast appointed all powers of the earth;
Summer and winter, them hast thou formed.'

Now whether these passages are earlier or later in date than the first chapter of Genesis, they are clearly earlier in conception. The 'Jehovah-Tehom myth,' as Dr. Zimmern boldly calls it, is present in the first chapter of Genesis, but not in the crude form in which these poems present it. From the strictly religious point of view, therefore, the Genesis narrative ranks highest.

But from the purely historical point of view the other passages are by far the more valuable, since they exhibit the original story in its more naked and primitive form.

How remarkable is the parallel between this story as we now see it in fulness and its Babylonian equivalent. The Babylonian epic of Creation begins in this way—

'Of old, when above, the heaven was unnamed,
Beneath, the earth bore not any name,
While yet the ocean, the primeval, their begetter,
The primeval source, Tihamat, mother of them all,
Their waters in one mingled together, . . .
Then appeared the first of the gods.'

Here are the primeval waters, but personified as male and female, and the female bears the name Tihamat, the same as the biblical Tehom. After this there follows an account of the origin of the gods, special prominence being given to the birth of Marduk. For it is this Marduk (the Merodach of the Bible) that offers himself to give battle to the rebellious and chaotic Tihamat. Marduk is victorious. He plunges his sword into the body of Tihamat, slays her, casts forth her corpse, and tramples on it. Then he turns on her allies and takes them captive. Returning to the body of Tihamat he cuts it in two pieces.

'The one half took he, thereof made the firmament,
Bounds set he to it, watchers he placed there,
To hold back the waters commanded he them.'

The parallel with the biblical narrative is obvious. The epic goes on to describe the creation of the heavenly bodies. Then comes a gap through the loss of some of the cuneiform tablets. But Berossus, to whose accuracy the tablets bear surprising testimony, enables us to affirm that the missing tablets must have contained an account of the creation of the dry land, plants, animals, and mankind.

Now the first thing that clearly emerges from this comparison is, that the account of the Creation which we find in the Bible and the account which we find on the clay tablets of Babylonia are not independent. Recall the points of comparison. According to both accounts, before the Creation all was water. This watery deep is personified as a terrible monster, called 'Tihamat' in Babylonia, 'Tehom' in Hebrew. No article is used before the Hebrew word; as in the Babylonian mythology, it is a proper name. In both accounts the monster is dragon-like, and in both there are variants implying that it had several heads. In the Babylonian tradition there is specific mention of a seven-headed serpent. This conception does not appear distinctly in Genesis nor throughout the Old Testament. But we have it when we reach the Apocalypse in the New Testament, a book which has preserved other traces of this primeval conception. In the Babylonian narrative, Marduk gains his supremacy among the gods by his victory over the dragon; in the Israelite account Jehovah is already supreme, but other gods are apparently there and share in His deliberations. In both accounts the dragon of the deep and her allies are guilty of rebellion and an impious ambition to obtain dominion over the world. Marduk and Jehovah both go forth to war bearing a sword, with which they slay the dragon. The auxiliaries of Tihamat are more leniently treated by Marduk than herself; so likewise do the helpers of Rahab fare, at the hands of Jehovah. The body of Tihamat is divided into the upper and lower oceans; the dividing of the deep into the waters above and the waters below, precedes in Genesis the creation of heaven and earth.

With these resemblances in mind it is impossible to believe that the two accounts are independent. What is their relation to one another? There are three possible ways of it. The Babylonians may have borrowed their account from the Israelites; the Israelites may have borrowed theirs from the Babylonians; or both may go back to a common original.

Did the Babylonians borrow their account of the Creation from the Israelites? From the historical point of view, as regards both civilization and religion, that is to Professor Zimmern simply inconceivable. Do they both go back to a common original? That is quite conceivable, but quite improbable. For there are features of the story that are evidently and exclusively Babylonian. The whole scenery, indeed, is specially Babylonian. It is the scenery of alluvial plains, like those of Babylonia, not the scenery of Palestine, nor yet of the Syrian or Arabian desert. Its theology also is Babylonian. It was not Jehovah but Marduk that was the god of spring or of the morning sun. To Professor Zimmern's mind the demonstration is now complete, that the account of the Creation in the Bible is borrowed from Babylonia.

When was it borrowed? Not at the Exile. No doubt the first chapter of Genesis, in its present literary form, may be placed as late as the Exile. But it is incredible, says Professor Zimmern, that the Jews of the Exile, with their sharply distinctive Jehovah cult, should have taken this myth, as he calls it, ready-made from their heathen oppressors, and placed it at the beginning of their sacred writings. Some of the later kings, as Ahaz, were friendly to the Assyrians, and coquetted with foreign customs, but that also is too late a time for such an appropriation. To account for the form in which the narrative in Genesis appears, we are bound, Dr. Zimmern holds, to assume a long development on Israelite, and indeed on Palestinian, soil. One period only remains that suits the conditions.

It is the period of the Tell el-Amarna letters. These letters belong to the middle of the second millennium B.C. They reveal an active intercourse carried on between Babylonia and the West, and especially Egypt and Palestine. The medium of intercourse was the Babylonian language and writing. It was mythological texts that served as exercises for Egyptians and Syrians in the study of the language of intercourse, and Dr. Zimmern thinks it highly probable that the matter of these texts would have entered the consciousness of the students. It has come about indeed, by a strange disposition of Providence, that one of the mythological texts used for this purpose, and discovered at Tell el-Amarna, is no other than that story of Adapa which bears so close a resemblance to the biblical story of Paradise.

A Remarkable Palimpsest.

By Agnes Smith Lewis, Phil. Dr. (Halle), LL.D. (St. Andrews).

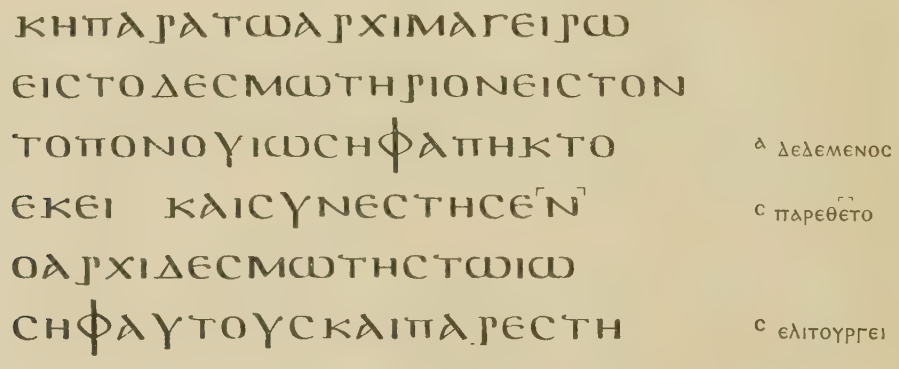
Those of your readers who take an interest in the palimpsest of the four Gospels in Syriac which I discovered in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai in 1892, will be pleased to learn that another manuscript has come into my hands, probably from the same quarter, which, though far its inferior in point of value, presents some features which are well worthy the consideration of the palæographer and the biblical scholar. It is a palimpsest, purchased at Suez in 1895, whose upper-script is a collection of extracts from the writings of the Christian Fathers in an Arabic translation assigned to the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. The under-script is chiefly Syriac, in two columns; a fifth or sixth century text of the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and *Transitus Mariae* forming one book. Mingled with this are four leaves from two MSS of fifth century Peshiṭta Syriac Gospels, three leaves of an ancient Arabic document, and fourteen from the Syrian Father, Mar Jacob. Three leaves are a double palimpsest, Syriac texts from Exodus and Isaiah crossing each other beneath the later Arabic. But the book contains other

two features which place it among the curiosities of literature.

I have been aware for the last six years that many pages of the under-script were not Syriac, but a very peculiar Arabic. Until June of this year they baffled my attempts at identification, for two reasons: partly that I was seeking for a Christian text under a Christian one, and partly that they were Cufic. I need not waste words earliest Cufic. But the most curious occurrence remains yet to be told.

I had copied a portion from each of these Cufic leaves, and was about to send it to the press, when I observed a little leaf, f. 11 in the book, which had apparently only the one Arabic writing on it. Thinking that the reagent might possibly reveal some more of an underlying Corân text, I passed my brush lightly over its margin, and to

f. 11b — Gen. xl. 3, 4

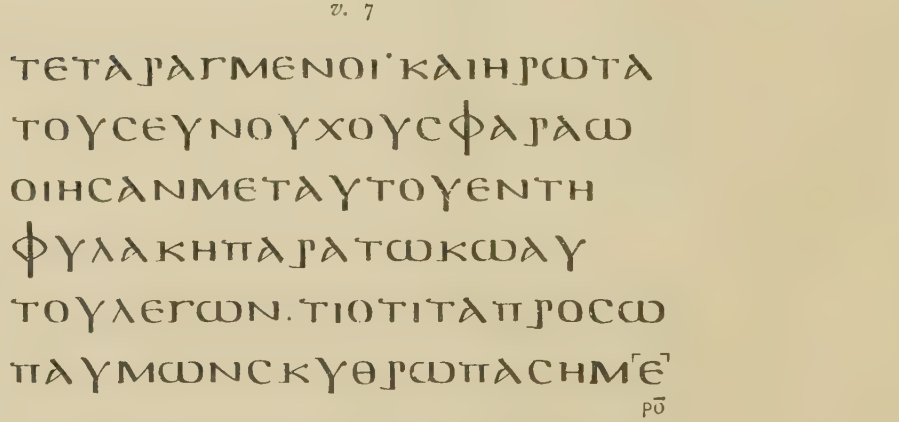


a Δελεμενος

c παρεθετο

c ελιτουργει

f. 11a — v. 7



a in the margin stands for Aquila; c for Symmachus.

by telling how I at last got on to the right track, and with the help of a chemical reagent found that I possess seven leaves of a Cufic Corân belonging to the first half of the eighth century, or possibly to the end of the seventh; also sixteen and a half leaves from another Corân MS., which needed no reagent, and are also of the eighth century, though a little later, as their script shows a very few diacritical points. The script in both these MSS has all the characteristics of the my intense astonishment, instead of the Arabic letters for which I was seeking, a row of beautiful Greek uncials appeared, like a vision from the forgotten past; and these were followed by eleven other lines, being six on each side of the leaf. Their resemblance to the script of the Codex Sinaiticus made me hope that they belonged to the fourth century; and I lost no time in identifying them with Gn $40^{3.4}$ on one side, and Gn 40^{7} on the other. V.^{3} contains an interesting variant,

παρὰ τῷ ἀρχιμαγείρῳ, instead of παρὰ τῷ ἀρχιδεσμοφύλακι, which seems to be a closer rendering of the Hebrew text, בֵּית שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים.

On the margin, close to the edge of the leaf, I noticed the letters σομε in small uncials. It was then the Long Vacation in Cambridge; but a few scholars remained, and I asked some of them what the mystic letters might mean, showing them at the same time the MS. I suppose that their eyes were, like mine, too closely riveted on the central text to observe that there was a column of small words on the margin of each page, entangled amongst the loops of the closely written upper Arabic script; and it was only after I had sent photographs of the two pages to my friend, Dr. Nestle of Maulbronn, that I was informed of the full value of the fragment. Dr. Nestle says—

'The manuscript, from which the photographs of two pages have been placed in my hands, is important for three reasons—

'1. Because uncial MSS of Genesis are few; Sinaiticus and Vaticanus being defective for the greater part of this book.

'2. Because its texts appear particularly good, confirming Gn 40^3, the reading of Philo, ἀρχιμαγείρῳ, which had been changed by the latest editors of his works (Cohn-Wendland, ii. 211) into the reading of the Codex Alexandrinus, ἀρχιδεσμοφύλακι. The true reading was known till now only from the Coptic and Syro-Hexaplaric Version and from six cursives of Holmes.

'3. Because it contains marginal readings from the Hexapla of Origen, adding to those collected by Field some which were hitherto unknown, as 40^7, κακα and πονηρα for σκυθρωπα.'

Within the last few years other parts of the Hexapla have been discovered by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, and by Dr. Taylor, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. Dr. Taylor's fragment was in the collection brought by Dr. Schechter from the Genizah in the synagogue of Old Cairo. But mine is from a different source. There are indications that before the year 1868 it was lying in the Library on Mount Sinai. How it was taken from that place, and what vicissitudes it has undergone, are beyond my power to investigate; but I may refer your readers to Professor E. T. Palmer's narrative in the *Desert of the Exodus*, vol. i. p. 70. I hope to give all the texts which form its under-script in No. xi. of *Studia Sinaitica*.

It is indeed surprising that a small book of 162 leaves, each measuring 19 centimetres by 12, should contain such a variety of subjects: selections from Athanasius, Chrysostom, Theodosius, Theodorus, Mar Ephraim, Mar Isaac, Mar Jacob, the apocryphal story of the Virgin Mary, two specimens of Peshiṭta Gospels, two specimens of very early Corâns, a private document, Syriac texts from Exodus and Isaiah, a beautiful Syriac hymn, and a leaf of the Septuagint, with variants from the Hexapla. The occurrence of Christian writing on the top of Mohammedan is of itself sufficiently singular. But the chief lesson which it conveys to me, as to all other owners of MSS dating between the seventh century and the eleventh, is, that we might try a harmless chemical, hydrosulphuret of ammonia, by way of experiment, over a few of the margins which appear to us to be perfectly blank.

Since the above was written I have shown the fragment to my friend, Dr. Rendel Harris, who assigns it to the sixth century, or possibly to the beginning of the seventh. If the script is like that of Codex Sinaiticus it is also like that of Codex Bezæ.

The New French School of Theology.

By the Rev. J. Dick Fleming, B.D., Tranent.

In the death of M. Auguste Sabatier the new Paris school of theology has lost its chief exponent. If this were the place for personal reminiscences, the writer might speak with a sense of personal gratitude of the sterling qualities of M. Sabatier as a professor in the Protestant College of the Boulevard Arago, and of many a theological causerie, in which the professor became a student among his students and with the utmost freedom from professorial reserve discussed Neo-criticism or Ritschlianism, or any other 'ism' that flourished at home or abroad. But the main interest of

English readers must be confined to his literary work, and his contributions to what is called, for want of a more pleasing name, 'Symbolo-Fidéisme.'

One of the latest critics of this school of theology, Dr. G. Lasch,[1] seeks to give an estimate of its significance for France. He considers that the ground had been prepared for it in the general movement of literature, as well as of religious thought. The sceptical idealism of Renan could satisfy only an aristocratic few; the 'religion of humanity' based on Positivism had borne little fruit; while in literature there was many an indication of a return to the mystical and romantic. On the other hand, the narrow dogmatism of scholastic Protestantism had lost its hold. Such a work as that of the school of Paris was called for, to revindicate the Christian religion and to restate its doctrine in harmony with the intellectual needs of the time. Dr. Lasch characterizes Sabatier's *Esquisse d'une Philosophie de la Religion* as an epoch-making apologetic contribution, and confidently predicts of the whole movement that, as it unites strict scientific method with religious fervour, it will prove fruitful in evangelic preaching, no less than in the development of French theology.

In his critical exposition of this theology, Lasch has properly confined himself to a study of the two works, Sabatier's *Esquisse* and Ménégoz's *Publications diverses*. Sabatier's work furnishes us with the philosophy and general theological principles; Ménégoz's book deals, unfortunately only in a fragmentary way, with particular dogmatic questions. It is to be hoped that M. Ménégoz, who has proved an acute and original thinker, may yet give us a complete and systematic presentation of Christian doctrine from the standpoint of the new school. This would be the best answer to the charge repeatedly made, though strenuously denied, that Christian beliefs are reduced by this school to matters of indifference, and that faith is treated as quite independent of them.

The theoretic basis is furnished by Sabatier; and, accordingly, Lasch devotes himself to a thorough exposition of the *Esquisse*, allowing himself a more logical arrangement of the material. Sabatier has treated his subject under the three heads: (1) Religion, (2) Christianity, (3) Dogma; but, strangely enough, relegates to the end his theory of knowledge and his doctrine of symbolism. Lasch adopts a more scientific arrangement, and places in the foreground the fundamental theoretic principles, as governing and throwing light upon Sabatier's view of the origin and nature of religion.

Sabatier's theory of knowledge is a modified Kantianism. He accepts the distinction of the two inseparable elements—an *à priori*, furnished by the necessity of thought, and therefore, he maintains, essentially and wholly subjective ('the principle of causality, for example, is *not in the things, but in the mind*'); and an *à posteriori*, furnished by experience. By the conjunction of these two elements the world of science arises, the world of phenomena, where the causal nexus is unbroken, and determinism reigns. No doubt is to be cast on the reality of this world of phenomena; Kant's 'thing in itself' is to be rejected as meaningless; Sabatier appeals to the discovery of new planets proved to exist before they became actually visible, and to the power that man exerts upon nature by his knowledge, as proofs that the world we know is the real world existing without us. (Query—Does not the rejection of Kant's 'thing in itself' involve the rejection of the analysis of knowledge which makes that supposition necessary? Lasch holds that the 'thing in itself' must be retained, and that only by retaining it is there room left for the postulates of the moral consciousness. Rather we should revise an analysis which so opposes subject and object, that the object becomes unknowable, and the subject is imprisoned within the necessities of its own subjectivity). But this phenomenal yet real world is not the only world. Besides this world, governed by the enchainment of causes and effects, there is the world of self-consciousness, of moral effort and freedom. The physical sciences deal with the first world, employing there the category of causality, and pronouncing *judgments of existence*; the moral sciences deal with the second; their supreme category is 'the good,' and the judgments they pronounce are *judgments of dignity and value*. In this world, where the spiritual activities are supreme (the æsthetic faculty, conscience, religion), our knowledge is necessarily subjective. Our judgments are judgments of worth, and they make only a limited and cir-

[1] *Die Theologie der Pariser Schule*. Von Lic. Dr. Gustav Lasch. Williams & Norgate. Price M. 1.80.

cumscribed appeal. The good is only revealed to goodness; beauty to those who have the æsthetic sense; God to the pious and pure in heart. And our knowledge is necessarily inadequate and symbolic. The creations of art are but symbols; attempts to enclose the ideal in the real, to express the inexpressible; they are more or less perfect according as they convey not exact ideas, but true spiritual impressions. So the language of religion is symbolic. Exact thought is the province of science, and of the understanding working with the things of sense and space and time. We have no modes of thought equally adequate to the supersensible world; the proper language here is a parable.

Lasch finds that there is in Sabatier's working out of these principles considerable exaggeration. Value-judgments and existential judgments need not be exclusive; the judgments of religious thought are judgments of existence no less than of worth, and we cannot accept the dictum that the existential judgments of religion are the product of value-judgments, or are the outcome of mere emotion. Take one of Sabatier's own examples. 'In presence of some grand spectacle of nature, man, feeling his weakness and dependence over against the mysterious power there revealed, trembles with fear and with hope. This trembling is the primitive religious emotion. But this emotion implies necessarily for thought a certain relation between the feeling subject and the object that produced the feeling. Now this thought, once awakened, will necessarily express this relation by an intellectual judgment . . . he will cry out, for example, "God is great," to mark the infinite disproportion between himself and the universal Being that makes him tremble.' Here, then, we have a religious thought, a value-judgment. But it is not subjective in the sense that it is a mere expression of pious emotion, or in the sense that it is a mere value-judgment and nothing more. The pious emotion does not produce it; the intellectual notion which Sabatier himself declares to be essentially different in nature, accompanies the emotion, but has its own intellectual roots. Nor is this intellectual judgment a mere value-judgment; it is clearly at the same time a judgment of existence, and must have its grounds in some rational interpretation of experience. But, further, the symbolic character of religious judgments is overstated. It finds its philosophic basis in the Kantian doctrine that our theoretic knowledge is limited to experience; which Sabatier interprets in this sense that all our conceptions of supersensible objects necessarily express themselves in terms of sensible, time, and space experiences, and therefore inadequately. The very fact, however, that we are conscious of the inadequacy of these representations of the supersensible proves that we have some intuition or notion of the transcendent after all. How then do we come in touch with this supersensible? According to Kant, we do stand in some intellectual relation to it; the theoretic reason yields us at least the idea of God, and the practical reason enriches our conception, and guarantees the reality of it. Similarly, Schleiermacher, while denying the adequacy of our conceptions, or the possibility of gathering our thoughts of the supreme unity into a coherent whole, nevertheless argues that the reality of God is a presupposition both of the theoretic and the practical reason. Both the leader of modern philosophy, therefore, and the leader of modern theology, maintain equally that we stand in some intellectual touch with the Supreme Being, and deny that we are entirely imprisoned in the images and categories of sense-experience. Even Ritschl, who abandoned the theoretic proofs of God's existence, held to the knowability of God through the practical reason and by the help of revelation. But Sabatier, in presenting his doctrine of symbolism, is strangely silent as to the power of reason to transcend the understanding. It is to him as though when the human limited mind deals with God, it deals with a something it cannot really handle, and overshoots itself. It is doubtless because of this underlying scepticism as to the adequacy of our thoughts of God, that Sabatier prefers, instead of the more definite language of the Christian faith, the vague and mystical expressions (the 'principle of our being,' '*l'être universel*') which have brought upon symbolism the charge of pantheism.

There is then, according to Sabatier, no intellectual bridge leading us to God. How then do we really come into touch with the Divine? The answer is given by Sabatier in his *Theory of the Origin of Religion.* Religion has not its spring in any intellectual need, or sense of the infinite, releasing emotions of adoration, but solely in the emotions awakened by the contradictions of life. We have the sense of moral freedom, and ideals

that demand to be realized; but there lies before us a world of mechanical law, opposing and thwarting us at every step. From the smart of this conflict religion arises, affording a practical solution. The spiritual nature takes instinctive flight to the universal being, the principle and end of life; and uniting itself with that principle by an act of moral energy, it attains peace and is strengthened for further conflict. Religion is thus, as Sabatier admits, an example of self-preservation, or spiritual self-realization in the presence of the contradictions of life. This theory is good so far as it goes; but it is not comprehensive enough. The struggles of life, with the obstacles that lie without and within, are doubtless an all-important factor in religion, and in all human progress. At different stages of his life man has to struggle with nature for his subsistence; he stands face to face with moral ideals unrealized, with problems of freedom or destiny he cannot solve. But to find in this struggle the origin of religion and of the consciousness of God, is to lead us back to the theory of Feuerbach, that God is created by our need. Sabatier sets religion upon too narrow a basis. The contradictions of life have doubtless a large part in the development of religion, and they are present at the very birth of it (when indeed have they been absent?); but there are harmonies in life, and a moral order, which may also have some part in leading us to fellowship with the eternal Being. But the fact is that Sabatier has closed every avenue to God that proceeds by the way of the intellect. The reason has nothing to do with the origin of religion; and though it comes in later to serve with its poor symbols to express the various phases of the pious consciousness, its province is wholly secondary. This neglect of the intellectual factor avenges itself in the vague and shadowy God that Sabatier describes; and while it enables him to look with philosophic sympathy on all the religions that have traversed the stage of history, its effect must surely be to weaken the vision to the great variety of content, the light and shade, the height and depth of religious experience.

For the particular dogmatics of this school, we have to turn to the various contributions furnished by M. Ménégoz in his *Publications diverses*. Except for the fact that the doctrine of symbolism encourages a free criticism of Church doctrine, the modifications of doctrine proposed by Ménégoz—as to the Trinity or Eschatology, for example—do not remind us of the distinctive principles of symbolism or fidéisme; they form an independent contribution on the lines of a liberal theology, and stand or fall on their own merits. But the fidéist doctrine on which Ménégoz lays special emphasis, viz. that a man is *justified by faith, apart from his beliefs*, carries with it the same undervaluing of the intellectual factor in religion, as may be charged against the philosophy of Sabatier. It would be quite unwarrantable to condemn the theory on the ground that it makes faith independent of belief; for Ménégoz recognizes that faith is never found alone, that it lies embedded in beliefs and doctrines, and is frequently produced by them. But Lasch rightly demurs to the view expressed by Ménégoz that a man may be justified by faith, even though he has no belief in Jesus Christ, or in the working of the Spirit, nay even though he has no conscious faith in God. Is not faith in danger of being evacuated of all content, when such beliefs are wanting? Ménégoz's formula and his logical deduction from it are both attractive to a generous mind. If they only mean that God is gracious to every one that turns his heart Godward, or at least in the direction of what is good, what Christian could deny it? In every upward turning of the heart God is graciously present, making His goodness and forgiveness felt in greater or less degree; is not such a movement of the heart God's own movement and gracious work therein? Let it be allowed that every movement of the soul in the nobler direction is blessed of God. But there is faith and faith; there is grace and grace. There is the faith of the poor heathen which is embedded in error; and the faith of the Christian solidified by truth. And God meets each heart with the grace it is capable of receiving; giving to the one gleams of His mercy like rifts of glory through the clouds; giving to the other fuller supplies and a more abundant assurance. In short, we cannot ignore the intellectual element in faith, or minimise it at the expense of religious emotions and volitions. We can only accept the fidéist doctrine of faith apart from beliefs, if we are permitted to modify it so,—that a man is justified by faith independently of all beliefs, *except such as faith itself involves*.

These criticisms run more or less on the lines suggested by Lasch's detailed critical remarks. The exposition given in that work is thorough and clear; but the running criticisms, and the remarks at the close as to the relation in which this school stands to Schleiermacher, Ritschl, Lipsius, and others, are too brief and disconnected to be of great value.

The Great Text Commentary.

THE GREAT TEXTS OF HEBREWS.

HEBREWS XII. 2.

'Looking unto Jesus the author and perfecter of our faith, who for the joy that was set before Him endured the cross, despising shame, and hath sat down at the right hand of the throne of God' (R.V.)

EXPOSITION.

'Looking unto Jesus.'—It is not possible to express in English the thought suggested by the Greek verb *aphorōntes*, which implies that we must 'look away (from other things) unto Jesus.' It implies 'the concentration of the wandering gaze into a single direction.'—FARRAR.

'The author and perfecter of our faith.'—The 'faith' of which the apostle speaks is faith in its absolute type, of which he has traced the action under the Old Covenant. The particular interpretations, by which it is referred to the faith of each individual Christian, as finding its beginning and final development in Christ; or to the substance of the Christian Creed; are foreign to the whole scope of the passage, which is to show that in Jesus Christ Himself we have the perfect example—perfect in realization and in effect—of that faith which we are to imitate, trusting in Him. He too looked through the present and the visible to the future and the unseen. In His human nature He exhibited Faith in its highest form, from first to last, and placing Himself as it were at the head of the great army of heroes of Faith, He carried faith, the source of their strength, to its most complete perfection and to its loftiest triumph.—WESTCOTT.

'Who for the joy that was set before Him endured the cross.'—The joy that was set before Him was accepted as an equivalent (and more than an equivalent) for the sufferings which He endured. The joy was that of the work of redemption accomplished through self-sacrifice. The suffering was that of the cross, a death at once most painful and most humiliating.—WESTCOTT.

'Despising shame.'—Disdaining to shrink from any kind of shame, even that of being treated as a slave, a rebel, a blasphemer.—DELITZSCH.

'Hath sat down at the right hand of the throne of God.'—The contrast of tenses is significant. *He endured . . . and hath sat down.* The fact of suffering is wholly past, but the issue of it abides for evermore.—WESTCOTT.

THE meaning is not that our Lord's throne is placed at the right hand of the throne of God, but that He sits on the right hand (of God, and with God) on the same throne.—DELITZSCH.

METHODS OF TREATMENT.

I.

Looking unto Jesus.

By the Rev. Henry Montagu Butler, D.D.

The eye sees what it brings the power of seeing. The star is one thing to the child, another to the mariner, another to the astronomer. What is the sight of Jesus on the cross to us?

1. One thing all must see—innocence. It was not an execution but a martyrdom. It was one of those moments known both to the heart and to history when evil seems good, and good evil; when bigotry, jealousy, pride, envy, etc. combine to rouse the mob-passions always in wait for the hour and the man. Pilate's act is a present parable. If these mob-passions rise in us, and we are tempted to cry with the crowd against some person or cause, 'Crucify, crucify!' let us look to Jesus, and remember that this was part of the 'shame' which He 'despised,' while He still loved them who shamed Him.

2. We see not only a righteous man. It is He who, the night before, said, 'I have overcome the world.' Can we see in Him the Conqueror of the world? Do we not see here the victory of goodness over evil by suffering? We are often depressed by the power of evil in the world, even in Christian ages. If Christ has overcome the world, why this flood of pollution? We cannot answer; but if we 'consider' Him who fought with evil even unto death, we may learn to win Christian triumphs, if not to solve Christian mysteries. How did He confront evil? He did not shun it, nor rage against it, nor palliate it. He tracked it to its root, and then died for it. And as we look to Him we learn that evil can be conquered no other way. We must suffer and die for it. Those who can say, in any measure, 'I have overcome the world,' are those who, like Christ, have made evil

their own 'yet without sin'; have borne, for its sake, shame and death, 'looking to Jesus.'

3. Those who have seen so much have seen more, — the evil in themselves. Only sinners understand the Cross. To their conscience He who hangs there is the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world. This the eye of the Christian brings the power of seeing. It looks to Jesus and sees the Atoner for sin. The doctrine of the Atonement is full of intellectual difficulty. Scarcely one in a generation can state it in a way his contemporaries can approve. But what theory cannot do, the sight of Jesus on the Cross can do. It reveals the heart to itself and assures it of God's love. Such love and pity and righteousness cannot be in vain. The Holy One is *made sin* that we *may become* righteousness. We cannot construct a flawless theory of the Atonement from these words, but we can feel, as we look to Jesus, our burthen of sin fall off our back.

4. We see not only His suffering but His joy. This joy had a place in the word 'It is finished.' He had conquered evil and set up once for all a standard of what was highest in God's sight, the daily sacrifice of the will till it becomes one with God's. From this height He would draw to Himself all the best impulses of His own, and His healing power would finally put away sin, and leave man at peace with God. This joy nothing could take from Him, and it is the joy of all His servants, who even before death, and much more after, see of the travail of their souls.

II.

The Commander's Conflict and Triumph.

By the Rev. Alexander Maclaren, D.D.

Our Lord is (1) the Leader of the army of the faithful, and(2) the perfecter of their faith. The objects of contemplation which will assist Christians in running their race are (1) the Commander's conflict and our share in it; (2) His triumph and our share in that.

1. *The Conflict.*—There are three points given: the motive of His sufferings; these sufferings as an instance of patient endurance; the shame of His death as revealing His scorn of hindrances. Each is a pattern for us. (1) Our Lord's whole life was influenced by realizing by faith an unseen reward, the joy of sitting at God's right hand. His motive is generally traced to obedience to God or love to man. There is no contradiction. We must combine all. Each is a strand in the golden cord which bound our Sacrifice to the horns of the altar. It seems to introduce an element of self-seeking; but His exaltation, like His humiliation, is for our sakes, that He may complete His work. Like Him we must subordinate the present to the future issue discerned by faith. (2) He is the pattern of heroic endurance. He not only endured the pain, but *stood steadfast under* it, not only on the cross, but during His whole life, with unflinching determination. Such endurance must be ours. Life is not a garden but a wrestling-ground, and to make an arena for wrestlers the turf and daisies must be taken away and the soil beaten flat. Every Christian must carry a cross and be fastened to it. (3) Contempt of obstacles. There are difficulties in our lives which will be big or little as we look at them. Most of them are only white sheets with a rustic boor behind, like village ghosts. Go up to them, and they become small. Despise the shame, and it disappears.

2. *The Triumph.*—The new thing which accrued from Christ's Incarnation was that His humanity was lifted up to participate in Divinity. Rest, Dominion, Judgment are the prerogatives which the Man Jesus won by His Passion and Sacrifice. This is a revelation and a prophecy for us. We have no knowledge of another world apart from His Resurrection and Ascension. In His exaltation we learn what is possible for us. He is the type of what God means us to be, and the measure of what we may hope to become. And His triumph has powers to fulfil its own prophecy. The ending of the work on the Cross was the beginning of another form of work for us which will never cease till the world has yielded to His love. He beholds and helps our conflict; He makes intercession for us as our great High Priest; He has gone to prepare a place for us. More, if we are joined to Him by faith, so real is the union that we are glorified with our Head and partake in His victory, receive grace and blessing from Him, and are brought at last to share His throne.

Illustrations.

It takes a very strenuous effort to bring the unseen Christ before the mind habitually, and so as to produce effects in the life. You have to shut out a great deal besides in order to do that; as a man will shade his eyes with his hand in

order to see some distant thing the more clearly. Keep out the cross-lights that you may look forward. You cannot see the stars when you are walking down a town street and the gas-lamps are lit. All those violet depths and calm abysses and blazing worlds are concealed from you by the glare at your side—sulphurous and stinking. So, my brother, if you want to see unto the depths and heights, to see the Great White Throne and the Christ on it who helps you to fight, you have to go out unto Him beyond the camp, and leave all its dazzling lights behind you.—A. MACLAREN.

MANY young Christians are kept weak for a very long time through watching their own frames and feelings. If you read the diaries kept by young Christians, you will find the entries are usually of this kind: 'Very cold to-day; little enjoyment in prayer.' 'Faith is very feeble; I cannot lay hold of a Saviour for me.' 'Felt some kindlings of heart to-day in reading the words of Jesus.' The almost exclusive reference is to the emotions, affections, and desires of the heart. All is concerned with the element of feeling to the great neglect of knowing and doing. And it is often only through a great struggle that a soul frees itself from this hindering peculiarity, and learns to grow and thrive by looking away from self — 'looking off unto Jesus.'—R. TUCK.

COULD an emmet pry into itself, it might marvel at its own anatomy;
But let it look on eagles to discern how mean a thing it is.

NOTHING great reveals itself to a hasty glance. No great book can be read by snatches. No great picture can be understood or felt by the man who runs through a gallery and looks at a hundred in half an hour. The secrets of no fair landscape will impart themselves to the hasty tripper who casts a lack-lustre gaze for a minute over it. This modern life of ours, with its hurry and its bustle, about which so many people are so proud, is fatal, unless we exercise continual watchfulness over ourselves, to all deep and noble things. The most of us spend our lives as some amateur photographers do their days, in taking snapshots; and, of course, the mystery and the beauty and the secret and the power escape us. Sit down and let the loveliness soak into you, if you want to understand the fairest scenes of Nature. Sit down in front of Jesus Christ, and take your time, and as you look you will learn that which no hasty glance, no couple of minutes in the morning before you go to work, no still more abbreviated and drowsy moments at night before you go to sleep will ever reveal to you.—A. MACLAREN.

A LADY had a dream, in which she fancied herself at the bottom of a deep pit. She looked round to see if there was any way of getting out; but in vain. Presently, looking upward, she saw in that part of the heavens immediately above the mouth of the pit a beautiful star. Steadily gazing at it, she felt herself to be gradually lifted upwards. She looked down to ascertain how it was, and immediately found herself at the bottom of the pit. Again her eye caught sight of the star, and again she felt herself ascending. She had reached a considerable height. Still desirous of an explanation of so strange a phenomenon, she turned her eye downward, and fell to the bottom with fearful violence. On recovering from the effect of the shock, she bethought herself as to the meaning of it all, and once again turned her eye to the star, still shining so brightly above, and once again felt herself borne upward. Steadily did she keep her eye upon its light till, at length, she found herself out of the horrible pit and her feet safely planted on the solid ground above. It taught her the lesson that in the hour of danger and trouble deliverance is to be found, and found only, by looking to Jesus.—T. GUTHRIE.

LOOKING unto Jesus,
Healing I shall find
For the broken spirit,
And the bruisèd mind—
Yet I gaze on daily,
Till my eyes grow dim,
Looking unto any
Rather than to Him!

Looking unto Jesus,
I shall learn the road
That the soul must travel
Going home to God—
Yet I lag and linger,
Till I scarce can see
My guide and sweet companion
Beckoning to me!

Looking unto Jesus,
I behold the heights
Gleaming in the glory
Of Love's undying lights—
Yet my heart unmovèd
Cares not to aspire,
Nor for all their splendour
Would be any higher!

What is it that ails me?
Why am I so dead
That looking unto Jesus
Lifts not up my head?
And my heart so wanders,
Caring not to see
Him, its fount of gladness?
Jesus, look on me.—W. C. SMITH.

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Recent Biblical Archaeology.

By A. H. Sayce, LL.D., D.C.L., Professor of Assyriology, Oxford.

Ur of the Chaldees.

Ever since the decipherment of the Assyrian inscriptions made it clear that the biblical Kasdim and the classical Chaldæi were of different origin, various attempts have been made to explain the Hebrew name, but thus far with little success. The classical name presented no difficulty; the Chaldæans are the Kaldâ of the monuments, who inhabited the marshes at the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. It was not until Merodach-baladan possessed himself of Babylon that they came to form an important element in the Babylonian population and eventually to become synonymous with it; before that period they were but one of the many West Semitic tribes, like the Puqudu or Pekod, who were settled on the fringe of the Babylonian kingdom. Winckler and Delattre have supposed that Nebuchadrezzar II. belonged to them; it may be so, but at present there is no proof that such was the case.

But while the name of the Chaldæans recurs in the inscriptions, that of the Kasdim is unknown to them. And it is first met with in Scripture, not as a title of Babylonia, much less of the district inhabited by the Kaldâ, but as an epithet of the city of Ur, which stood on the west side of the Euphrates, outside the limits of Babylonia proper. The fact has been first pointed out by Professor Hommel with his customary acumen. The epithet is thus applied, in the Book of Genesis, not to the alluvial plain of Babylonia,—the land of Eden of the monuments and of the second chapter of Genesis,—but to the region west of the Euphrates, the native home of the Bedâwin and West Semitic tribes. The Bedâwin were known to both Babylonians and Egyptians as the 'Sutu, or 'children of Sheth' (Nu 24^{17})

These West Semitic tribes, in so far as they occupied Mesopotamia and Northern Arabia, are the Aramæans of later history. We must, however, remember that the Aramæans are not necessarily those who spoke Aramaic dialects. As a matter of fact, these latter dialects originated in the contact of Arabic with that West Semitic language which may be called Canaanitish or even Hebrew, at a much later date than the time when the Assyrians and their neighbours first spoke of the Aramû or Aramæans. 'Aramæan' is a tribal or territorial term, not a linguistic one, and as such it is used in the O.T. (*e.g.* Dt 26^{5}).

Now the western bank of the Euphrates on which Ur was situated lay within the territory not only of the 'Sutu or Bedâwin, but also of the Aramæans. Ur, indeed, was closely connected with Harran, the leading city of Mesopotamia. The two cities were the seats of the worship of the moon-god, around whose sanctuaries they had grown up. And it is therefore significant that according to Gn 22^{22}, Chesed was the son of Nahor of Harran,

the brother of Uz and Hazo, and the uncle of Aram and Laban. In other words, he was an Aramæan of Mesopotamia.

In the Kasdim or descendants of Chesed we must therefore see, not the Babylonians, but those West Semitic tribes whose home was on the western side of the Euphrates and whose form of Semitic speech extended from Canaan to Southern Arabia. In a former article I have proposed to call the dialects they used Hebraic, and perhaps the same term might be extended to them in a racial sense. At all events it is important to remember that they occupied South-Eastern Arabia as well as the lowlands to the north-east of Babylonia, and that the Assyrians were of the same blood, though they had adopted the Babylonian language.

Under the dynasty to which Khammurabi or Amraphel belonged the West Semites conquered Babylonia, or at any rate imposed upon it a line of kings. Hebraic proper names occur plentifully in the contracts of the period; at a later date most of them disappear. It is only in the time of Khammurabi's dynasty that we find names like Jacob-el, Joseph-el or Joel (Yahum-ilu). This therefore must have been the time when the Kasdim crossed the Euphrates and established themselves in Babylonia; in the age of Abraham Ur was still Ur of the Kasdim in contradistinction to the other great cities of Babylonia which were purely Babylonian; but the Kasdim had already planted themselves in the Babylonian plain, and it was not long before they gave a name to it among their West Semitic neighbours. Not long after Abraham's migration Khammurabi united Babylonia under a single Kasdim sovereign and made Babylon for the first time the capital of the country. Just as Merodach-baladan's possession of Babylon in later days caused 'Chaldæan' and 'Babylonian' to become synonymous, so the rise of Khammurabi's empire made Kasdim and Babylonian synonymous among the Semites of the West.

It is noteworthy that in the tenth chapter of Genesis Babylonia is not mentioned among the sons of Shem. Hitherto it has been supposed that it is meant by Arphaxad, in spite of the fact that in 11^{12} Arphaxad is the ancestor, not of the Babylonians, but of the Western Semites. M. de Morgan's discoveries at Susa have now put a new complexion on the matter. They have shown that Elam, the son of Shem, is not the non-Semitic district of Anzan, but the district of which Susa was the capital, and which was a province of Semitic Babylonia. Before the age of Khammurabi, in fact, it was as purely Semitic as Assyria; it was only after that period that it passed into the hands of a non-Semitic power. Western Semites or 'Sutu were settled in the lowland parts of it, and proper names make it clear that the kingdom of Khana, which lay to the north of it, was West Semitic also. The sons of Shem, accordingly, represented the Western Semites, and hence it is that Samu, or Sumu, the biblical Shem, was the ancestral god of the dynasty to which Khammurabi belonged. Its first king called himself Samu-abi 'Shem is my father.' The Book of Genesis turns out to be strictly accurate in its ethnology: Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Nod (so I read instead of Lud), and Aram all formed one family, and traced their decent from Shem. To the same family, morover, belonged the tribes of Hadramaut and South-Eastern Arabia.

There was a good reason for not including Babylonia in the same family. Its primitive population and culture were alike non-Semitic. The Babylonian language and civilization of a later day were due to the superposition of West Semitic upon Sumerian elements, and the Babylonian language—which we generally term Assyrian—remained, like modern English, a mixed language to the last. The fact is witnessed not only by the vocabulary, which is full of Semitized Sumerian words, but also by the grammar with its two tenses expressive of time, and above all by the phonology which has suffered from the inability of the Sumerians to pronounce the distinctive sounds of Semitic speech, even more than Egyptian Arabic has suffered in the mouths of a Coptic population. The *ghain* and *'ain*, the *ṭa*, *ẓa*, and *ḥa* are all gone; even the *tsaddê* and *qôph* have been confounded with *zain* and *kaph* or *gimel*. Even if all remains of Sumerian literature had perished, Semitic Babylonian would have obliged the scientific philologist to postulate the existence of a Sumerian language.

I have assumed that Arphaxad is a representative of the Western Semites. It has long since been recognized that the name is a compound of Chesed, and of all the attempts that have been made to explain the first element in it that of Schrader, which connects it with the Arabic *arfah*, Eth. *arfet*, 'a wall' or 'rampart,' is the most plausible.

from his childhood, teach him to know God as his Father, to interpret God in his life and make Him visible to men, and you have set before him a permanent truth and a present duty, a duty, the fulfilment of which will ennoble him, and make him more Godlike all the days of his life. If, then, the Church is to be a servant of the Lord, if we who are its members are to contribute to make it so, we must see to it that the effect of our lives is to bring God near to our fellows. There must be something about us that needs explaining, a humility that is impressive in its dignity, the reverence of him who is aware that God is always near, and knows God as a Friend. By nothing short of this can God be glorified in us. Philanthropy is good, but it is not redemptive; it relieves from without, it gives no hope of change from within. Any sort of material help whatsoever has reference only to material welfare; and what men need above all things is that we give them a lift, a lifting up of the heart towards God, God who understands and sympathizes, and who alone can provide for all the needs of the creatures He has made. That which we call charity is good in its place; but if it is to uplift men and not pauperize them, it must be backed up by the love whose beautiful name it has usurped, it must be the expression of love,—love which is the character of God that men need to have interpreted and made visible to them.

2. In the second place, the servant is not only to interpret God in his life; he is, if I may so phrase it, to utter God with his lips as well as his life. 'He hath made my mouth like a sharp sword, in the shadow of His hand hath He hid me; and He hath made me a polished shaft, in His quiver hath He kept me close' (Is 49^{2}).

'The Lord God hath given me the tongue of them that are taught, that I should know how to sustain with words him that is weary: He wakeneth morning by morning, He wakeneth mine ear to hear as they that are taught. The Lord God hath opened mine ear, and I was not rebellious, neither turned away backward' (Is $50^{4.5}$).

In these two passages the prophet evidently puts his own experience into the lips of the servant. The words describe the writer. His utterance is like a sharp sword, which does its work perfectly, because it has been forged and tempered by the hand of God Himself. His speech is like a pointed arrow going straight to the mark through all opposition of sin and pride and faithlessness. It has lain in the quiver of God, and at length been taken forth and drawn by the divine hand. Where, except in the words of Jesus, can we find a message from God more calculated to make men penitent and trustful than in the prophecies of 2 Isaiah? This is speech that comes from the tongue of the learner, as the prophet so significantly says. If any man speak on behalf of God, he must speak as the oracles of God; he must have listened with the inward ear for what the Holy Teacher saith; that and that alone must he utter without addition or subtraction. Here we have what is practically a definition of prophecy from one of the greatest of the prophets. And he represents this utterance as an ideal towards which all devout men, those who are the servant of the Lord, should aim. He seems to say: 'Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets!' Let us examine a little more closely what is required in order to make a man the spokesman of God.

The first condition is that silence shall precede speech. The sword must be hidden in the shadow of God's hand, the arrow lie in His quiver. But this silence is not listlessness. So far from that, 'He wakeneth morning by morning, He wakeneth mine ear to hear as the learners.' No listlessness this, but punctual waking by the heavenly voice with a view to instruction. Speech that is to be helpful must be the outcome of a life. Behind the speech must be the life that is hid in God, a life which is unseen by others, but not unfelt by them; the uplifting, of which they are conscious, is something which they know must be traced back to God. If we are to succour the weary with words, we must not be strangers to the secret place of the Most High. The silence in which the Lord Jehovah opens our ear and gives to us the tongue of the learner must precede the speech which is to convey the succour of God to those who are weary. And even though our words be very few, yet we ourselves shall be so full of our experience of God, that our bearing and our lives will, as I ventured to express it, utter God even beyond what the power of words can achieve. Let us see to it that morning by morning our ears are opened to the heavenly voice. Some of us have not many minutes, it may be, but let

us make the most of whatever time we have. And if you believe that a conversation every day with a good man would be a real help to you in resisting temptation, and would stimulate you to do your best, what may you not expect from even two minutes spent morning by morning in the presence of God listening to His voice?

But mark this, after the silence must come the speech.

> I was not rebellious,
> Nor turned away backward.

The speech may be in many words or few according to circumstances, but there is no man who is entitled to perpetually hold his peace and never name the name of God to a single human being.

I have spoken of the servant as one in whom God is glorified and made visible, and also as the spokesman of God. From v.[6] onwards he is described as a martyr. Martyr is a Greek word spelled with English letters; but in Greek it means only witness, in English it means one who suffers because of his witness to the truth. In the experience of the servant of the Lord, the witness becomes the martyr. Now the Bible never blinds this fact, and neither must the expositor of the Bible nor anyone who means to regulate his life by the Bible. Jeremiah spoke of himself as a gentle lamb led to the slaughter. 2 Isaiah uses a similar phrase of the servant in chapter 53. Jesus bade His disciples rejoice and be exceeding glad when they suffered for righteousness' sake, 'for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you.' Paul says that we must, *must*, through much tribulation enter the kingdom of God. And Browning echoes these greater voices of the past when he says, 'How very hard it is to be a Christian.'

Jesus says that if a man will not take up his cross daily and bear it after Him, he cannot be His disciple. He says that 'he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.' But He says, 'I know where thou dwellest, even where Satan's throne is.' I know, therefore, all is well. 'Fear not, for I am with thee.' If thou couldst have served Me better in another place, there would I have placed thee. Paul, again, compares the Christian life to a warfare. 'Fight the good fight of the faith,' he said, and do not be surprised or discouraged if it feels like a real fight. You were never told to expect anything else. But, thank God, He knows all about it, and is not indifferent, but equips us in His own armour. And so, when His servant has to endure hardships, he can confidently say, 'The Lord God will help me; therefore I have set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be put to shame.'

Savonarola, a man of noble family, gave up the prospect of social and political position and became a Dominican monk. He loved his adopted city of Florence with a passion that made him labour by all means for moral and spiritual reform. The pope let him have his way for a time until his reforms seemed likely to clash with the interests of Rome; and the prophet who had made the bonfire of vanities was himself burnt at the stake. But it is only he who is ready to lose his life for Christ's sake that can truly save it.

'If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. And the world passeth away and the lust thereof; but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.'

Recent Foreign Theology.

Nietzsche's Mission.[1]

In recent years German writers have given much attention to 'the modern man' and his attitude towards Christianity. A series of essays on this subject is appearing in the *Hefte zur Christlichen Welt*; pt. 2 of this series, which has just been issued, contains two articles by Hans Weichelt, entitled respectively, 'Nietzsche's Mission,' and 'Christian or Modern?'

Weichelt holds that Nietzsche was nearer to the kingdom of God than many a Christian Pharisee, and enters a protest against the hard things which have been said of him in Christian pulpits. Nevertheless, Weichelt acknowledges that Nietzsche is

[1] Der moderne Mensch und das Christenthum. Skizzen und Vorarbeiten ii. *Nietzsche's Mission. Christlich oder Modern?* Von Hans Weichelt. Williams & Norgate. 9d. net.

'unjust and often spiteful' in his sayings about Jesus, and that he seizes every opportunity of besmirching Christianity. The object of the essay is to show that Nietzsche's criticism of present-day Christianity is to a large extent true, and that the Ritschlian interpretation of the Christianity of Jesus Christ is best adapted to the needs of 'the modern man.'

Nietzsche revolts against Christian teaching, because, in view of the drunkard and the harlot, the fop and the idiot, it proclaims the absolute equality and the infinite value of all human souls; but Weichelt truly says of this part of Nietzsche's egoistic and aristocratic philosophy: 'The attempt to perfume the Christian teaching for the fine noses that cannot endure the smell of poor people is an utter failure.' On this subject the teacher and preacher must stand with both feet upon Christian ground, for if there was anything new and great in the teaching of Jesus it was the thought of the infinite value of every human soul. Nietzsche's arguments, in the judgment of this sympathetic interpreter, tend to establish the superiority of the Christian view of man.

Many readers of this essay will arrive at a similar conclusion in regard to some parts of Nietzsche's teaching, which Weichelt defends. Nietzsche's egoism is said not to abolish altruism; yet it is admitted that he did not believe men can act from unselfish motives. The mother who sacrifices her own health in nursing her child, the missionary who exchanges the comforts of home for a life of hardship and peril,—these are some of the examples chosen to prove that, in the last resort, all human conduct is prompted by selfish considerations. 'They would not be satisfied unless they did these seemingly unselfish deeds.' To maintain this position, Weichelt notwithstanding, must involve the depreciation of the value of altruistic actions.

Some sound and able criticisms of Nietzsche's philosophy are marred by a tendency to exaggerate the defects of present-day Christianity. 'Are there many Christian preachers who reply to the question, 'What must I do to be saved?' by saying 'Thou shalt *not* do this, nor that, nor that'; and who value the Bible because it is 'a collection of transgressors of the commandments?' Weichelt is right in maintaining that morality does not consist in prohibitions and restrictions—'the scissors-philosophy does not produce moral men'; but the teaching, which he thinks is rarely heard from Christian pulpits, has a familiar sound: 'Morality is not negative, but positive; it consists not in clipping shrubs into the shape of pyramids, but in chiselling marble into statues.'

J. G. Tasker.

Handsworth College.

The Utterances of Jesus regarding His Death.[1]

A small but very interesting and scholarly monograph on an old theme. The title is commonplace and unpromising enough (when will our erudite friends across the water attain to skill in rubric-making?), but it is not necessary to read more than half a dozen of Dr. Hollmann's pages before we learn that we are in good hands, and have stumbled upon something uncommonly like a pearl of exegetic skill. In approaching his problem, which is to investigate the ideas held by Jesus regarding His death (as recorded in the Synoptists), the author is confronted with the preliminary question as to whether we are in possession of the means requisite to the gaining of a true and accurate representation of what Jesus thought. Can we ever be sure that we possess His actual utterances, either about His death or anything else? Dr. Hollmann is but little inclined to dogmatise: his mind is too well furnished with critical categories to let himself be exposed to the charge of making assumptions; and it is only after an honest and careful probing of the question that he feels able to answer in the affirmative, though, of course this does not imply that he accepts the synoptical sayings of Jesus just as they stand. Next he asks whether Jesus presurmised His violent death, and regarded it as necessary; and, again, whether He ascribed any special significance to it. Dr. Hollmann makes out that to each of these questions an affirmative answer is due; and thus having cleared the outworks comes at length face to face with

[1] *Die Bedeutung des Todes Jesu nach seinen eigenen Aussagen auf Grund der synoptischen Evangelien.* Von Lic. Dr. Georg Hollmann, Privatdozent der Theologie an der Universität Halle. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. (Williams & Norgate. Price 3s. 6d.)

the real problem: Wherein lies this special significance? After having investigated some of Christ's references to the O.T. generally, our author concentrates his attention on the attitude of Jesus to Is 53, or rather 52^{13}–53^{12}. This investigation, however, has in the main a negative result, namely, that the one reference of Jesus to Is 53, *i.e.* Lk 22^{37}, has nothing to do with His death; further, however, Dr. Hollmann lays emphasis on the extreme probability that had Jesus conceived of His death as an atonement (*Sühne*), the great *Ebed-Jahweh* passage would have had a regulative and central place in His thoughts and speech. Next, the λυτρον-passage, Mk 10^{45}, is discussed. After showing that in the LXX λυτρον is used to translate various Hebrew words, that not one half of the instances of λυτρον represent כפר (*atone*), and that the פדה-derivatives (*deliver*) are *always* rendered by λυτρον, or by a word formed from λυτρον, Dr. Hollmann concludes that λυτρον has nothing to do with atonement, but simply means something like *deliver*, (*erlösen, befreien*). Finally he comes to the words used at the Supper; and, again only after careful investigation, takes Mark's account, 14^{22ff}, as the most original and trustworthy. Here, too, he finds nothing that suggests *Sühne*, unless perhaps της διαθηκης, which, however, for linguistic reasons (awkward double genitive, το αιμα μου της διαθηκης), he judges to be a later addition. The positive conclusion to which he comes is as follows:—Jesus looked upon His death as continuing the work of His life. This lifework was to deliver men from the kingdom of darkness and place them in the kingdom of heaven. But as the entrance to the kingdom was through the gate of μετανοια (*e.g.* Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand, Mt 4^{17}, || Mk 1^{15}), and as Jesus laboured to bring men to μετανοια, so He believed that His death, apparently the sign of failure, would so influence mankind that it would in God's time bring about the great change in the hearts of many (αντι πολλων, cf. Mk 14^{24} υπερ πολλων), whom His living words had left apathetic, or who had never heard them.

Such then is our author's result. We may call it a new theory of the Atonement, if we are willing to keep that word clear of every suggestion of substitution. The theory has at least this advantage over the orthodox, namely, that while the latter fails to give a fairly satisfactory account of the relation between the death of Jesus and its alleged result—for substitution, theoretically so simple, is surrounded by immense practical, even moral, difficulties; Dr. Hollmann's theory traces an undeniable psychological connexion between the Passion of our Lord and the *sine qua non* of entrance to the kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, our author cannot be altogether exculpated from the charge of so far emending the synoptic texts in favour of his theory; for although in every case he gives good reason for his alterations and rejections, yet we know how even the ablest and fairest critics have too often permitted their theories to influence their vision of the facts. Still when all has been said, Dr. Hollmann's book deserves the heartiest recommendation: it is learned, written in a clear style, stimulating, and often original.

Forfar. A. GRIEVE.

Duhm's 'Jeremia.'[1]

WE are not surprised at Professor Duhm's confession that he has shrunk more from attempting the exposition of Jeremiah than from that of any other Old Testament scripture. The undertaking bristles with difficulties. Much requires doing on the text. And in the present state of our knowledge no one will everywhere satisfy his fellow-inquirers or long remain entirely satisfied with his own results. The new instrument, the recognition of the metrical laws observed by the prophet-poet, will eventually prove of the utmost value. But in the use of it great tact and self-restraint are needed, and even where these qualities are present the result will not always be unassailable. Of this we see clear proof when we compare the book before us with Cornill's recently published brochure, *Die metrischen Stücke des B. Jeremia.*[2] But Dr. Duhm's sense of the gravity of the task has been the best possible preparation for it. He has done everything under a deep feeling of responsibility and of the need for care and thoroughness. His own preconceived opinions have altered in the course of this special study, and the opinions of many readers will be affected. He has given us one of the most important of the contributions so far made to this excellent series of commentaries.

[1] *Jeremia.* Erklärt von Dr. Bernh. Duhm. Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901.

[2] Cf., *e.g.*, the treatment of 8^{5-17} 22^{17-19} in the two works.

The exegesis is fuller than in some of the preceding volumes. That results from the fact that the exegete vividly realizes the scene or speech of which he treats, and is eager to make us realize it. Here is part of the note on 1^5: 'The idea that Yahweh forms a man in his mother's womb is often worked out with wonder and astonishment by the later writers (cf. on Job 10^{8-11}, Ps $139^{13ff.}$). But Yahweh "knew" Jeremiah before He made him in his mother's womb. This idea is an advance on the other, and reminds us of the προέγνω of Ro 8^{29}. Yahweh knew beforehand what might and should become of the child whom He would give to Hilkiah. He needed a special instrument for the future; He did not wait till the time when the man was required and choose him then out of the available material; long ere that the image or, as a Greek would say, the idea of the person He would employ stood before Him and served as the model for what He formed. To this we must add that in the circumstances and character of the priestly family at Anathoth He saw the opportunity for carrying out His lofty purpose. According to Ex 33^{12} Yahweh knows Moses "by name." Moses has specially attracted His attention, so that He notices him more than others, occupies Himself with his person, and ultimately calls him. Amos is taken from following the sheep. Isaiah is submitted to a sort of test and then offers himself for the service. But Jeremiah, before he came into existence, was a thought of God's, pre-existed in God's Spirit, was specially created by Him for a great mission. That is an imposing thought, a deeply impressive idea! Whether the author of this chapter is to be credited with it or Jeremiah himself uttered it and it was extracted from Baruch's work, it is one of the most profound and lofty in the Old Testament. If Jeremiah carried about with him this consciousness, he had other ground beneath his feet than all the rest of humankind. So far at least as his own person was concerned the riddle of existence was solved. But this involved the loss of that naïve delight in life which ordinary mortals feel, that freedom from presentiment with which we advance from one day's life to another. In a world where every creature speeds from enjoyment to enjoyment, where sensuous happiness is held to be the supreme goal, and men care, fear, and struggle, only for themselves and their friends, Jeremiah is a figure of tragic greatness: "before Thy hand I sat solitary" (15^{17}).' On 26^3 Duhm writes: 'Would that we knew the manner in which Jeremiah recited these verses (or, more probably, a portion of them)! The citizens of the capital, the notables, many burghers of the "cities of Judah" are assembled at their noisy sacrificial meal. They talk about the bad months which are just over; they exhort each other to be of good courage—"the temple of Yahweh is this"; they grow excited by degrees. Suddenly the seer appears, deeply earnest, traces of spiritual sufferings in his face. Now in solemn monotone, now in wild song, he repeats the terrible visions which have so long pursued him, in which the impending chaos is depicted, in which the incurable corruption of the people is bemoaned, in which is described the decay of that green and charming olive-tree with which the people were compared a while ago in the sacrificial song ($11^{15ff.}$).' And on 28^{11}: 'He makes no reply to Hananiah, he goes away as though he were vanquished, leaving behind the yoke with which he had appeared in public. Why? He has fulfilled his mission. Then, not as an inspired person, but as a thoughtful man who has reflected on his own position, impulses, and calling, he has adduced evidence which makes it reasonably probable, but not absolutely certain, that his prediction is not founded on a subjective illusion. Then the half-mad fanatic falls on him, as it were, snatches off the yoke and breaks it. But he had been convinced that Yahweh gave it him to wear! What, then, does this mean? Is the ranter right after all? Has Jeremiah been moved by a genuine inspiration? And, if not, should he contend with the patriotic enthusiast? Is he not to vindicate his own honour? Nay, he has no thought for himself; he feels, too, that rational words are here of no avail; he cannot quarrel with a rival, like chapmen who cry their wares; he must be alone with God. We are reminded of Mk 15^5. Those of the spectators who were possessed of finer feeling must have perceived that Jeremiah was a true man, unaffected, free from vanity, defenceless against brutal attacks, כִּכְבֶשׂ אַלּוּף (11^{19}), used to being reviled, but never reviling again, willing rather to seem beaten than to snatch a victory. For several decades past they could see him thus. He has never produced any result, but he has always come up again; he knows that he is to be as "Yahweh's mouth," if he bring forth "the precious without

the vile" (15[19]). And so he goes this time, but he will return, though Hananiah meanwhile strive by still louder cries to make himself and those like-minded forget that only the future can decide what is true.'

There are shorter passages equally worthy of attention. For instance, on 3[1] Duhm speaks of the copyist 'who, with his לֵאמֹר, allows himself the modest query whether a new superscription is not here required.' At 3[4] he is surely right in omitting אָבִי, which was interpolated under the influence of v.[19]. There is an important and welcome pronouncement with reference to 2[27]: 'The designation of the tree as father and the stone as mother arises mainly from the fact that עֵץ is masc. and אֶבֶן fem. But this does not authorize the conclusion that in Jeremiah's days the Israelites believed themselves to be physically descended from divine ancestors or thought that the souls of their ancestors inhabited the tree or the stone. . . . So far as we can see, the people as a whole were not strongly drawn to this kind of superstition, and ancestor-worship had practically no significance for Israel.' He deals very satisfactorily with 24[8], a passage which readers who are not familiar with Hebrew can feel to be out of order: the familiar formula, 'for thus saith Yahweh,' is omitted; אַכִּיר is read for אֶתֵּן, as in v.[5]; the result is a perfect parallel to v.[5]. Then the difficulty connected with the mention of Egypt is attacked: 'The mention of the Egyptian Jews is obviously occasioned by chap. 42. We are not precisely informed as to the reason why they were so hated by the *bene haggolah*. No doubt there was always a sort of rivalry between the Babylonian and the Egyptian Jews: the former deemed themselves the better, the latter were better off. Under Ptolemy Soter (321–283) many Palestinian Jews are supposed to have gone to Egypt, some as prisoners, others voluntarily. Did this fresh emigration, opposed so flatly to the hopes entertained of the gathering together of the Diaspora, embitter the rivalry, and find expression in chaps. 24, 42 ff.?' The corrupt text of 29[12-14] is dealt with as follows:—'Even if we had not the evidence of the LXX we should be obliged to say that the text of v.[12-14] has received many additions. The three first words of v.[12] are not found in the LXX, and only the two first of v.[14]; in several ancient codices and in the Pesh. [13a] is missing; the latter must have been subsequently inserted in the LXX. The original text seems, therefore, to have run: *And if ye pray to me, I will hear you; if ye seek me with your whole heart, I will be found of you*: I can and will hear your prayers in far-off Babylonia also. The added matter at the beginning of v.[12] probably comes from a marginal note and the text is corrupt; for the altogether meaningless הֲלַכְתֶּם we should perhaps read וְחַנּוֹתֶם, after Is 30[19]. The second addition, v.[13a], is an expression frequently repeated, and is modelled on Is 65[24]. V.[13b] is to be connected with the two first words of v.[14], as in the LXX; the latter reads וְנִרְאֵיתִי for וְנִמְצֵאתִי, and seeing that the M.T. may be influenced by Is 55 this is perhaps the original. For the rest, v.[14] is an altogether unthinking addition; Jeremiah is writing to the elders in Babylon, and therefore cannot represent Yahweh as saying that He will gather them out of all the nations.' Duhm declares that no one knows the meaning of the M.T. of 31[22b], but that text 'is certainly incorrect. We must read נ' תְּסוֹב גֶּבֶר (cf. Zec 14[10]), "The woman is turned into a man." That is very likely a proverbial expression which could be mockingly applied to many astounding occurrences, amongst others to poems in which one and the same important subject might be treated now as male, now as female. Israel here has first been regarded as a son, then as a wife. Hence the LXX reading, נְקֵבָה יְסוֹבֵב גָּבֶר, is better, although they did not understand its meaning.' The suggestion, as a whole, is worthy of consideration, but it is by no means certain that the בְּיֵשַׁע, which the LXX read (ἐν σωτηρίᾳ περιελεύσονται ἄνθρωποι), was a corruption of בְּאִשָּׁה. Duhm ascribes 31[26] to the same critical reader as v.[22b]: 'The book is ended, the dream over; it would be only too delightful if everything could happen as is promised here, but obviously it is a dream, and who knows whether it will come true?'

We cannot do more than indicate the general results to which Duhm's searching and relentless criticism has led him. Of course he divides our present Book of Jeremiah into three parts: the prophet's own utterances, the Book of Baruch, and the supplementary matter; the first consisting of about 280 verses, the second of about 220, and the third about 850. They are characterized in the following manner:—'The main thing with

Jeremiah, as with the older prophets, was his oral work, which seems to have been performed in a more restrained, one might say a more gentle and modest, manner than that of Amos or Isaiah. He was patient and persistent, rather than passionate and overpowering. He is not the ruler of men's spirits, but the keen observer, the true mentor and counsellor, a hero in suffering, not in attack. The only prose piece we have of his is the letter in chap. 29. Some of his poems convey the impression that he wrote them for himself rather than for others, yet it was he who published them. The great majority of the poems are very short, on an average less than five Massoretic verses. It is significant of the simplicity of Jeremiah's art that the metre is always the same; four lines of alternately three and two accents,[1] whether the prophet is reproducing visions of the approaching catastrophe or depicting the corruption of the people, whether he is uttering his pain and despair, or abandoning himself to consoling hopes. To this simple form the poetic diction corresponds; it is never artificial or adorned; it is not even pathetic, but always natural, appropriate to the thoughts, popular in the best sense of the word. But for this very reason it takes hold of us, moves us, often stirs us deeply, betrays the born poet by its abundance of striking and original images. Jeremiah's poetry is chiefly distinguished from that of the prophets of the foregoing centuries by the far greater prominence in it of the writer's own individuality, his feelings, and his state of mind, often expressed in the most masterly fashion. Amos and Isaiah are orators, Jeremiah is a lyric poet; he is most closely related to Hosea, who influenced him considerably when he was writing his youthful poems.' Our second extract relates to the Book of Baruch, which 'may be called a biography of Jeremiah, although it does not seem to have told the story of his whole life, says nothing about his youth or his death, and sometimes appears to lose sight of him for a considerable time (40^{7}–41^{18}); nor does it profess to treat of the man Jeremiah, but of the prophet. Hence it is that in the first half it gives us more of the impression of a chronological document, making the word of Yahweh, which came in such or such a year, its object or its starting-point (cf. on 26^{1} 28^{1} 29^{1} 32^{1} 36^{1}). This method is less common, and sustained narrative becomes more prevalent, in the later part of the book, where the events belonging to and succeeding the final siege of Jerusalem are described. For a long time, probably for several centuries, the book appears to have had an independent existence, as a highly valued constituent of the historical, not the prophetical, literature (see on 27^{6}). It was not united with the Book of Jeremiah at a single stroke or on a uniform plan, for as we now have it we possess neither the original order, the correct sequence of chapters, nor the original text. The revisers who added it piecemeal to the Book of Jeremiah thought that in order to do this they must range it among the prophecies. They have therefore laid stress on the speeches, have remodelled and worked up this scanty stock into "Words of Yahweh," have here and there composed a divine utterance, have frequently abbreviated the historical matter (see on $34^{8\text{-}11}$ or $44^{15\text{ff.}}$), have misunderstood or disregarded Baruch's actual meaning. Consequently, Jeremiah is credited in our present form of Baruch's book with speeches which he neither did nor could deliver. This book has also given an impulse to the Haggadah, and many a Midrash incorporated with or severed from it, is now a portion of the collection of speeches in Jer 1–25 (cf. $39^{11\text{-}13}$ $40^{1\text{-}5}$).' We have already pointed out that Duhm relegates more than half our Book of Jeremiah to the realm of supplements; the authors of these, whose work was not completed till the first century B.C., wished 'to contribute to the formation of a kind of People's Bible, a book of religious instruction and edification, which, in conjunction with many other writings of similar tendency, would help the laity to a better comprehension of their religion and history.' But their literary skill was of a low order, 'inferior even to that displayed in Daniel and Jonah. The prophet whom they bring before us has hardly anything in common with the real Jeremiah whom we know from his poems and from Baruch's biography . . . he is a teacher of the law rather than a prophet.'

We have said enough to show that the book

[1] Cf. Cornill's statements: 'The octastich, the eight-line doggerel verse, is the fundamental metrical form of Jeremiah's poetry.' 'The equality of the individual lines was not the fundamental law of his metre; to speak in modern phraseology, he wrote in "doggerel verse."' Cornill is not always able to complete the strophe by making out the requisite eight lines. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether the original lines always contained three and two beats alternately; we cannot but be suspicious when the critic (Duhm, p. 26) inserts a word 'des Metrums wegen.'

will cause some searchings of heart. There can be no doubt that it will excite a new and keener examination of Jeremiah. Many who reject, or even resent some of its conclusions, will find much to charm and help them in the detailed exposition. For their sake, and for the promotion of biblical scholarship amongst us, it is to be hoped that Duhm's *Jeremia* will be speedily turned into English.

JOHN TAYLOR.

Winchcombe.

Soltau's 'Gospel Sources.'[1]

THIS is one more of the endless series of German monographs upon the supremely interesting problem of our Gospels, their origin and value as sources of history. It differs from most of the others in that its author is not a professional theologian, but a secular historian of proved ability. Consequently it exhibits in no small degree that freshness of view and statement which frequently attaches to the writing of a thoroughly equipped outsider, such as has so often moved students of theology in this country to give thanks for the works of Professor Ramsay. Soltau's aim is to convey to educated laymen the accredited results of Gospel criticism, both positive and negative, in the hope of lessening their indifference to Christianity. It may be that some will feel his methods and conclusions helpful to faith; to the ordinary believer, lettered or unlettered, the adoption of such results as we have here will probably appear pure loss.

Nothing is possible but the briefest *résumé* of his findings. A good deal of the matter in this book, be it said in passing, is elementary and familiar. Soltau, on the whole, adheres to the two-document theory of the Synoptics, though with modifications of his own; and he offers us a fresh and attractive demonstration of the priority of Mark. *Our* Mark, and not a conjectural Urmarcus, is the narrative source used by the authors of the First and Third Gospels. The history of the canonical Matthew is as follows:—The Apostle Matthew wrote the Logia in Aramaic. About 70 A.D. an unknown editor combined a Greek form of this Logia-collection with the narrative of Mark, and so produced what Soltau calls Proto-Matthew. A generation later, a second editor (Deutero-Matthew) elaborated this work into an extended and more modern Gospel, with copious additions from his own pen. This is the Gospel as we have it now, and it contains not only a great many quotations from the Old Testament, but also a large number of alleged incidents really due to the mythical tendency already beginning to work, such as Peter's walking on the sea, the paying of tribute, several passages relating to Pilate, and Jesus' appearance to Mary Magdalene.

The pedigree of the Third Synoptic is more complex still. In a word, it is derived from Mark, a Judaistically expanded form of the Logia, other sources which meet us again in Acts, and a brief written and legendary account of Jesus' birth and childhood. Besides these, Luke took certain mythical incidents (*e.g.* the raising of the widow of Nain's son, and the walk to Emmaus) from oral tradition. Luke had Proto-Matthew (which is undogmatic and universalistic in tone) before him when he wrote; on the other hand Deutero-Matthew (whose sympathies are Catholic and dogmatic) had read Luke.

Of Mark we need only say that, according to Soltau, its author was unacquainted with the Logia, and that in its present form it also exhibits mythical elements, amounting altogether to what would fill three or four chapters. None of the three Synoptics was originally written with a bias, and the Third, so long regarded as *par excellence* the Pauline Gospel, is in reality freer from tendency than the others. But the additions which they have each received from later hands are all of a Catholicising complexion.

It need hardly be said, in view of all this, that Soltau takes a comparatively low view of the authenticity of the Gospel of John. The apostle may in some way be responsible for part of the narrative, but the discourses were supplied by John the Presbyter, who developed and expanded suggestive sayings of Christ which the Church in Asia Minor had received from the beloved apostle. The Fourth Gospel finally took shape under Hadrian, long after the apostle's death. These conclusions, Soltau observes, are so simple and certain that he feels it unnecessary to offer proof in detail.

Soltau's notions of what constitutes evidence are

[1] *Unsere Evangelien, ihre Quellen und ihr Quellenwert, vom Standpunkt des Historikers aus betrachtet.* Von Wilhelm Soltau. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Theodor Weicher, 1901. Price 2s. 6d.

at times culpably defective, nor are the exigencies of space sufficient to excuse such shortcomings. Probably he himself would admit that he works upon the principle of cutting out everything that is miraculous, merely to clear the ground in a preliminary way, and what sort of a ruin the Gospel story becomes when such a maxim is rigidly applied to it, every one can discover for himself. Even St. Paul's rapid summary of the appearances of the Risen Christ, which few have had the temerity to assail, has met with the usual fate of statements which do not fall in with preconceived opinions, the greater part of it being audaciously dismissed as spurious. There is a typical footnote on one page which tells us that no one can possibly regard the questions of Thomas and Philip in Jn 14 as traces of historical reminiscence. Little wonder that when Soltau came to sum up the results of his investigation he found himself advising his readers to abandon, as a secondary and uncritical excrescence upon historical reality, the idea of a Saviour who has come down from heaven and gone to heaven again (p. 136). Let us hope that calmly and surely the Church will choose, and is choosing, between the immovable certainties of faith—which are also the demonstrated verities of history—and all such unreasonable aberrations of subjective caprice.

H. R. Mackintosh.

Aberdeen.

St. Paul the Roman.

By the Rev. John Kelman, Jun., M.A., Edinburgh.

We have seen the greatness of Paul as it is shown in his dealing with the Hebrew and the Greek life of his day—how he changed both of these, and made them live again in forms that conserved their best elements and set them free to do their work in the world. Subtle elements they were in both cases. For the Hebrew he gave a new meaning to the Race, the Law, and to the Tragedy of the Cross. For the Greek he found for them what their poets and philosophers had sought—the true Appreciation, the true Liberty, the true Conception of Flesh, the true Ideal Life. In both nations these ideals were in Paul's time but words; he made them powers—*real things*. Both nations were dying. He made them live in the spirit for ever.

The case of Rome was very different. She was not a dead but a living power in his time. Her ideals were not subtle, but plain and commonsense. Her empire was at its strongest. Her legions had mastered the world. It was only historians of wise and penetrating insight who saw the inevitable decay and downfall which the future held for the empire. They saw it, and painted dark pictures of the worst side of Roman life. But they had no remedy. Bitterness and angry vexation were all they had to give.

Paul also knew that seamy side of Rome. In the first chapter of his Roman Epistle he describes it in dreadful plainness. But he saw too the magnificent greatness, the practical effectiveness, the still available possibilities of the empire. He was large enough in mind and imagination to grasp this situation for Christ, to claim it in Christ's name, and so to save it.

Rome was great in common sense and practical genius. 'Rome was so successful, because she almost always yielded to the logic of facts.' She conquered the world; but she allowed the Greek language, not the Latin, to be its speech. She allowed the conquered nations to retain their nationality, the towns their municipal governments, the people their religions. And the empire that cast its shadow over every land and sea, had for its characteristic notes the Roman dignity and pride—that *gravitas* which was *the* Roman quality. It had the Roman law and the Roman sense of justice. It had the Roman strength and belief in strength, the Roman endurance and courage and obedience and efficiency.

Now in all this there was a very great deal which must have appealed to Paul, who was at heart far more Roman than has often been observed. A recent writer tells us that 'though Paul was excellent as a man in the Bible, he would hardly have done in real life.' But the fact is just that

he *did* do in real life; that he was so pre-eminently a practical man; that he was so closely in touch with everything that in his day was living and effective. Had there been newspapers then, Paul would have read them to purpose. He was the very last man in the world to imagine that 'intellectual darkness was the guarantee of spiritual light,' or that because a man was not a Christian, he must therefore be a fool.

Such a man could not but be in closest touch with Rome. We find traces of this continually in his writings—often surprisingly. For instance, the Roman law impresses him, and that great forensic system of theology which has been for so many centuries the very centre and backbone of Christian belief, owes something to this fact. Again, in his doctrine of adoption, he is using, changing, and wonderfully enriching a Roman practice of investing persons formerly not sons with the filial status.

Thus Paul and the Roman spirit understood each other well. Everyone must have noted how confidently and with what gusto he appealed unto Cæsar. Every student of his life must have felt how differently he fared under Roman judges from his treatment by either Jews or Asiatics. Gallio would have nothing to do with the Jewish persecution of him, Lysias saved his life, Festus and even Felix protected him in safety.

Professor Ramsay, to whose work this article is deeply indebted, takes a most interesting view of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, which brings out this point. It was, he says, a book written to prove that Christianity was legal in Roman law. He thinks that it is an unfinished book, and that Luke contemplated writing a third book giving an account of the trial and acquittal of Paul. Of the book as it stands he says: 'He was engaged in composing this book under Domitian, a period of persecution, when Christians had come to be treated as outlaws or brigands, and the mere confession of the name was recognized as a capital offence. The book was not an apology for Christianity; it was an appeal to the truth of history against the immoral and ruinous policy of the reigning emperor; a temperate and solemn record, by one who had played a great part in them, of the real facts regarding the formation of the Church, its steady and unswerving loyalty in the past, its firm resolve to accept the facts of Imperial Government, its friendly reception by many Romans, and its triumphant vindication in the first great trial at Rome. It was the work of one who had been trained by Paul to look forward to Christianity becoming the religion of the empire and of the world, who regarded Christianity as destined not to destroy but to save the empire.' Thus there runs through the whole book a very artful and very convincing strain of argument. The Romans find everywhere their law and their sense of justice leading them to befriend and protect Christianity, which is thus quietly identified with the honour of the Roman Empire. And this leads us to that new view of Paul's greatness which now we find. The greatness of St. John the mystic went into hatred—a historic and undying hatred of the harlot city. The greatness of St. Paul, the man of affairs, went into a tremendous scheme for utilizing the Roman Empire for Christ's purposes. 'He was beyond all doubt one of those great creative geniuses whose policy marks out the lines on which history is to move for generations and even for centuries afterwards.'

Let us now consider three great illustrations of this fact, viz.: Paul's use of the Roman Roads, the Roman Citizenship, and the Roman Imperialism.

1. *The Roman Roads.*—As the Roman wars brought the armies, and after victory the colonists, farther and farther across the world, it became necessary to establish lines of communication with the most distant places. The Romans never did this sort of thing by halves, and the roads they built remain to this day the wonder of succeeding generations. Radiating from Rome as a centre, these grand military roads stretched like a huge spider web to the ends of the earth; linking towns and villages with each other, uniting whole regions into consolidated states, and all leading eventually into one or other of those great Italian highways like the Via Appia and the Via Latina, which at last passed under the arch of the city gate.

Looking back to the first century, as the student's eye falls on that network of highways, it wanders until on one of them it discovers the solitary figure of this man Paul, staff in hand, and with no very large scrip to carry his belongings. That figure walking on the Roman road is one of the most significant in all history.

The Roman policy in the main was to allow religions to propagate themselves without interfer-

ence. In the city itself men from all corners of the earth might worship their own gods. In the provinces they might worship what they pleased. It would seem that it was Gallio of Corinth whose action determined finally Paul's grand line of conduct. Gallio, whose 'caring for none of these things' has been much misunderstood, really showed Paul that Rome was not prepared to check an enterprise he had long been maturing. This was no less than the enterprise of making Christianity the religion of the civilized world. That this was in his mind we gather definitely from a trivial looking reference in the Epistle to the Romans, where he says he intends to go on from Rome to Spain. Spain was the most Romanized country, the chief seat of Roman civilization, in the West, and this plan is full of significance.

Thus when we speak of Paul as the great founder of foreign missions,—as the apostle of the Gentiles,—we must not think simply of a preacher and organizer of individual churches in many different heathen places. We mean rather that here is one grand organization which one statesmanlike mind found ready to his hand and deliberately used. The Roman roads had made the world one, connecting the various centres of Roman government throughout the provinces. Paul, like Wesley, 'regarded the world as his parish.' But it was a world already organized for him. He did not go to savage heathendom, as if any one place were as suitable as any other for the propagation of the gospel. He chose the ganglia of the nerves, the central points of the roads, the chief Roman centres, such as Puteoli, Corinth, Ephesus, Antioch. At Rome itself he established a church, with the distinct purpose of making that the headquarters, the natural base of operations, for a missionary campaign through Western Europe. Elsewhere he chose the commercial, military, and intellectual centres in which to establish the gospel.

What fascinating work it must have been! how full of excitement and adventure! As we see that solitary figure on the Roman road, quickening his pace as he comes near some new centre, we can feel the more excited beating of the pulse and see the kindling eye. He is off to stand, to speak, to take what comes, ever in new towns. It is his lifework. Yet it never can have grown dull upon him; and to the end, driven onward by his great plan, he feels on each occasion the excitement of watching and speculating as to the result of each new attempt and venture.

A little thought reveals to us at once how original and how Titanic this plan of his was. Who were they who trod these roads then? Soldiers out from the capital, merchants, marketing countryfolk, and all the traffic, old and new, that flows on century after century. But the most significant thing of Paul's time was the *inflow* from the provinces to Rome. 'All movements of thought throughout the empire acted with marvellous rapidity on Rome, the heart of the vast and complicated organism.' . . . 'The Imperial policy fostered intercommunication and unity to the utmost; and it is not too much to say that travelling was more highly developed, and the dividing power of distance was weaker, under the empire than at any time before or since until we come down to the present century.' This being so, we see a stream of evil travellers invading Rome continually. Impostures, superstitions, unnatural and shameful luxuries of vice,—every imaginable degradation and corruption that could be found anywhere in the world,—flowed steadily Romewards to find a market there; until Sallust speaks of the city as the cesspool of the world.

The old Roman party of the time, conservative and staunch, dreaded this evil inflow. They saw how it was ruining Roman thought and manners. They opposed it with all their strength. But they were powerless to check it. Rome's very greatness, her brilliance and attractiveness, had become her danger. Her very highways—the chief monuments of her strength and robustness—were becoming the means of her weakening and decay.

It was this that Paul rose up to check, doing what the emperors, the historians, and the philosophers of Rome confessed they could not do. Planting Christianity at the knots, or crossing-places of the roads, he set *its* stream also flowing Romewards. From all directions the gospel of Christ flowed into the city, along with so many baser things. And it was largely on account of this that Rome attained the pre-eminence she reached as the centre of Christendom in these early days. Surely it was a statesmanlike way of doing foreign mission work.

2. *The Roman Citizenship.*—Roman history has for its distinction this, that in it we have the record, not of one country governing other countries, but of a single city making herself mistress of the

world. It is interesting to remember how much the single city counts for in the New Testament. St. John and St. Paul are responsible for this. But John hated Rome. His city was Jerusalem, and the whole magnificence of his inspired imagination is spent in reconstructing that desolated capital into the New Jerusalem, with its sunless light, its worship without a temple, its jewel gates and golden streets, its river and trees of life. It is not of the earth, but descends from heaven—at least not of the *present* earth, for it may be a forecast of the better days of the future here as well as of the heavenly city.

Paul also was a man of the city, but his city was Rome. He had nothing to say of her streets or gates or temples. It was her citizenship that fascinated him. And he did for that idea what John did for his Jerusalem—glorified and spiritualized it, and set it free to conquer the imagination and to draw the desires of the world.

In the case of a city which is mistress of the world, municipal ideas and privileges become national and indeed universal ones. With us the 'freedom of the city' is a small affair; with Rome, it was the greatest affair of all. Just as the Greeks divided the world into Greeks and barbarians, so the Romans divided it into citizens and strangers. Besides other rights, citizenship conferred these: that the citizen could not be scourged; that he could not (except in extremest circumstances) be arrested; and that he had the right of appeal from all minor courts to Cæsar himself.

At first the citizenship of Rome was confined to inhabitants of the city. In later days, Caracalla extended it to inhabitants of the provinces. Paul lived in the middle time, when Julius Cæsar had widened it, not to the provinces, but to the whole Italian peninsula. Thus in Paul's time a citizen meant either a native of Italy or a stranger who had received the privilege either by buying it at an enormous price, or as a reward for some distinguished service. It was conveyed in a diploma, to forge which was a crime punishable by death. The possession of that diploma stamped a family as one of distinction, and at least of moderate wealth. It superseded all other honours, and placed its possessor among the aristocracy of any provincial town.

To this latter class—the class of strangers who had in some way acquired the privilege—it would seem that the family of Paul belonged; though we know nothing of the circumstances under which Paul's father had received the citizenship.

This we do know, that Paul prized and openly boasted of the honour. It is true that he, who so willingly suffered all things for Christ's sake, allowed his enemies to violate this privilege on eight different occasions; but when he asserted it, he did so with pride and with effect. At Philippi he brought the magistrates cringing to his feet in the prison; at Jerusalem he turned the cheek of Claudius Lysias pale when he declared himself.

It was not, however, for the sake of the individual distinction it conferred upon him that Paul valued the privilege most highly. Like all else, this was valuable chiefly as it became an instrument in his hand for Christ's service. For his mission work it was as perfect an instrument as a man might ask. The point where Paul most of all broke away from the Jews was his universalism. He had broken down that wall of partition between Jew and Gentile, which formed so impassable a barrier before his time. Rome, by offering to all the world the fellowship of her city, led men in every province to try to gain it. And once a Roman citizen (so strong and glorious was the bond), a man might be said to have changed his nationality, and to belong to the one great family of Rome. It can be easily seen how great a help this must have been to him when he too planned his universal brotherhood.

But Paul heightened and spiritualized every instrument he used. The worth of citizenship must ultimately be measured by the worth of the city that gives it. No one could see more clearly than Paul that the moral worth of Rome was utterly out of proportion to the idea she had created of the worth and glory of her citizenship. So he, to whom this great political and social fact must have often seemed a huge sarcasm, took it only for the model of a spiritual ideal. The true Rome was heaven, the true citizenship was to have heaven's diploma. 'Our citizenship is in heaven,' he writes to the Philippians. Again, in the same Epistle, he says, 'Behave as citizens worthy of the gospel of Christ.' While writing to the Ephesians he says more fully, 'Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God.'

We see what he has done in this. With Paul

a metaphor ceases to be a metaphor. It becomes a force that seizes upon spiritual truth, and impresses its own stamp upon it. Just as Paul took the Roman highways, and turned them from military and commercial to Christian and spiritual uses, so here he does with Roman citizenship. It was the highest point of honour, the most coveted privilege in the world, making men hold themselves erect and feel the dignity of their position. It was also the greatest political and social bond of union between man and man. In Paul's use of it we see this nation of the world bringing its honour and glory into the City of God (to quote John's expression). The citizen idea forces the social and public side of Christianity upon everyone who accepts it; it also confers upon every humblest Christian the self-respect, the dignity, the erect bearing of a citizen of no mean city.

3. *The Roman Imperialism.*—In this we have by far the most striking and the most evident connexion between Paul and Rome. In his time Imperialism absolutely dominated the thought of the Roman world. 'Every group of Roman citizens meeting together in a body in any part of the empire, formed a part of the great conception "Rome," and such a group was not an intelligible idea except as a piece of the great unity.' While Rome allowed the provinces to retain much of their old life, she set herself to discourage local patriotism. This she did in many different ways. She fed them with corn in time of dearth; she set up amphitheatres, and instituted games and gladiatorial shows; she tried to take up the education question, and arrange for educating the world; last and boldest, she set up a new imperial religion—the universal worship of the Roman emperor—which was to unite all nations in worship; and, since its priests of every land were to be imperial officers, it was expected greatly to strengthen the imperial cause.

Such is some slight sketch of the Roman Imperialism of the time. It will be remembered that Jesus Christ was crucified on the charge of having set up a kingdom that was to rival it. This was what His enemies took Him to mean when he spoke of a 'kingdom of God.' It is true His reply was, 'My kingdom is not of this world.' Yet that kingdom of His was, in fact, destined to take its models from worldly kingdoms. First Paul in his conception of the Church; then Augustine in his City of God; then Dante in his 'De Monarchia,' set Christ's kingdom along the model lines of the Roman Empire. It needed some such defining and sharpening. Christ's description of it was necessarily a vague and general one, so given (in His beatitudes and other sayings) as to adapt itself to the conditions of each successive age. What Paul did for it was to adjust it to the political conditions of his time—in a word, to the Roman Empire.

That this is so is as certain as anything we know of Paul. As Professor Ramsay has shown past all doubt, he took up an attitude of friendliness towards the Imperial Government, which he never tries to conceal. This, indeed, was usual with provincial citizens, and particularly with Jews who had acquired the privilege. They were noted as warm partisans of the empire. To Paul it was in every way a congenial idea. 'The grand style of thinking about affairs came natural to him,' and the imperial idea exactly suited that 'grand style.' We can see this especially in the Epistle to the Romans. Evidently the writer is stimulated by the thought that his words were going to Rome. It is an epistle quite imperial in tone and style. He is not abashed by the imperial city, but in strong sympathy with its large ideals. He writes as one who feels that he has a thought imperial as Rome herself.

Ay, a thought greater and more imperial. It is the thought of the Church Invisible—the ideal Church, which Paul was founding and realizing on the earth. That Church, as Paul conceived it, was to be a new unified humanity—unified very much on the lines of the Roman Empire. Each local church was to have its local home rule, and yet all were to be unified in an imperial central government. Christendom was to be a unity, at once self-governing and subject to a central authority. The emperor was Christ; the centre heaven. With this difference, the Church was practically a Holy Roman Empire.

The intense spirituality of this conception was the main feature in which it differed from and excelled the Roman Imperialism. Its universality, in which all distinctions were lost, was the direct result of its spirituality. There was to be neither 'Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free,' because 'all were to be one *in Christ Jesus*.' It was 'a spiritual society, in which nothing was to be taken into account but the personal relation

of each member' to Jesus Christ, the common object of faith and service. All divisions were to be merged in that bond of union; all Christians everywhere forgetting their differences and remembering their common Lord; every body of Christians who happened to come together anywhere recognizing their corporate existence to mean for them simply that here there was a small part of that great Church which was the religious counterpart of the Roman Empire.

This thought is one which must in a peculiar way come home to every thinking man to-day. What the future of politics is to be, God only knows. There is much that at least seems moving towards Imperialism. The federation of colonies, the merging of smaller states in larger, and many other signs of the times appear to point towards this. What the new Imperialism is to be, who can tell? This is not the place to discuss such things. But, while men's thoughts and speculations are busy on these problems, here is a master-thought—one of the greatest of Paul's thoughts—which it will be well for us all to remember, and to keep firmly fixed in our minds. This is the true Imperialism, in which no nation grudges another its place, but all are united under the central rule of Christ. For, in this Imperialism, 'the kingdoms of the world are become the *kingdom* (singular, not plural) of God and of His Christ.'

That was Paul's ideal—the most Titanic of all his thoughts. How far was it realized? How far did it fail? To a large extent, indeed, it failed, or seemed to fail. It was spoiled by individual churches, whose saints or teachers were set up by small-minded devotees as the successful rivals of other churches and their heroes. It was spoiled still more by the worldly-mindedness of the early ecclesiastics, who accepted Paul's Imperialism, but centralized in Rome instead of heaven, and took the Bishop of Rome for emperor instead of Christ. From the side of Rome, too, it failed. Rome failed to see in Paul one who, better than any man of his time, understood her policy—saw farther into it than her own statesmen saw—was her ally; and whose New Imperialism might have saved her empire from ruin. Spain had only a chain for Columbus when he returned and gave her a new world; Rome had but a prison and an executioner for Paul when he offered her an Eternal Empire.

Yet it succeeded—Rome would not see it, but Paul's New Rome lived on. The highways, the citizenship, the empire more and more took Christian form, and lived on through the sack of Rome. 'One of the most remarkable sides of the history of Rome is the growth of ideas which found their realization and completion in the Christian Empire. Universal citizenship, universal equality of rights, universal religion, a universal Church, all were ideas which the empire was slowly working out, but which it could not realize till it merged itself in Christianity.' In a word, 'Christianity did what the Roman emperors tried to do and failed.' They succeeded in feeding the world, and in amusing the world—and it is probable that in both of these respects it would have been better for the world if they had failed. They failed in their attempt to educate the world and to give it a universal religion, and so to unify it in a permanent empire. These things Christianity did, and largely through the instrumentality of Paul. From these early days till now, and from now till the end of time, there goes on with Christendom the true Imperial Ideal—all men free, equal, educated, worshipping, under one central government which is the empire of God. It is for each successive age to realize that ideal as God will give it wisdom, and largeness of mind, and power of action.

At the Literary Table.

THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

MEANINGS AND METHODS OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE. By H. W. Clark. (*Allenson.* Crown 8vo, pp. 238. 6s.)

This preacher has his own unmistakable message. It is not the message of the Bible, fully and exactly. Whose message is? It puts more emphasis on character than the Bible does, and less on that which makes character possible, Christ made sin for us. But it is his own message, and it will always find its own audience. There are traces surely of a recoil from an early sterner training, a recoil which seems to colour even the interpretation of Scripture here and there. But, again, there are great passages admirably interpreted, and the writer is particularly happy in making one passage of Scripture illustrate and complete another.

To the 'Guild Text-Books,' edited by Professor Charteris and Dr. M'Clymont, and published by Messrs. A. & C. Black, an addition has been made under the title of *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, by the Rev. W. Robertson, M.A. (12mo, pp. 154, 6d. net). It is a historical commentary on the Book of Acts, such as Professor Ramsay has made us familiar with, but clinging more closely than Professor Ramsay does to the contents of the Scripture narrative. The difficulty must have been to avoid mere paraphrasing. That difficulty is not only itself overcome, but in overcoming it the author has written many passages of real and independent eloquence. The exegetical footnotes are so good that it is a pity they are so few.

TRAVEL IN THE FIRST CENTURY. By Caroline A. J. Skeel. (Cambridge: *At the University Press.* Crown 8vo, pp. 169, with Maps. 5s.)

On many grounds this book is most welcome. In the first place, it is the work of a woman. More than that, it is a product of scholarship, working on the original sources, and advancing the knowledge of its subject by one clear step. Still further, its subject is one of the highest interest and importance for biblical science. We have learned to ask the geographer to help us in the study of the Bible; this keen-eyed geographer helps us greatly, and yet her book is a fascinating volume of travel.

ROBERT BROWNING AS A RELIGIOUS TEACHER. By A. C. Pigou, B.A. (Cambridge: *At the University Press.* Crown 8vo, pp. 144. 2s. 6d. net.)

This is the essay that gained the Burney Prize for 1900. The winner of the Burney Prize has to publish his essay. Were it not so, Mr. Pigou says, this essay would not have been published, since he has come to look upon it as something of a *tour de force*. Mr. Pigou means that he has made Browning out to be more of a philosopher, or at least more consistent as a thinker, than he really is. And that is a serious fault no doubt. For the more consistent Browning is as a thinker, the less a poet is he. Inconsistency, the mark of life, is the most characteristic note of poetry. Mr. Lang has shown us that Gloucester in *King Lear* says first, 'No farther, sir; a man may rot even here'; and then, when Edgar reminds him that men must not seek their death but endure it like men when it comes, he adds, 'and that's true too.' Not only 'that's true,' but 'that's true *too*.' But Mr. Pigou has not forgotten this so utterly as he thinks. His Browning is by no means a consistent thinker. He is a poet still. And his essay shows more clearly than we have ever seen that the root of Browning's excellence as a poet is his inconsistency in maintaining his belief in God simply because he cannot do without Him, while the world of natural things seems to deny His existence.

NEWMAN HALL: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. (*Cassell.* Post 8vo, pp. 391. 7s. 6d.)

Of Dr. Newman Hall's *Autobiography* the conventional words are strictly true that it has not one dull page. And no wonder, Dr. Newman Hall has not one dull moment. He has come in contact with many of the men and women of whom we delight to hear—Gladstone, John Bright, Cuyler, Spurgeon—as well as with many movements. But, throughout all the reading of this book, the man in whom we feel most interest is Newman Hall himself, the movement his own

progress in grace and service. Why do not the servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, whose sole business it is to be witnesses, more frequently give their witness in the form of an autobiography? It is a dangerous shore no doubt, and there are wrecks. But this book shows that the navigation is not impossible.

THE ATONEMENT AND INTERCESSION OF CHRIST. By Principal D. C. Davies, M.A. (*T. & T. Clark.* Crown 8vo, pp. 264. 4s.)

It used to be the case that the proper way for a theologian to make his mark was by an original contribution to the doctrine of the Atonement. Then came a time when originality on the doctrine of the Atonement was counted eccentricity. It was thought that every possible theory had been exhausted, and interest passed to other doctrines, especially the Incarnation. But the doctrine of the Atonement has returned upon us. Lidgett and Moberley have written something original upon it, and we have not dared to call it eccentricity. There are indications that in spite of its impenetrability no doctrine moves either intellect or heart so deeply. We welcome a new book on the Atonement again more greedily than on any other subject.

Principal Davies of Trevecca was an original thinker. Said the late Principal Edwards of Bala: 'He was not a product of his age, nor was he fashioned by it. He stood apart from it by the strength of his own individuality.' Now there was no doctrine on which he spent his strength so gladly as the Atonement. His book on the subject is small, it may be read in an evening's sitting, but it is so penetrating and so unexpected, that it would have been a great loss to modern theology if it had not been published. We owe its publication in English to the careful hand of the Rev. D. E. Jenkins of Portmadoc. We are astonished to learn that it is the work of a young man. Its simplicity makes that astonishing not less than its penetration.

THE CHRIST OF HISTORY AND OF EXPERIENCE. By D. W. Forrest, D.D. (*T. & T. Clark.* 8vo, Third Edition, pp. xx, 489. 6s.)

It is four years since Dr. Forrest published the first edition of his Kerr Lectures. Their subject is more prominent, and perhaps more pressing, now than it was then. To this result Dr. Forrest himself may have contributed, with his frank and incisive style and his keen intellectual interest. His subject, to put it in his own words, is 'the problem raised by the union of the Historical and the Spiritual in Christianity.' It compels him on the historical side to examine the records, and on the spiritual side to examine the self-consciousness of Christ and of the believer in Christ. In short, he answers the question, Why am I, or why ought I to be, a Christian? And that is still, after all these ages of Christianity, the burning question of the present moment. In the course of the discussion, Dr. Forrest's active mind necessarily touches many matters that may be called subsidiary. One of these is the question, 'Did Jesus pray with His disciples?' upon which there is a separate note as an appendix to this third edition. But for all that, no writer ever held himself more rigidly or lucidly to his proper theme, and we still think that, unrivalled as the theme is in importance, as a popular exposition his book is also unrivalled.

Through Mr. Gardner of Paisley, the Rev. R. Menzies Fergusson, M.A., of Logie, has published an edition of the *Christian Precepts serving to the Practice of Sanctification* of his great predecessor, Alexander Hume (fcap 8vo, pp. 56). He has added in footnotes passages that are parallel in thought from à Kempis.

NEGLECTED PEOPLE OF THE BIBLE. By Dinsdale T. Young. (*Hodder & Stoughton.* 8vo, pp. 277. 3s. 6d.)

Surely the people of whom Mr. Young writes are not so utterly neglected. Isaac, Caleb, Saul, Gehazi, and Apollos are among them. But no matter; to believe that they are neglected is at least to be original in the treatment of them. Mr. Young is also very practical. Every turn of experience, every trait of character he makes the occasion of some plain, modern, moral lesson.

The fifth volume of the *City Temple Pulpit* has been issued (Hodder & Stoughton, 8vo, pp. 296, 3s. 6d. net). There are rumours that Dr. Parker's strength has been somewhat overtaxed of late. No wonder. To the care of the 'City Temple' he has recently been adding the care of all the churches. To his pastoral work he has been adding a literary production of itself enough for a single man. But if he has been straining his

physical strength, he has been losing none of his intellectual vitality. Dr. Parker writes and writes, yet he never says what others have said, he rarely even says what he himself has said already.

Professor Agar Beet has now republished a series of articles which recently appeared in *The Expositor* on *The Immortality of the Soul* (Hodder & Stoughton, crown 8vo, pp. 115, 2s.). He calls his book 'A Protest.' It is a protest against the doctrine that the soul of man is naturally immortal. Dr. Beet does not believe that the soul of man is immortal. He denies that the Bible teaches so, or that the Church has a right to ask us to believe so. And he concludes that the notions of endless punishment of the lost will simply fall away so soon as the belief in man's natural immortality is surrendered.

MESSAGES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By the Rev. George H. C. Macgregor, M.A. (*Hodder & Stoughton.* Crown 8vo, pp. 178. 3s. 6d.)

Each book is treated separately, and all the books are treated from Genesis to Chronicles, while the prophet Joel is added at the end. Mr. Macgregor was an ornament of the Keswick platform, and also a higher critic. He believed that the Bible was made for man, and not man for the Bible, and he did not even find it necessary to keep his criticism and his evangelicalism in separate compartments. He found different documents in the Hexateuch, but he found in every one of them the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. It is not as a fragment of human history that he treats each of these historical books. It is as a step in the revelation of the grace of God in Christ.

FLOOD-TIDE. By the Rev. G. H. Morrison, M.A. (*Hodder & Stoughton.* Crown 8vo, pp. 303. 5s.)

This volume contains eight and twenty short Sunday evening sermons. They are not evangelistic. Mr. Morrison assumes that those who 'attend in the evening' have an interest in Christ. He further assumes that they are ready to follow Christ more fully, or at least be more practically religious. And his purpose is first to retain their interest in the Sunday evening service, and second to persuade them to a fuller life of love and service. The subjects are well chosen and sometimes arresting, as 'The Ministry of Surprise.' The texts are sometimes unusual, as 'He stayeth His rough wind in the day of the east wind,' and always memorable. The style is so faultless that the hushed audience knows that one word lost will mar the impression. But their strength is in their brotherliness. It is a strong brother speaking to others who are not so strong; but it is always a brother.

The new volume of the Century Bible is *The Pastoral Epistles*, by the Rev. R. F. Horton, M.A., D.D. (Jack, pp. 196, 2s. net). It is the commentary of a preacher, of a preacher who is also a scholar. Now, when a preacher who is also a scholar is restricted in space he produces the best possible commentary. The unsurpassed interest of this little book is partly due to Dr. Horton's unsurpassed clearness of expression, but mainly to the fact that he mentions nothing that he is not interested in himself. The authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles is discussed in the introduction and on almost every page of the commentary itself, but the oftener it returns upon us, the more we get interested in it.

THE EARLIEST GOSPEL. By Allan Menzies, M.A., D.D. (*Macmillan.* 8vo, pp. 318. 8s. 6d. net.)

Why is it that St. Mark has so many commentators, and St. Matthew so very few? Quite recently we received both Gould and Swete on St. Mark, and here is Menzies now, while there is no scholar's commentary on St. Matthew in existence in our tongue. We do not grudge St. Mark the honour; we do not regret that even after Swete and Gould Professor Menzies has published his thoroughly original, incisive, and instructive volume.

Its method is this. There is first an Introduction of fifty pages, which begins with the Synoptic Problem and ends with Papias. It is written straight on, being occupied from first to last with the questions of authenticity. Then follows the Commentary. A corrected Greek text is found at the top of one page and a new English version at the top of the opposite page, throughout. The notes belong mostly to historical criticism. They are occasionally interrupted by an excursus on such a subject as demoniacal possession.

St. Mark's Gospel is treated as a piece of literature pure and simple. Professor Menzies is as free from theological (shall we dare to say

Christian?) prepossession as it is possible for a man to be whose hope is in Christ. This the most casual reader will perceive, for every sentence even of the translation reveals it. Dr. Menzies makes this impression deliberately. His aim is to enable us to read the earliest Gospel without putting on the spectacles of Church History. If he could he would let us read it as if we had never heard of the Resurrection of Christ from the dead.

This commentary, therefore, is not written 'for edification.' Homiletics Dr. Menzies abhors. The pulpit is not in all his thoughts. Even if he makes preaching more difficult he does not care. That is your business. His business is to help you to read St. Mark's Gospel unfettered or unfurnished by anything that St. Mark, or any other Gospel, has done for the world. Professor Menzies has passed a self-denying ordinance almost as surprising as that of the apostle who was content to be anathema from Christ for his brethren's sake. And we do not hesitate to say that, whether intentionally or not, he has thereby himself become a most potent preacher of the Gospel. For who will resist the evangelical persuasiveness of this 'earliest Gospel' when read without prepossession?

There is no need for the visitors to Keswick to carry note-book and pencil with them now. An official report of every speech delivered is published every year at the Keswick House in Paternoster Row (Messrs. Marshall Bros.), under the title of *The Keswick Week* (2s. net). The volume for 1901, besides the usual introduction, contains an appendix called 'After Keswick,' by the Rev. J. R. Macpherson, M.A.

TWO STUDIES IN THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. By T. W. Drury, B.D. (*Nisbet*. Crown 8vo, pp. 155. 3s. 6d.)

The first study is on 'The Lord's Prayer in the Liturgy,' the second is on 'The Witness of the Successive Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer as to the Practice of Non-Communicating Attendance.' The first study, in spite of all that has been written on the Lord's Prayer, in spite even of Dr. Chase's volume in the 'Cambridge Texts and Studies' on *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church*, possesses a value of its own. For the Principal of Ridley Hall has confined himself to the liturgical history of the Lord's Prayer. It is therefore strictly a study in liturgics, a department of theology that is only beginning to receive adequate attention. The second study is still more limited in scope, and perhaps also more ephemeral in interest. Both are strictly historical. The facts are here; dogmatical and polemical considerations are not here.

THE MODERN MISSION CENTURY. By Arthur T. Pierson. (*Nisbet*. 8vo, pp. 517. 10s. 6d.)

Dr. Pierson's pen is the pen of a ready writer. Book follows book in rapid succession. His subject is foreign missions. There is no subject upon which books can be more easily written in these days. It is a subject which the most prolific writer need never fear to exhaust.

Dr. Pierson's latest book is a history of the foreign missions of the nineteenth century. It is a history with a purpose. The purpose is to show that foreign missions are in God's hands—their ups and downs, their failures as well as their successes. The book is divided into twelve parts, and each part is divided into three chapters. It is a trifle mechanical this, and Dr. Pierson has not always resisted the temptation to 'pad' a little in order to gain his twelve times three. But so fertile is the subject that, for once he has had to make up, he has ten times had to cast away most interesting facts, and be content with a mere selection.

Probably the least popular, but we think the most valuable, part of the book is the seventh, which goes by the title of, 'They that handle the pen.' It is an appreciative account of the modern literature of missions. It is not exhaustive, and it is not critical, but it serves as a useful guide to a rapidly increasing, and already almost unmanageable, branch of literature.

Some popular discourses on *Naaman, the Syrian Soldier*, by the Rev. W. Lyon Riach, M.A., have been published by Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier (crown 8vo, 128, 2s. 6d.).

Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier are the publishers of a series of 'Little Books for Life's Guidance' (1s. each). The latest issue is *The Kingship of Self-Control*, by W. G. Jordon.

ONESIMUS. By C. E. Corwin. (*Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.* Crown 8vo, pp. 332. 5s.)

Stories that are founded on Scripture may not be to the taste of all of us, but they find a great and sometimes deeply-moved audience. No doubt they serve a purpose beyond their theft of time, giving to some, fiction though they are, their first sense of the reality of the scenes and persons that are presented in the old-fashioned language of the Bible. The author of *Onesimus* has striven to be true to the warp and woof of history. He has succeeded in occasionally thrilling and always interesting his readers.

THE SIGN OF THE CROSS IN MADAGASCAR. By J. J. Kippin Fletcher. (*Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.* Crown 8vo, pp. 309. 3s. 6d.)

The magic name of Madagascar will give this book a chance, the book itself will do the rest. It is not a dry diary of events, it is not a formal history. Where the heroic deeds done in Madagascar for Christ have already been told with sufficient fulness to make their heroism manifest, they are taken as they are; where they only remain in a meagre list of martyrs' names, they have been worked up into a connected and living story. You may call it a work of fiction if you will, the author is not afraid to call it so; but the only fiction is the introduction of human interest and connexion into mere names and disconnected memories.

PRAYER. By the Rev. A. F. Douglas. (*Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.* Crown 8vo, pp. 284. 3s. 6d.).

'Tennyson,' says Miss Weld, 'was pre-eminently a man of prayer, and as he told me shortly before his death, never had one earnest prayer of his failed to receive an answer.' Mr. Douglas quotes those words as a motto for his book. No motto ever expressed the purpose of a book more fittingly. He believes in prayer. He believes in private prayer, in family prayer, and in public prayer. And he believes that no sincere prayer was ever uttered anywhere without receiving an answer. 'More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of.' Perhaps there are more men of prayer, like Tennyson, than this world dreams of. But how pitiful it is that, after all, the things that are wrought by prayer are not more and greater than they are. For not only are the promises attached to prayer boundless of grace, but every prayer, as Mr. Douglas demonstrates, brings sure and surpassing blessings.

MINISTERIAL LIFE AND WORK. By J. S. Wilson, D.D. (*Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier.* Crown 8vo, pp. 192. 3s. 6d.)

No men are offered more advice, and no men accept less of it than ministers. The reason for so much good advice being offered is that it is so easy to be a minister, so easy to be a better minister than those we know. The reason why so little is accepted is that every minister knows that whatever happens he must be himself. Nevertheless every wise minister listens to every word of advice that is offered to him. This book recognizes that a minister must be himself, and seeks to offer such advice, and such advice only, as may make him so. It deals with essentials. It leaves details to every individual. If ever the writer's own peculiarities or preferences are mentioned, they are mentioned as illustrations, not injunctions. In things indifferent it is always stated that a minister must make his own choice.

THE UNACCOUNTABLE MAN. By the Rev. D. J. Burrell, D.D. (Manchester: *Robinson.* Crown 8vo, pp. 310. 3s. 6d. net.)

The Unaccountable Man is the Lord Jesus Christ. The text is 'What manner of man is this?' and that short sermon which opens the book is as striking an apology for miraculous Christianity as you will find within the space. First of all Dr. Burrell lays out the items upon which we are all agreed. 'We are all agreed,' he says, that He was the best, the wisest, the mightiest, the most magnanimous of men. He quotes the words with which Renan concludes his *Vie de Jésus*, and they are worth quoting again: 'Whatever may be the surprises for the future, Jesus will never be surpassed, his worship will grow young without ceasing; his legend will call for tears without end; his sufferings will melt the noblest hearts; all ages will proclaim that, among the sons of men, there is none born greater than Jesus.' But now Dr. Burrell finds an unknown factor. He finds it even in the goodness, the wisdom, the might, and the magnanimity of Jesus. He was not simply better than others, *primus inter pares*; He is alone in His goodness, and in all the rest. And then, in the third place, and most wonderful of all, Jesus *claims* to be alone in His goodness and in all the rest. It is a striking sermon, you see, and the sermons are almost all striking. Dr. Burrell is a great preacher.

THE FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES IN MODERN ENGLISH. By Ferrar Fenton. (*Partridge.* Crown 8vo, pp. 213. 2s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Ferrar Fenton's purpose is to translate the whole Bible into modern English. He has already translated the New Testament. This is the first volume of the Old. We are sceptical of new translations, more sceptical of those done by a single hand, most sceptical of new translations into modern English. But Mr. Ferrar Fenton's work is gradually removing all prejudice, and will stay. That it is modern, whatever else, the following example will show:—

'Numbers x. 1–5: The Ever-living also spoke to Moses commanding, Make two silver gongs for yourself. Make them concave, and use them to call the Parliament, and to prepare the camp for marching, so that when you beat them all the Parliament will know how to come to you at the door of the Hall of Assembly. And if you beat one of them the generals and colonels of the regiments of Israel will know to come to you. When you beat an Arise, then the divisions of the camp on the east shall march.'

In the series entitled 'The Westminster Biographies' appears an appreciation of *George Eliot*, by Clara Thomson (Kegan Paul, pp. 132, 1s.). The most intimate students of George Eliot's life and works should read the little book, for it contains independent information. We doubt the wisdom of exalting George Eliot at the expense of Mrs. Lewes, but there is no other adverse criticism which the delighted readers of the book will make.

THOUGHTS FOR THE SUNDAYS OF THE YEAR. By the Right Rev. H. C. G. Moule, D.D. (*Religious Tract Society.* Crown 8vo, pp. 256. 3s. 6d.)

The Bishop of Durham is dead: long live the Bishop of Durham! One evangelical mystic is followed by another. Dr. Moule's writings may touch fewer thinkers than Dr. Westcott's, but they touch more men, and assuredly more women. He sees as far, but he is more timid in expression than Dr. Westcott was. When he does express himself, however, his meaning is unmistakable. It is, perhaps, because of his greater timidity that he is also more consistent. These two things—perfect clearness of thought and perfect evangelical consistency, make and maintain his great popularity. His latest will be his most popular book. At such a time as this, a more acceptable gift no one could give.

'LIFE' IN ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL. By the Rev. J. Gurney Hoare, M.A. (*S.P.C.K.* 12mo, pp. 88. 1s.)

This study in Biblical Theology is an example for other students to follow. But Mr. Hoare's purpose is not literary. It is evangelical. He does not wish to show men how to study, but to teach them how to live. It is an earnest and even popular appeal to receive Him who is the Life and to abide in Him.

ON THE PATH OF PROGRESS. By H. L. Jackson, M.A. (*Elliot Stock.* Crown 8vo, pp. 96. 2s. 6d.)

There are many things wherein the Church of England needs reformation. Mr. Jackson sees them and speaks out about them. For he has been in Sydney and is able to look at the Church of England almost as an outsider. He speaks out about them in words that will be easily understood by the common people. So he must be a dangerous man. But it will be better to reform the things than to persecute Mr. Jackson. If some of the things really do not need reformation, he can do them no harm.

Mr. Stockwell has commenced to publish a new series of volumes under the title of 'The Free Church Pulpit.' The first volume is entitled *Apocalyptic Sketches*, the author is Dr. Monro Gibson (crown 8vo, pp. 146, 2s. 6d.). A better beginning could scarcely have been made. Dr. Monro Gibson is a great preacher, and in the Book of Revelation he is at his greatest. His sermons recognize the immense change that has come over the interpretation of this book, through the study of apocalyptic literature in general; and yet they bring home the great mystery to heart and conscience without any loss of the old-fashioned unction.

The Sunday School Union has published the volumes for 1901 of its ever welcome and ever more welcome magazines, *Young England* (5s.) and the *Child's Own Magazine* (1s.). They are edited with much sympathy, and can be recommended without reserve.

Misconceptions of the Eastern Church, its position and teaching, which seem so prevalent in England ought to fall away from one who reads *The Greek Catholic Church*, by R. B. C. Sheridan (Williams & Norgate, 16mo, pp. 70, 1s.).

New Tunes to Favourite Hymns, published for the author, Constantia A. Ellicott, by Messrs. Novello, is a pleasant addition to a favoured field of composition. The tunes are for words in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, and will find favour as agreeable alternatives to the customary airs.

The settings for 'The Day of Resurrection' and 'Joy! because the circling Year' are perhaps the best of the collection, but there is throughout the series almost a uniform richness and delicacy of harmonization. An occasional Wagnerian boldness of modulation, as, for instance, that occurring in the second line of 'O praise our great and gracious Lord,' will necessitate careful rendering on the part of a choir.

The New 'International.'[1]

Dr. Bigg is not the only man whom a 'Bampton Lecture' has made famous, but we cannot recall another who sprang so suddenly to such a height of fame as a scholar and expositor as Dr. Bigg did by his Bampton Lecture on *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*. His choice as the expositor of *St. Peter and St. Jude* in the 'International Critical Commentary' was received with universal satisfaction as soon as it was announced. The commentary will undoubtedly lift his reputation higher still. Dr. Bigg is an Oxford man, but it suggests and represents the great Cambridge school of exposition, and of that school most especially the work of Hort. Perhaps it should be said that, laying this work beside Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, he has materially assisted in the establishment of an Oxford school of scholarship, which in fineness of workmanship and fearlessness of consequence is to carry the exposition of the New Testament one step nearer finality.

[1] *The International Critical Commentary: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude.* By the Rev. Charles Bigg, D.D. T. & T. Clark, 8vo, pp. 362. 10s. 6d.

Many things in the Introductions to the three Epistles dealt with or in their interpretation invite discussion. Let one suffice. After Dr. Chase's great searching articles in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, it will come as a shock to some, a surprise perhaps to all, that Dr. Bigg should reach the following conclusions regarding 2 Peter: The Second Epistle of Peter is older than Jude; (2) it belongs to the same school of ecclesiastical thought as 1 Peter; (3) it contains no word, idea, or fact, which does not belong to the apostolic age; (4) traces of the second century are absent at those points where they might have been confidently expected to occur; (5) the style differs from that of 1 Peter in some respects, but in others, notably in verbal iteration and in the discreet use of Apocrypha, resembles it; and (6) these facts are best explained by the theory that the Epistle is really the work of St. Peter, but that a different amanuensis was employed.

'The Jewish Encyclopaedia.'

The first volume of a great undertaking called *The Jewish Encyclopædia* has now been published, and we have had time to examine it. The twelve volumes of which the work is to consist will cover the whole Bible, and continue the history of the Jews down to the present day. They will contain biographies of all notable persons belonging to the Jewish race and descriptions of all places with which Jews have been in any way associated. They will also explain Jewish manners and customs, political, commercial, religious, and literary, throughout the history and geography of the world.

This gigantic programme has been conceived by Dr. Isidore Singer, who, after some difficulty, found in Messrs. Funk & Wagnalls a firm of publishers willing to take the risk and meet the enormous outlay. Dr. Singer is assisted by an editorial board consisting of twelve scholars, each of whom is responsible for some particular department of study. He himself has special charge of the department of Modern Biography from 1750 till 1901. In addition to these thirteen departmental editors, there are two boards of consulting editors, one American, the other foreign. The American board contains fifteen names, the foreign twenty-nine. Most of these editors are contribu-

tors, but there are also contributors who are not editors.

The first volume contains 685 pages of text, in addition to 37 of preliminary matter. It ends with the word APOCALYPTIC. The size is imperial octavo, and there are two columns to a page. The space seems thus sufficient. And as the volume is examined, the conviction settles in one's mind that the space has been carefuly used, and that the work is one of first-rate importance. It is not a Dictionary of the Bible. That mistake would misjudge and possibly condemn. The Bible, as has been said, is covered, but the persons and places are discussed not because they are in the Bible but because they are Jews or have to do with Jews. After a short account of what the Bible says on Abraham, for example, there follows a long account of what is said about him in Rabbinical and Mohammedan literature.

The Encyclopædia is not to be a mere record of tradition. It seeks to reach the historical and poetical truth throughout the whole course of Jewish life and literature. And to that end men are set to limited tasks, and apparently encouraged to sift thoroughly and be scientific. There are no fewer than four articles on Abraham. First the 'Biblical Data' are furnished in a simple narrative by Dr. C. J. Mendelsohn; next an account is given of Abraham in 'Apocryphal and Rabbinical Literature' by Dr. Kaufmann Kohler; then Dr. Gottheil writes on Abraham in 'Mohammedan Legend'; and finally 'The Critical View' is presented by Professor Toy.

We shall not discuss details at present. It is enough to direct attention to this highly courageous and undoubtedly competent effort to place within our reach, for the first time in history, a full record of the manifold activity of that race which, if not destined, seems determined, to live as long as man, and which never ceases to possess for other races of the earth the most absorbing interest.

A New Shakespeare.[1]

A NEW Shakespeare. Are there not editions enough yet? Has not every variety of taste in the readers of Shakespeare yet been satisfied? Have not all the possibilities of paper and printing and binding and editing and illustrating been exhausted? It does not appear so. It is like the race between offensive and defensive engines of war. No sooner is the highest demand of Shakespearian taste gratified than a new appetite is born, and artists and editors and printers and publishers have to set their wits together to meet it.

The taste at present runs in the direction of clear type and good illustrating. The Shakespeare that most pleases is the Shakespeare that has these things in their highest perfection, and at their lowest price. Editing is of less account. Perhaps the editing of Shakespeare has been overdone. Perhaps we have been so worried with interminable and irrelevant 'notes' in our schooldays, that the most beautiful edition of Shakespeare is marred to our eyes, if it is greatly edited.

The new edition which Messrs. Constable have published is not over-edited. It consists of twenty volumes. Each volume contains two plays. Each play ends with a glossary, sufficient and yet rarely running over two pages. And each play has a few pages of 'notes,' which are wholly textual. Now that is really all the editing that Shakespeare needs. His obsolete, and still more his obsolescent, words have to be explained to us; and any important various reading has to be mentioned. We ought to do all the rest ourselves. For however obscure his old English words are, his thoughts are never obscure; and it is much better for all of us to discover his meaning with as little external aid as possible.

The type of this edition is large and clear, and thrown out boldly by the pure white paper; and the page is broad enough to take in a long line of it easily. This is very restful to the eye. Though there is the minimum of annotation, the utmost care has been taken to prevent misprints. And it is an evidence of the thought that has been spent on the volumes throughout, that while the pages which are of no use are given below, the name of the play, the act, and the scene appear at the top of every outer margin.

But the most distinguishable feature of Messrs. Constable's Shakespeare is its illustrations. They are not numerous, but they are good. There is spirit and originality in every one of them. And,

[1] *The Works of William Shakespeare.* Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co. Twenty vols. 50s.

most significant of all, they are always in colour. Thus have these publishers anticipated a taste that is but forming. The time is at hand when no illustrations will please that are not coloured. And rightly. Why should we be satisfied with the dull grey in a copy which makes us shiver in nature herself? Good illustrations in colour are but beginning to be seen. The time is at hand when every eye will be charmed by them.

The twenty volumes are packed in a case. They form a handsome set, the fair beginning of a library.

The Question of the Unity of Isaiah.

By Professor Ed. König, M.A., D.D., Bonn.

I.

This question has recently formed the subject of a study by Professor W. H. Cobb in the *American Journal of Biblical Literature* (1901, pp. 77–100). The delightful spirit which pervades his discussion is itself a sufficient claim to the interest of a wider circle. The tone he adopts possesses a sympathetic quality which readily awakens a similar tone in the mind of the reader, and the sweep of harmony makes him almost forget the dissonances of the learned strife. But, in addition to this, the subject of discussion is itself of such importance that any attempt to shed new light upon it can reckon upon commanding the widest interest. Hence I take the liberty of submitting to the readers of The Expository Times a critical examination of the article in question.

Professor Cobb sets out with the correct hermeneutical principle that a prophecy can be fully understood only by having regard to its historical background. We may remark in passing that Luther long ago expressed himself on this point with admirable clearness in the Preface to his Commentary on Isaiah.[1] But, Professor Cobb continues, this historical situation must not be distorted, and this he believes to have been done with chaps. 40–66 of Isaiah. Up till a few years ago Cyrus was made to pervade not only Western Asia, but also all the second part of the Book of Isaiah. He was, further, presented as a Zoroastrian monotheist, who out of pious zeal for the one God overthrew the idols of Babylon, allowed the Jewish exiles to return to their homes carrying their sacred vessels with them, and built a new temple in Jerusalem at his own expense. But what a modification of the views regarding the founding of the Persian Empire has taken place in consequence of the discovery of the inscriptions of Cyrus and Nabuna'id! From these we learn that Cyrus was no monotheist. Whereas Nabuna'id neglected the cult of the gods of Babylon, Cyrus reinstated it with splendour. So far from ascribing his victories to Jahweh, he attributes them to the Babylonian god Marduk (the O.T. Merodach).

In reply to all this I would point out that the reducing of the importance of the rôle played by Cyrus in Is 40–66 to its proper limits does not mean *banishing him entirely* from these prophecies. If his importance undergoes 'shrinkage,' to use the expression of Professor Cobb, it is not thereby reduced to *nothing*. In making the 'shrinkage of Cyrus' the theme of a burning question, Professor Cobb should not have forgotten to propose as a second prize-question, whether the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah contain *no* reference at all to Cyrus. Above all, he should not have neglected to answer this question himself. But instead of this, he immediately proceeds to give to these chapters a different historical background.

The historical situation contemplated in the words of Is 40 ff. is, according to Professor Cobb, that described in chap. 37. This is, of course, a very natural supposition, yet the question arises whether it does justice to the text.

What are the circumstances of the period

[1] His words (*Exegetica opera Latina*, vol. xxii. p. 4) are: 'Ad prophetas intelligendos maxime necessarium est nosse quae tum negotia apud Judaeos agitata sint, quis reipublicae tum status, quales hominum tum animi, quae consilia fuerint cum finitimis populis, *cum* amicis et *contra* inimicos, imprimis autem quae tum religionis fuerit forma,' etc.

described in Is 37? The kingdom of Judah was sore pressed by the Assyrian king Sennacherib in 701 B.C. The latter thus describes his success in a cuneiform narrative—

'As for Hezekiah of Judah, who had not submitted to my yoke, I took 46 of his fenced cities, countless fortresses and small cities in their neighbourhood. 200,150 persons, great and small, of male and female sex, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen and sheep without number I carried forth from them and counted as spoil. Himself I shut up like a bird in a cage in Jerusalem, his royal city. Fortifications I erected against him, the exits of the chief gate of his city. . . .' (*K.I.B.* ii. 94 f.).

The historical basis of this narrative cannot be called in question. The conquest and devastation of many places in Judah and the deportation of a great many persons can be brought into harmony with the O.T. narrative of 2 K 18^{14-16}, which is not incorporated in the Book of Isaiah. For, in consequence of this extensive conquest of the land of Judah, Hezekiah might be moved to send the embassy to Lachish (S.W. of Jerusalem), and to make the offers of which we read in the above passage from 2 Kings. But when now Professor Cobb says: 'Look at these desolate cities of Judah, at the enormous deportation . . . and ask if this is not the time to proclaim, "Comfort ye, comfort ye My people,"' the reply must be, Yes, it was without doubt such a time, but it was *not the only time* when such a comforting proclamation was appropriate, and it was *not the* time which is presupposed by the whole text of Is $40^{1ff.}$ For, however many cities of Judah the Assyrian may have stormed in the year 701, he did not capture the city of the temple of Jahweh. But this city is mentioned at the very outset of Is 40 ff. as a special object of consolation (40^{2}), and is thought of in these addresses as lying in ruins (44^{26-28} 'Jerusalem is again to be inhabited,' etc.; 49^{19} 'thy ruins'; $52^{2.9}$ 'the ruins of Jerusalem'). Further, in Is 40 ff. the nation of Israel is described as one which in its essential part is in exile. This is sufficiently clear from the following well-known passages:—'Where is the bill of your mother's divorcement wherewith I have put her away?' (50^{1}, cf. Dt 24^{1}); and 'The desolate [*i.e.* the nation of Israel separated as it were from her husband, cf. Hos 3^{3}] shall have more children than she that hath an husband' (54^{1}). This exiled nation is to return to its home only by Jahweh leading it through the wilderness like a shepherd. Professor Cobb asks, indeed: 'Who says that Jahweh is marching at the head of the exiles?' and he replies: 'Not the author of Is 40 ff.' (p. 81). But here he adopts a view of Is $40^{3f.}$ which does not at all agree with the context.[1] How? In order to facilitate God's progress through the wilderness, the call is uttered, 'Prepare a way.' Is the form of expression not manifestly such as to show that we have to do with a leading home of the *people* from exile? So in Ps $68^{5\,(4)}$ the call, 'Cast up a highway for him that rideth through the desert,' is so expressed with reference to the circumstance that 'God setteth the solitary in families and bringeth out the prisoners' (v.[7]); and the meaning of Is $40^{3f.}$ is established by the words, 'He shall feed His flock like a shepherd' (v.[11]), and by the addition in $52^{12b.}$ that Jahweh will go before the exiles returning to Zion.

The particular historical background of Is 40 ff. on which Jerusalem is shown lying in ruins, and the nation of Israel as separated from her husband Jahweh, *i.e.* as being itself and as a whole in exile, cannot be concealed, although Professor Cobb thinks otherwise. He says that of the many thousands deported, for instance, by Sennacherib, no doubt many were sold into slavery and dispersed in all directions. Hence even in the time of the older Isaiah it could be said: 'Behold, *these* come from far, and *those* from the north and from the west,' etc. (49^{12}). This is undeniable, but these general features of the picture presented in Is 40 ff. are *not the characteristic ones.* Rather are *these* found in the special details as to the situation of Jerusalem at the time. To take one or two further instances, we read: 'Jerusalem shall be built again, and the temple shall be founded' (44^{28}); 'and they shall build the old waste places' (58^{12} 61^{4}), 'for Zion is become a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation' ($64^{9\,(10)}$). Professor Cobb is wrong, then, in holding that the language of Is 40 ff. has its historical background in the situation of 701 B.C.

He next sets himself, in a second section of his article, to answer the question whether the *religious teaching* of Is 40 ff. cannot be explained from the time of Hezekiah, a question which again he answers in the affirmative. His argument is as follows:—

He starts with the assumption (p. 83) that the

[1] Sellin proposed the same interpretation of $40^{3f.}$ in his *Serubbabel*, 1898, p. 141 f.

reforms of king Hezekiah must be ascribed to a somewhat *late* period in his reign.[1] These reforms are held to have been the fruit of the work of Isaiah and Micah. They were not undertaken at the time when the dark shadow of Assyria threatened in the distance or hung over the land of Israel, but 'when the sole deity of Israel's God had been gloriously vindicated in the downfall of the oppressor,' *i.e.* after the deliverance of Jerusalem in 701. It was then that Hezekiah entered on his campaign against the idols, and his reform is *wrongly* placed by the Chronicler (2 Ch 29^3) at the beginning of his reign.

The above judgment, however, regarding Hezekiah's reforms is very precarious. It lacks positive support, and it has a number of considerations against it. Would it not still be true that these reforms were due to the activity of Isaiah and Micah, even if they were undertaken by Hezekiah in the *early* years of his reign? Not only Isaiah but even Micah had, as a matter of fact, begun their mission under Hezekiah's predecessors. This is generally acknowledged in the case of Isaiah, and it will be found proved for Micah in my *Einleit. in das A.T.* p. 330. Moreover, the aim and the result of these reforms must not be exaggerated, but kept within the limits of what is said in 2 K 18^4, according to which passage Hezekiah removed the altars on the high places, the pillars, the asheras, and the Nehushtan. Can we suppose that the Judæans *in a body* and *permanently* carried out the intentions of the Jahweh-fearing king? Can it be assumed that even after *that* reform there was no need for Isaiah to preach against people who gave themselves over to the fashioning of idols? The fact that he had to do this (31^7) does not overthrow the statement that Hezekiah, even if not at the very beginning (2 Ch 29^3), yet before the fourth year (2 K 18^9) of his reign, took steps against the dangerous schism and against certain false objects of Israelite worship.

And what a tremendous impulse to this reform was supplied during the *first* years of Hezekiah's reign! Could there have been for the kingdom of Judah any occurrence more impressive than the catastrophe which befell the sister kingdom of Israel in the year 722? Was this not an unparalleled call to Judah to repentance? Hezekiah's reform is, accordingly, quite intelligible at the commencement of his reign. Besides, it is attributed to this period, not only by the Chronicler, as Professor Cobb represents (p. 83), but even by the author of Kings. This very agreement of testimony furnishes a counter argument against the view that the reforms were not undertaken till after 701.

Consequently, the basis is wanting for the view maintained by Professor Cobb that the addresses delivered by Isaiah in 701 against idolatry are represented by Is 40^{24} and other passages in chaps. 40ff. (p. 84). The addresses in the Book of Isaiah, which date most probably from 701, namely, 14^{24-27}, chap. 31, and the words of Isaiah contained in chaps. 36–39, do not sound as if the prophet had to do essentially with worshippers of images and idols. But it is quite intelligible that the exiles, who amidst heathen surroundings might be inclined to idolatry and polytheism, should have their attention drawn both in earnest and in jest to the helplessness of the idols and the folly of worshipping them (40^{18-20} 41^{6-8} 44^{9-11} 45^{20} 46^{5-7}). Professor Cobb himself is willing to admit that there was idolatry in Israel during the earlier years of the Exile. This is too clearly proved by Ezekiel ($14^{3ff.}$ 18^6 20^7 33^{25}) to make any denial of it possible. But he declares that we do not know whether also towards the end of the Exile there was a tendency to idolatry on the part of the captives. But the facts are not favourable to his opinion. For he will not venture to deny that only a small proportion of the exiles availed themselves of the permission to return to their homes. The sum total of those who formed the first caravan that returned was 42,360 (Ezr 2^{64} || Neh 7^{66}). Aversion to the land of the Chaldæans and to these worshippers of idols was not strong towards the end of the Exile. How aptly is this disposition of Israel illustrated by the words, 'I have called and ye have not answered,' etc. (65^{12})! Do these words suit equally the period of Hezekiah's reign?

Nor can Professor Cobb deny that in the religious world of ideas contained in Is 40 ff. there are certain points emphasized which fall into the background in the preceding parts of the Book of Isaiah. In 1^{10-15} the bold question, 'Who hath required this at your hands?' is put with reference

[1] 'Hezekiah's reforms came *late* in his reign.' Likewise Guthe, in his *Gesch. des Volkes Israel* (1899), does not mention the reforms of Hezekiah till after everything else that he notes regarding him (p. 205).

even to the Sabbath. I do not mean to affirm that here the Mosaic origin of the institution of the Sabbath is called in question. But the impression left by the passage is that the keeping of the Sabbath and the other festivals has *not stress laid upon it* (1$^{13b. 14}$). It is otherwise in 56^{4}, 'who keep my Sabbaths.' I do not think I am wrong in discovering the idea of the merit of the relatively pious in the words, 'She hath received double for her service' (40^{2b}), and in other expressions (52$^{3a. 4b}$). Further, we hear of 'priests (and) Levites' (66^{21}).[1] For members of the foreign races cannot have been taken over as 'Levitical priests'; and for the distinction of priests and Levites, cf. Ezk 44$^{10\,ff.}$ Again, was the question of receiving eunuchs into the congregation of Jahweh (56$^{4f.}$), or the question of proselytes in general (v.$^{6f.}$) as pressing in the time of Hezekiah as among the exiles in whose neighbourhood not a few of the heathen might learn to worship Israel's God? Finally, should it be overlooked that the very collocation 'Bel and Nebo' of 46^{1} meets us frequently in cuneiform texts dating from the later years of the independence of Babylon?[2]

But were the addresses of Is 40 ff. really spoken and written among the exiles of Babylon? Professor Cobb again denies this. He considers it to be a fact that the standpoint of the author in Is 40 is Palestine and not Babylonia. 'Babylon is doubtless included in 49^{12} among the lands of the dispersion, but only included. "These shall come from far" may mean Babylon, the far east; then follow the other three cardinal points' (p. 82). In this he attaches himself to the interpretation of 49^{12}, which was proposed by Duhm in the *Hdkom.* to Isaiah (1892). Sellin, too, defends it in his *Serubbabel* (1898), p. 137, but in his more recent essay, 'Der Knecht Gottes bei Deutero-jesaja,'[3] he admits that the view is untenable that Deutero-Isaiah wrote outside Babylonia. This view is maintained, however, even by Marti,[4] and hence demands renewed examination.

Duhm, in advocating the above view, builds upon 49^{12} thus: 'Since it is nothing more than a chance that in the midst of expressions of a different kind the name of a country should stand quite isolated, there must be a special reason for this. Let us suppose, then, that Deutero-Isaiah names the Phœnician Sinites of Gn 10^{17} because he himself dwells among them.' He was, however, considerate enough himself to speak of this supposition as 'a hypothesis of despair,' and neither Professor Cobb nor Marti have followed him in seeking for Sinim in Phœnicia.[5] But are not the expressions, 'they shall come' and 'from far,' indications pointing to the conclusion that the speaker lived outside Babylon? Supposing his home to have been in Babylon, would he not rather have said 'they will go out' and 'from here?' In answer to this it has to be said that the statement of 49^{12} must not be torn from its nearer or more remote context, according to which the words before us are those of Jahweh. His joyous message to the 'prisoners' begins in v.^{9} with the cry of release, 'Go ye out,' and accompanies them on the march through the wilderness (v.^{10}); mentions, further, how they are to overcome the mountains (v.^{11}); and, finally, alludes naturally to their final arrival in Canaan (v.^{12}).[6] If one accompanies this line of thought from its commencement to its close, neither the word 'they shall *come*' nor the definition 'from far' give any occasion to infer the Palestinian residence of the author of Is 40 ff. And how our conclusion is strengthened by the more remote context of 49^{12}!

In 52$^{4f.}$ we read as words of the Lord: 'My people went down at first into Egypt to sojourn

[1] As is read also by oldest MSS, Targ., LXX, Vulg. (cf. the full discussion of this passage in my *Einleit. in d. A.T.* 233 f.).

[2] *K.I.B.* ii. 145 (Esarhaddon), iii. 2. 47 (Nebuchadnezzar), 127 (Cyrus), 131, etc.

[3] Sellin, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüd. Gemeinde nach dem bab. Exil* (1901), i. 177.

[4] K. Marti, *Kurzer Hdcom. zu Jesaja* (1900), p. 344.

[5] Cheyne, Marti, and Cobb find in סינים the S. Egyptian Syene (mod. Assouan). But Sinim points most probably to סין, Pelusium, of Ezk 30$^{15\,f.}$. At all events this place is not named, as Marti and Cobb ('the far south') suppose, on account of its remote situation. It rather stands in contrast to 'from far.'

[6] This last stage of the Return of Israel would be indicated in a specially striking fashion, if 'My mountains' (הָרַי) in 49^{11} are meant to designate the mountains of Palestine, in so far as these belonged in a special sense to the Deity. Undoubtedly this is the meaning of הָרַי in 14^{25} and 65^{9}. But in spite of מְסִלּוֹת of Ps 84^{6}, it is difficult to understand מְסִלּוֹתַי, 'My highways,' of Is 49^{11} in the same sense. Hence the reference is more probably to the mountains of Jahweh spoken of in Ps 36^{7} (cf. 80^{11} and 104^{16}), *i.e.* the high mountains; or it may be held that the ' of מסלותי is a dittography, which was then imitated in the parallel הר. At least the possessive pronoun 'my' is not expressed in the LXX, Targ., Pesh., and Arab. VS.

there; and the Assyrian oppressed them without cause; now therefore, what do I *here*, saith the Lord, seeing that My people is taken away for nought?' What third oppressor joined in the course of centuries the Pharaoh of Egypt and the Great King of Assyria? The tyrant Babylon (Ps 137[8]). In what third place of Exile, then, did the people of Jahweh find themselves in presence of the author of Is 40 ff? In Babylon. But the speaker in these chapters also found himself there. For he alludes to the third, then present, place of Exile by the adverb פֹּה, a particle which is employed in the O.T. in such a way that the speaker is actually in the place represented by the word *pôh*.[1]

But the same chapter (52) contains yet another adverbial allusion to the place of Exile, namely, שָׁם, *shām*, of v.[11]: 'Depart ye, depart ye, go out from thence (מִשָּׁם),' etc. This *mi-shām* is used in the O.T. in such a way that the place of the speaker is not identical with the locality to which the adverb *shām* refers.[2] Now the *mi-shām* of 52[11] has in view the place of Israel's captivity. Consequently it appears to result from this that the author of Is 40 ff. did not find himself in the place of Exile, *i.e.* Babylon. But this conclusion is only apparently justified. For the words, 'Depart ye, depart ye, go out from thence,' belong to the consolatory address of the watchmen who publish upon the mountains about Zion the tidings of the near approach of Jahweh's help. From their standpoint they naturally cry to the exiles in Jahweh's name, 'Go out from *thence*.' That I am right in this explanation of v.[11] is expressly admitted by Sellin.[3]

[I will conclude in one other, somewhat shorter, paper my examination of Professor Cobb's ingenious but unconvincing article.]

[1] This use of פֹּה I have established by a comparison of all the passages where it occurs (see these in my *Stilistik*, etc. (1900), p. 113.

[2] See all the passages where מִשָּׁם occurs, in my *Stilistik*, etc., p. 113 f.

[3] *Der Knecht Gottes*, etc. (1901), p. 175.

Contributions and Comments.

'Be Thou their Arm every Morning.'

Isaiah xxxiii. 2.

Most commentators seem to find a difficulty in explaining היה זרעם לבקרים. Take for instance Dr. Skinner, who says: 'The force of the pronoun *their* is uncertain; some change it (needlessly perhaps) to *our*.' 'Be thou *our* arm' would certainly make very good sense — but the LXX testifies to the reading *their*. As this pronoun most naturally refers to the enemy, I would venture to suggest that זרע may mean 'scatterer' or 'assailant.' The radical meaning of זרע is to scatter or disperse, while in Arabic Gesenius tells us there is a root derived from זְרוֹעַ, namely, ذرع = to attack violently.

We may compare also the kindred word זרה, which is applied figuratively to the dispersion of enemies (Jer 15[7], Is 41[16], Ezek 5[2]). In the face of Sennacherib and his army the prophet may well have prayed to Jehovah, 'Be Thou *their scatterer* every morning, even *our salvation* in the time of trouble.' This exactly suits the words which follow: 'At the noise of the tumult the people fled; at the lifting up of Thyself the nations were *scattered*.'

Augustus Poynder.

Cheltenham.

John vii. 53–viii. 11.

Westcott-Hort write in their very careful notes on the attestation of this famous pericope (ii. p. 85):

'In the whole range of Greek patristic literature before cent. (x. or) xii. there is *but one trace* of any knowledge of its existence, the reference to it in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, as an authority for the reception of penitents (associated with the cases of St. Matthew, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the ἁμαρτωλὸς γυνή of Lk 7[37]), without, however, any indication of the book from which it was quoted.'

The *Apostolic Constitutions*, as is well known, rest on an older work, the *Didascalia*, preserved to us as yet only in Syriac, and partially in Latin. Strange to say, nobody as yet seems to have asked how it stands in this document with the

attestation. Lagarde, in his edition of the *Constitutions*, placed on the margin the pages of his edition of the *Didascalia*, and just there, where in the *Constitutions* the reference to this pericope begins (ii. 24 p. 49: ἑτέραν δέ τινα ἡμαρτηκυῖαν ἔστησαν), stands the reference to p. 31 of the *Didascalia*. Now a look into this source of the *Constitutions* shows that here the association, pointed out by Westcott-Hort, with the cases of Matthew, Peter, Paul, and the woman of Lk 7, is missing; here the woman of Jn 8 stands for herself. The whole connexion runs as follows:—

'Therefore must thou, bishop, with all power thou canst, prescribe those that have not sinned, that they remain without sinning, and those that convert from sins thou must heal and receive. But if thou dost not receive him that converts, because thou art without mercy, thou sinnest against the Lord God, because thou obeyest not our Saviour and our God, to do, as also He did to her who sinned, whom the elders placed before Him and left the judgment in His hands, and went off. But He, the perceiver of hearts, asked her and said to her, Have the elders condemned thee, *My daughter?* She said to Him, No, Lord. And He said to her, Go; nor do I condemn thee.

'In this, therefore, our Saviour and our King must be a goal to you, bishops, and Him ye must imitate,' etc.

By a good fortune this very piece has been preserved in the Latin fragments of the *Didascalia*, discovered and edited by E. Hauler (Leipzig, 1900, p. 35); there it runs:—

'Si autem penitentem, cum sis sine misericordia, non susciperis, peccabis in Dominum Deum, quoniam non es persuasus nec credidisti salvatori Deo nostro, ut faceres, sicut ille fecit in ea muliere, quae peccaverat, quam statuerunt presbyteri ante eum, et in eo ponentes iudicium exierunt. Scrutator autem cordis interrogabat eam, si condemnassent illam presbyteri. Cum autem dixisset <: "Non," dixit > ad eam: Vade; nec ego te condemno.

'Hunc salvatorem, regem et dominum nostrum, o episcope, prospectorem vobis habere oportet et eius imitatores esse,' etc.

It is interesting to compare these three recensions (Syriac, Latin, Greek of the *Constitutions*) with each other and with the Greek texts in the Gospel MSS. One touch is peculiar to the Syriac; that Jesus addressing her directly (as in the Gospel), calls her 'My daughter' (='daughter,' θύγατερ, as in Mt 9^{22}, etc.).

It is not my intention to enter more fully into the question about this story; it seems only worth while to refer to the *Didascalia*, because hitherto always the *Constitutions* have been mentioned as the oldest reference in the whole range of Greek literature.

Eb. Nestle.

Maulbronn.

The Opening Verses of Ezekiel.

In reply to Dr. Budde (October number, p. 41 f.) I may be permitted to offer at least the following remarks:—

1. Dr. Budde had no occasion to say that I had read his remarks on Neh 1^1 'a little hastily.' This is a quite unjustified reproach. I did *not* say (vol. xii. p. 566) that he had not taken into account the possibility that Neh 1^1 belongs to the Memoirs of Nehemiah. I simply stated his actual opinion. He holds that the words of Neh 1^1 as they stand do not form part of the Memoirs. Hence he refuses to regard this passage as a support for that interpretation of the 'thirtieth year' of Ezk 1^1, which I observe is held to be possible also by Baudissin in his recently published *Einleit. in die Bücher des A.T.*, p. 453. And the simple expression 'in the twentieth year' (Neh 1^1) may furnish such support even if a different mode of dating is adopted in Neh 2^1 and 13^6. Nay, it is probable that Nehemiah himself employed both ways of dating. If a redactor had removed the name of the reigning king in Neh 1^1, he would have been still more likely to do so in 2^1, especially as the interval between Ezr 7^7 and Neh 1^1 is greater than that between the last-named passage and 2^1.

2. Dr. Budde does not think it possible that the 'thirtieth year' of Ezk 1^1 refers to the so-called era of Nabopolassar. He urges that no cuneiform documents have come down to us where the reckoning is from the commencement of the New Babylonian Empire. Yet this form of dating may have been employed, and this commencement of the supremacy of Babylon may have been for the Jews and other foreign peoples of more importance than for the Chaldæans themselves. The prophet may also have assumed that this mode of dating was familiar to his readers. This is not reduced to an impossibility, as Dr. Budde supposes, by the circumstance that he appends yet another form of date.

3. Why do I oppose once more the interpretation of Ezk 1^1 favoured by Dr. Budde? Because I consider it an unnatural hypothesis that the very word in v.^{1} has dropped out on which the meaning of this verse depended.

Bonn. Ed. König.

עזקה ('Azeḳa) in an Assyrian Inscription.

A place, עזקה, which is to be sought between Lachish and Socho, is repeatedly mentioned in the Bible from the time of the Judges down to that of Nehemiah. It is identified, in all probability rightly, by C. F. Seybold (*Mittheil. des Deutschen Pal.-Vereins*, 1896, p. 26) with the modern *Khirbet 'Aṣḳalún*. According to C. Bezold, the name is found in the cuneiform texts, on tablet Brit. Mus. 82-3-23, 131; cf. the

Catalogue, vol. iv. p. 1824: 'Part of an inscr. of an Assyr. king; mention is made of (*mât*) *Pi-lis-ta-ai*, (*mât*) *Mar-tu-ki* (= *Amurrû*) and (*alu*) *A-za-ḳa-a*,' *i.e. Azaḳai*, *Azaḳites* (to be derived from a city-name *Aziḳat*).[1] Since the Philistines are spoken of, the reference can, of course, be only to the biblical 'Azeḳa. In the Index (Catalogue, vol. v.) C. Bezold gives only 'Azaḳa, city,' not 'Palestinian city' or the like, so that I have considered it a matter of importance to bring to the notice of a wider circle this note that is buried in the Catalogue. It is very desirable that the fragment of twenty lines should speedily be published, with a transcription and translation.

[1] Cf. Arab. *Madînat* (=Medina) but *al-Madanî* (=Medinites).

FRITZ HOMMEL.

Munich.

Entre Nous.

The *Church Quarterly Review* opens a new volume in October with a new editor and a strong number. The new editor is the Rev. A. C. Headlam, B.D., whose articles on the Theology of the Epistle to the Romans in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES will be remembered. He is joint-author with Dr. Sanday of perhaps the richest commentary in our language, the 'International Critical Commentary' on *The Epistle to the Romans*.

The number of the *Church Quarterly* for October opens with a criticism of Schmiedel's recent article on the Acts of the Apostles. The article has been handled before, but nowhere so severely as here. One wonders what has brought Professor Schmiedel to the front. The word 'certain,' one of the most influential words in the English language, has done much for him. 'The section,' says Professor Schmiedel (one example will do), 'in which, as an eye-witness, the writer gives his narrative in the first person plural ($16^{10\text{-}17}$ $20^{5\text{-}15}$ $21^{1\text{-}18}$ 27^{1} 28^{16}) may be implicitly accepted. But it may be regarded as equally certain that they are not by the same writer as the other parts of the book.' Says the reviewer in the *Church Quarterly*: 'It would be perfectly legitimate for any Christian apologist to maintain the thesis that St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, and if his arguments were good they would demand respectful attention; but if he began by asserting that the Pauline authorship was certain he would be looked upon as a writer who did not know what he was talking about.'

As Mr. Milligan showed in his paper in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES last month, Professor Harnack's contributions toward the problem of the Western Text are against its priority. He does not agree with Professor Blass that that text, represented by Codex Bezæ, is St. Luke's first draft. The best summary of the arguments against Professor Blass's theory will be found in an appendix to the new edition of Mr. Page's *Acts* (Macmillan).

Mr. Fisher Unwin is going to publish a cheaper edition of the 'Story of the Nations' Series on the instalment plan. The prospectus should be sent for; it is attractive.

A beautiful and most useful booklet has been published by Messrs. Mabie, Todd, & Bard, the manufacturers of the 'Swan' pen. It is called the 'Swan Pen Christmas Shopping List.' It contains an alphabetical list of all likely gifts for Christmas, and space to enter the names of those for whom gifts are to be bought, as well as the articles and their price. It costs nothing, and is sent post free from 93 Cheapside.

The author of an article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for October on Bishop Westcott says that he well remembers the Bishop's horror on discovering in Blass's *New Testament Greek* the statement that St. Luke used a particular tense because he liked rolling, loud-sounding words. He did not make the mistake of supposing that there is no difference between Classical and Hellenistic Greek; but he maintained that each had its own exactness; that in neither were words or tenses used indiscriminately; and that there was no excuse for neglecting any minute detail that could possibly be induced to yield a meaning.

The same writer says that the letters which passed between Westcott and Hort while they were engaged on the text of the New Testament are still in existence, and he hopes that some of them may yet see the light.

Printed by MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED, Tanfield Works, and Published by T. & T. CLARK, 38 George Street, Edinburgh. It is requested that all literary communications be addressed to THE EDITOR, 12 Clarendon Terrace, Dundee.

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

THE volume for 1901 of *Hermathena* has been published. It contains two articles of biblical interest. The one is by Dr. Eagar of Dublin on the 'Hellenic Element in the Epistle to the Hebrews.' The other is by Dr. J. H. Bernard on the 'Greek MSS used by St. Jerome.' We hope to return to both. Meantime let us be content to mention a footnote to Dr. Eagar's paper.

Through the whole Greek of the New Testament, says Dr. Eagar, there is a strongly marked difference in meaning between the words Heaven and Heavens (οὐρανός and οὐρανοί). The difference, he says, is clearly seen in the Lord's Prayer, though it is not shown in our English versions. The first clause of the prayer is 'Our Father which art in the heavens' (ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς). If the clause read 'in heaven' the meaning would be, says Dr. Eagar, exactly as in Robert Buchanan's 'Devil's Prayer': 'Our Father, who in heaven art —*not here.*'

For 'heaven' in the singular is contrasted with the earth, as in the third petition: 'Thy will be done in earth as in heaven' (ἐν οὐρανῷ). But 'the heavens' include all places of God's dominions, terrestrial as well as celestial; and we are taught to pray to our Father who is in the heavens that are here as well as there, upon the earth as well as in the sky.

Dr. Blass has published his edition of the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, and Mr. Burkitt has reviewed it in the *Classical Review* for November. Mr. Burkitt reviews it unfavourably. He has no pleasure in unfavourable reviewing, and in this case he dislikes it exceedingly. For he knows that Dr. Blass is a great scholar, who has done great things for New Testament scholarship, and that he has spent much labour and ingenuity on this work in particular. But Dr. Blass's *St. Matthew* contains a text of his own formation, and Mr. Burkitt believes neither in the text itself nor in the principles on which it has been formed.

Mr. Burkitt once saw a letter in which Dr. Hort wrote something about one of Tischendorf's many editions of the New Testament. 'He still thinks,' wrote Dr. Hort, 'that he may read exactly as he pleases.' That judgment, in Mr. Burkitt's opinion, would now apply to Dr. Blass. Not that he ever accepts or rejects a reading without a reason. But the reasons that appeal to him are not those that would appeal to anyone else, since they rest on literary or even

religious fitness, as often as on documentary evidence.

Mr. Burkitt gives Matthew 17^{27} as an example. St. Peter is commanded to go to the sea and cast his net and take the first fish that comes up, 'and,' says the Lord, 'when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a shekel' (εὑρήσεις στατῆρα). Dr. Blass omits the words 'when thou hast opened his mouth,' and then changes 'thou shalt find a shekel' into 'it will fetch a shekel *when sold*' (εὑρήσει στατῆρα). For this reading, which conveniently gets rid of the miracle, Dr. Blass claims the support of St. Chrysostom. But Mr. Burkitt shows that St. Chrysostom is a hearty believer in the miracle, in which he sees as clear a proof of Christ's power over the sea as when He made Peter walk on the waves. Mr. Burkitt himself is willing to let any miracle go, as soon as textual or any other criticism pronounces against it. But as there is no evidence whatever against this particular miracle, outside Dr. Blass's fancy, he is compelled for the present to retain it.

At the end of the twelfth chapter the Book of Acts is divided into two parts. Mr. Rackham, in his new commentary, noticed on another page, calls the first part the Acts of Peter, the second the Acts of Paul. It is a question whether v.[25], which is the last, belongs to St. Peter or St. Paul. In favour of its belonging to the Acts of Paul is the fact that the previous verse contains St. Luke's formula for closing a section: 'The word of God grew and multiplied.' But the question is really decided by the choice we make between two disputed readings.

According to the Received Greek Text and the Authorized Version, 'Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled their ministry, and took with them John whose surname was Mark.' The Revised Version makes only two insignificant changes. But some MSS read 'Barnabas and Saul returned *to* Jerusalem,' and among them are the Vatican (B) and the Sinaitic (ℵ), the two MSS which were followed by the Revisers almost everywhere else where they agree. Why were they not followed here?

They were not followed here, because for once they seemed to unite in contradicting common sense. In the end of chapter 11 it is stated that Barnabas and Saul were sent from Antioch to bring relief to the brethren that dwelt in Judæa. At this point St. Luke inserts the murder of James and the escape of Peter. Then he returns to Barnabas and Saul, and says, in v.[25], that when they had fulfilled their ministry to the poor brethren in Judæa, they returned—the great MSS say *to* Jerusalem, but surely the little MSS are right for once, which say that they returned *from* Jerusalem, which is the capital of Judæa, to their own headquarters in Antioch.

Mr. Rackham does not believe that the little MSS are right. He believes that this verse belongs to the Acts of Peter. Jerusalem and not Antioch is still the centre of the history. It is therefore the natural form of expression to say as yet, even of Barnabas and Saul, that they returned or came home to Jerusalem. With the first verse of the next chapter the scene is changed. Thereafter Antioch is the Church's home, and the apostles will be found returning always thither.

But does not St. Luke say that it was *when they had fulfilled* this ministry that they returned? The ministry being to the brethren in Judæa, it would be exercised chiefly in Jerusalem. How could they return to Jerusalem after they had fulfilled it?

Mr. Rackham tells us that if we had observed St. Luke's style more closely, we should not have been troubled with that difficulty. St. Luke is fond of using participles. He expresses his chief fact by a finite verb, and then adds other facts in participles. These participles must be taken in order. Accordingly the correct translation here

is this: 'They returned to Jerusalem and fulfilled their ministry and took with them John.' This habit of Luke's style, he says, was missed very early. The meaning of the verse was lost. The sense seemed to demand '*from* Jerusalem,' and the change was accordingly made. But the great MSS were either too early or too faithful to make the change, and they are once more found on the side of the purest text and the most appropriate meaning.

The *Jewish Quarterly Review* for October contains a review by Mr. Claude Montefiore of an American volume of sermons. The writer of the sermons is a well-known, almost notorious, Rabbi of Philadelphia, Dr. Joseph Krauskopf. The volume is called *A Rabbi's Impressions of the Oberammergau Passion Play.*

Rabbi Krauskopf was interested in the Passion Play because of the part played in it by the Jews. He understood that the Jews were represented as playing a black part in the Passion. He believed that that was a misrepresentation, and that it was doing injury to the cause of Judaism throughout the world. So he went to Oberammergau himself to see.

When Dr. Krauskopf reached Oberammergau and saw the Passion Play, he found that he had not been told half of the dark and dastardly things that were attributed to the Jews. He was much distressed. The representation he believed to be a complete misrepresentation. And he returned to America to show that he had witnessed the Play with eyes of rare discernment and to denounce its evil influence in language of rare momentum.

Mr. Claude Montefiore reviews the sermons with sympathy. He had heard strange things of Dr. Krauskopf. He calls the report of 'the sort of things which Dr. Krauskopf is wont to say' *fabulous nonsense.* These are the sermons of a Jew who is a Jew indeed. It is true that 'a strong liberal or reform position' is taken up; it is true that 'Jesus is spoken of with high reverence and honour.' But these are not things that are likely to offend Mr. Montefiore. 'Sermons,' he says, 'more emphatically Jewish, it would be impossible to find.'

What then does this emphatically Jewish preacher, with his reverence and honour for Jesus, think of the Jews of our Lord's day and their attitude to Him? He thinks that they have been entirely misrepresented and maligned. He saw the misrepresentation in the Passion Play. But the Passion Play rests on the Gospels. He believes that in the Gospels there is a double and dreadful misrepresentation—a misrepresentation of the actual Jesus and a misrepresentation of the actual Jews.

Dr. Krauskopf believes that the actual Jesus of Nazareth was a very different person from the Jesus of the Gospels. 'There is not a word of truth,' he says, 'in all these trumped-up charges against the Rabbis, in all the Gospel-recorded bitterness of Jesus against the Scribes and Pharisees, or of the Scribes and Pharisees against Jesus.' 'If there ever was a time,' he says, 'when peace was needed among Israel itself, that was the time; and if ever there was a man to knit the people in closest bond of mutual sympathy and helpfulness in the hour of the country's direst distress, Jesus was that man. Not he the man to brand the teachers of his people "hypocrites," "scorpions," "whited sepulchres." There was not enough of gall in him to force such words to his lips. He who preached to love the enemy, to bless those that curse, to do good to those that harm, to resist no evil, certainly could not harm or curse them that had not harmed or cursed. From his earliest childhood at his mother's breast he had drunk in the Jew's reverence of the teacher in Israel, of the judge who judges in God's stead; and in all his studies of the history of Israel he had not come across a time when the teachers of Israel were more

deserving of reverence than in that age that produced a Philo, a Hillel, a Gamaliel, a Jochanan ben-Saccai.'

Jesus and the Pharisees were therefore never in opposition. Jesus 'never preached a doctrine, advocated a reform, that was not strictly Jewish.' 'There was nothing that Jesus ever preached that had not the heartiest endorsement of the Rabbis of Israel. Not a precept that he ever uttered that had not proven him a Hebrew of the Hebrews. His every word breathes of the religious and moral and social atmosphere of his time. His every act is the translation into deed of the aspirations of the pious and cultured Jew in the days of Palestine's bondage under the cruel Roman. His every teaching with regard to the Scribes and Rabbis, members of the Sanhedrin, was that they sit in Moses' seat, and whatsoever they bid that should be done. His very manner of teaching, his aphorisms and quotations, his parables and illustrations, is the manner of the Rabbis of his time. Not a reform principle that he taught which they had not taught; not a ceremonial abuse to which he objected which they had not objected to; not an ethical lesson that he enjoined which they had not enjoined; not a prayer that he offered which they had not offered; the very Lord's Prayer was a specimen of the kind of prayer they prayed; the very "Golden Rule" was the rule taught in every school.'

How is it then that the Gospels have come so utterly to misrepresent Jesus and the Rabbis and the relations between them? It is because, in Dr. Krauskopf's opinion, they are of quite late production. They do not actually reflect the time of Jesus, because they do not belong to it. They reflect the ideas of the times in which they were written. The 'bitter denunciation of the teachers of Israel,' contained in the Gospels, 'is the language of the later-day Romanized vindictive theologians of the Church militant.'

But here Mr. Montefiore finds himself out of touch with Dr. Krauskopf. The accepted date, says Mr. Montefiore, for the Gospel of Mark, is 70 to 80 A.D., which at the latest (and even Mr. Montefiore's date is much later than the accepted date in his own country) is only fifty years from the life of Jesus. The picture of Jesus and of the Rabbis is complete in the Gospel of Mark: where do you find time for the 'later-day Romanized vindictive theologians of the Church militant'?

And even if you make the Gospels as late as Dr. Krauskopf does, how are you to separate the truth from the error that is in them? Mr. Montefiore finds that Dr. Krauskopf follows the method of all the late-dating critics of every school: 'Whatever Jesus says in favour of the Law and of the Rabbis is true and authentic; passages which point the other way are unhistorical.' And more than that, he finds that Dr. Krauskopf's Jesus, like the Jesus of the late-dating critics, is a historical impossibility. 'The Jesus of Dr. Krauskopf,' he says, 'might have been a milder and gentler man than the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels, but, in spite of Paul, such a Jesus was not and could not have been the founder of Christianity. Not even all the "parallels" drawn up by Dr. Krauskopf between Talmud and New Testament will suffice to destroy the originality of the "Man of Nazareth." Without a Jesus, who in life and tenets was not a mere replica of any other contemporary Rabbi, the Gospels are an even greater puzzle than before.'

As for himself, Mr. Montefiore cannot see that the rôle ascribed to the Jews in the Gospels is so very improbable. Jesus claimed to be the Messiah. He failed to show then (Mr. Montefiore thinks He has failed to show yet) that the Old Testament passages on which he based his claim could possibly have applied to him. He asserted or admitted that he was the 'Son of God' in some special or peculiar sense which made it an assertion or admission of blasphemy to his hearers. If they did not admit his

Messiahship, why should they have believed in his Divinity? If they did not believe in his Divinity, why should they not, with their intense and passionate monotheism have shown their hatred of a blasphemer? Therefore, concludes Mr. Montefiore, 'though there is doubtless a great deal of exaggeration of theatrical effect and of designed contrast between light and darkness, good and bad, in the alleged behaviour of the Jews at the catastrophe at Jerusalem, the main outlines seem to me neither antecedently improbable nor morally atrocious.'

The Gospel and the Gospels.

By Professor N. Gloubokovsky, The Ecclesiastical Academy, St. Petersburg.

The Gospels are the law books of the New Testament. The word εὐαγγέλιον (good tidings) in the ancient classic Greek, as used by Homer, Aristotle, Plutarch, meant properly a reward for good news, in token of gratitude and as an expression of mental satisfaction, especially in relation to the gods; and, further, every communication itself which contained something agreeable. Both these nuances of meaning—'a reward' and 'glad tidings'—are found in the LXX when the Greek translators of the Old Testament render the Hebrew word *besorah* (1 S 31[9], 2 S 4[10] 18[20. 22. 25. 27], 2 K 7[9]), as well as in the works of Cicero, Josephus, etc.

But besides this use, the word εὐαγγέλιον preferentially and in its strict sense was applied in the Old Testament to the Messianic prophecies which announced the New Testament kingdom of inner peace and of release from the burthen of sin (Is 40[9] 52[7] 60[6] 61[1-2]). Therefore *gospel* was for a Jew chiefly prediction respecting the glorious coming of the Messiah—the promised Reconciler. Quite naturally, when the latter made His appearance in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, this term was made use of (comp. Ac 13[32], 1 Co 9[14]) in order to point out what He had done for the salvation of mankind. In this case 'gospel' marks off the fact itself—'great joy' (Lk 11[10]), 'the mystery' (Eph 6[19]) of the redemption by 'the power of God' (Ro 1[16]) for 'salvation' (Eph 1[13]) and 'pacification' (Eph 6[15]), 'through the grace' (Ac 20[24]), in 'the kingdom' (Mt 4[23] 9[35] 24[14]) 'of God' (Mk 1[14]), which the believer ought to enter with hearty obedience (Ro 10[16], 2 Th 1[8]) and a contrite recognition of his sinful weakness (Mk 1[15]), through an effort (Ph 1[27]) of self-sacrificing (2 Ti 1[8]) declaration (Ac 20[24]) of his gospel hope (1 Co 9[23]), of the eternal (comp. Rev 14[6]) 'glory of the great God' (1 Ti 1[11]; comp. 4[6]) and 'Christ' (2 Co 4[4]). In fine, 'gospel' is 'the coming of God the Word, even the Lord Jesus Christ, who for the salvation of the human race was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary.'

But if the word 'gospel' denotes properly the historical work of the salvation of mankind, only the Lord Jesus Christ may be called properly the author of it. An evangelist may be so called only as it can be gathered from Christ's own words (Lk 4[18], Mt 11[4. 5]; comp. Lk 7[22]), and from testimonies both of the New Testament (Mt 9[35]; comp. 4[23], Mk 1[14]) and Church writers (St. Ignatius, *Trall.* 10[5]). And, indeed, the gospel is called the gospel of the Son of God (Ro 1[9]), the gospel of Jesus Christ (Mk 1[1]; comp. Ro 15[19], Gal 1[7], Ph 1[27]), and from its original source in God, the gospel of God (Ro 1[1] 15[16], 2 Co 11[7], 1 Th 11[2. 8. 9], 1 P 4[17]).

It is, however, perfectly natural to find that this term soon began to be transferred also to the accounts of Christ's work in all its details,—all the more readily that the Saviour Himself so designated the announcement of certain episodes of His life upon earth (Mt 24[14] 26[13]; comp. Mk 14[9]; comp. Jn 12[4]). It is not difficult then to see how and why reminiscences of the apostles not only spoken but written, began to be called 'Gospels' (St. Justin the Martyr, 1st Apol. chap. 66). It is quite possible that the books of the Gospels obtained this appellation very early; it is at least found to have been used by almost all the original codices both of the Greek and versions, and St. John Chrysostom

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(*Disc. Matt.* i. 2) distinctly asserts that 'Matthew has justly called his work Gospel.'

From the foregoing it follows that the first four books of the New Testament are named the Gospels on account, and in the sense, of their proclaiming ('evangelizing') good tidings (εὐαγγέλιον) of the redemption of mankind through Christ, the incarnate Son of God, as of an especial act of God's love and grace (comp. Eph 1^{1}^{8}). And inasmuch as our Christian faith is based entirely thereon (comp. Lk 1^{4}), the Gospels are in a perfectly legitimate way considered as 'fundamental' records of the New Testament canon.

This definition is of great importance for a correct and scientific comprehension and appreciation of the written Gospels. In their subject-matter they have in view the same object which our Saviour Himself pursued in His activity, and consequently they only narrate that which has a direct relation thereto. Their aim is practical soteriology; everything that goes beyond its limits is omitted by the God-inspired writers (Jn 20^{30} 21^{25}). St. Luke, it is true, expresses his intention of writing *everything in order*, but *only that* Theophilus 'might know the certainty concerning the things wherein he was instructed' (1^{3-4}). Therefore, the books of the Gospels strictly so called, are not a historical and biographical work; therein lies the key to a right comprehension of their character and great importance. They endeavour to describe for us the personality and the work of Christ as our *Redeemer*. One can easily understand that in carrying out such a plan many facts in the human existence of the Lord were considered as mere accessories.

It is in this sense that the Apostle Paul persistently calls his preaching of the good tidings concerning Christ the Saviour *gospel*, and in so far as this preaching was true, and in its exposition precisely expressed, the actual fact of Christ's redemption in the fullest authenticity, power, and depth (1 Co 15^{1}, Gal 1^{11} 2^{2}), he himself, as it were, becomes identical with the Lord, and appropriates this gospel in the quality of his own (τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου, Ro 2^{16} 16^{25}, 2 Ti 2^{8}; τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν, 2 Co 4^{3}, 1 Th 1^{5}, 2 Th 2^{14}). This trait is most characteristic in all respects; so that in speaking about the teaching of St. Paul it is necessary to retain the term 'gospel,' which shows at once and faithfully all the peculiarities of 'preaching among the Gentiles,' and sets aside all kinds of misrepresentations (for instance, the period of infancy as leading to that of manhood), since out of the facts of His manifold activity those things alone must have been selected which particularly expressed it. Therefore, in the narration of His sojourn among men, *that only* was important and necessary which characterized Him especially from this point of view, showing Him to be God Incarnate, Saviour of the world, which made it clear to every one that He was the Redeemer. Under this condition only was it possible adequately to conceive His God-man personality, inasmuch as in the salvation of mankind are to be looked for the starting-point, the life-long principle, and the terminating point of His life on earth. Isolated facts had to be made use of only for this end, and thus we find in our canonical Gospels that every writer, pursuing his practical objects and making his book subservient to the benefit of his readers, presents his own delineation of Christ *as the Saviour of men*, and touches upon everything else solely on account of its connexion, tangency, and relation to this the chief point. Thus the Gospel, being neither a yearly chronicle nor a biography, is an entire and objective reproduction of the work of Christ, illuminated by an idea which constitutes its inalienable essence, and therefore fully develops it.

From this point of view one cannot help characterizing as an obscuration and a reversal of the true ideal of the gospel-story, and as an entire loss of a correct conception respecting it, all the latest of the apocryphal Gospels which endeavour to fill up the gap, as if it had not been purposely formed by the Synoptics and St. John, with legends of the period of the infancy of Christ the Saviour, with narrations of His life, which frequently appear monstrous and absurd and so forth.[1] For that very reason we believe that the

[1] Apocryphal Gospels are those stories of the Life of Christ the Saviour which were either not recognized or were rejected by the Church as not deserving credence, fabulous and even thoroughly impious and heretical. Their number is very considerable. Even Fabricius counted as many as fifty, and now this total must be raised still further; thus in 1892 the Greek fragments of the Gospel of St. Peter were discovered in Egypt, and made a great sensation in Western theological literature. Several similar fragments were also preserved in the old Slavonian 'secret' literature. Some of the apocryphal Gospels are as old as the third, perhaps even the second century, but at all events it has not been proved beyond doubt that even one of these might be accounted older than the canonical Gospels. The most

actual Life of Christ, the God-man, cannot possibly be written, although attempts of the kind and under such a title are to be met with in Russian literature, not to speak of their striking multitude abroad (Strauss, Renan, Keim, Weiss, Beyschlag, Farrar, Didon, etc.).

The Gospel, as *the work of Christ*, proceeded from, and can only belong to, the Lord Himself, and may not have other 'authors.' This explains all the peculiarities *in the superscriptions of our canonical Gospels.* First of all, we must accept the opinion of St. John Chrysostom (*Discourses on Rom.* i. 1; *Matt.* i. 2) that Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John did not write their names; the superscriptions have come into use afterwards, although not much later, as we have to conclude from the testimonies of Tertullian (*Vers. Marcion*, iv. 2), Irenæus (*Vers. Heresies*, iii. 11), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 21), and the Fragment of Muratori (i. 3). At the same time it is perfectly natural that the designation of the evangelists could not be made in the form of 'genitivus auctoris' or 'possessivus,' inasmuch as the author of the Gospel was Christ. Consequently preference was given to a complex form, Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον, Μάρκον, Λουκᾶν, Ἰωάννην,—according to Matthew, Mark, etc. In accordance with the character of the Gospels, this formula would precisely express the substance of the matter, if it be amplified as follows:—'The Gospel *of our Lord Jesus Christ according to the exposition* (*as related in writing*) by Matthew.' The authorship of the evangelists would evidently not be excluded thereby, and, consequently, some savants (Kruedener, Renan, Volkmar, Reuss, Holzmann) have no ground for finding therein support for their notion that our canonical Gospels were made up *in accordance with the tradition only or built up on the basis of original notes* of the persons whose names they now bear.

If the gospel is, strictly speaking, the work of redemption, it can, like every historical event, be one only (Adamantius); that is why St. Irenæus (*Vers. Heres.* iii. 8) speaks only of ὁ τετράμορφον εὐαγγέλιον—*a four-aspected gospel* (comp. Hieronimus on John xxxvi. 1; Sermon ccxxxi. 1, *de Util. cred.* 7), and St. John Chrysostom of *one according to four* (διὰ τεσσάρων ἓν). And with regard to *the quadruple number of the Gospels*, the ancient Church authorities (Origen, Augustine, John Chrysostom) asserted that thereby is pointed out the necessary fulness in the exposition of the subject, authenticity and stability of the delineation, as well as the universality of the good tidings. On account of such considerations as this, the holy Irenæus (*Vers. Heres.* iii. 11) deemed the present the only self-sufficient quantity, and rightly judged it 'vain, irrational, and extremely presumptuous to attempt to introduce greater or smaller forms of the Gospels.' And when we carefully examine into the contents of the canonical Gospels, we can easily discover that they contain the life of Christ, from all points of view, in forms adapted to all racial subdivisions, and answering all questions that human intellect can raise, and by their mutual agreement with some differences in details, they convince us of their historical truth (St. John Chrysostom).

In this general outline there remains still untouched the question of the origin and mutual relation of the canonical Gospels. In the Western negative and sceptical literature it has become very complicated, and has given birth to such a multitude of complex, original, and fanciful theories that only one who is well versed in the subject can help feeling bewildered amongst them. But at the bottom of all these ragings and researches lies, strictly speaking, the distrust of the fact itself in that supernatural form in which it is presented in our Gospels; from this springs the endeavour to amplify and to write a literary history of the Gospels in accordance with the originals, and in different forms; from this also flow the efforts to dismiss, to deform, and to explain away ancient testimonies in favour of Church-tradition, etc. But the very diversity and mutual contradiction of these attempts, the indefinite arbitrary character and instability of their construction, prove that these savants do not stand upon a sure,

important of them are: The Proto-Evangel of James (25 chaps. from the time of the Annunciation of the birth of the Theotokos to the Massacre of Innocents at Bethlehem); The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, or The Book of Birth of the all-holy Mary and of the Childhood of the Saviour (42 chaps.); The Gospel of the Birth of Mary (10 chaps.); The History of Joseph the Carpenter (32 chaps.); The Gospel of Thomas (in fragments relating in chaps. 19, 21, and 35 the Life of Christ from the Flight into Egypt until the Twelfth Year); Arabian Gospel of Virginity; The Gospel of Nicodemus (consisting of the Acts of Pilate and of the Descent of Christ into Hades); The Report of Pilate; The Gospel of the Hebrews; The Eternal Gospel; The Gospel of Andrew, of the Twelve Apostles, of Barnabas, of Bartholomew, and so forth.

firm, and safe ground. Before the tribunal of true science the proposition that our Gospels were written by Saints Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and appeared, the first three in the second half of the first century, and the last either at the end of the first or not later than the very first years of the second, would stand firmly for ever. It is of greater importance to note that the first three Gospels, differing somewhat from the fourth, resemble one another in an extraordinary degree, both with regard to the scope, the contents, and the treatment of the narrative. That is why they are not infrequently called in scientific terminology, *synoptical*, and their writers *synoptics*, whose narrations could be disposed in parallel lines. To explain this fact different savants offered (1) the hypothesis of an oral primordial Gospel of a stereotyped form, which with slight modifications was reproduced in our written Gospels; (2) the hypothesis of a written proto-evangelium, which was rewritten by the synoptics; (3) the hypothesis of mutual use by the evangelists of the work of each other, and so forth. No undoubted conclusions can be reached in this direction on account of absence of direct and sure data. It is only certain that at the foundation of our Gospels are laid personal observations and oral communications of eye-witnesses of the life and work of Christ. Naturally, all the information of the kind was sacredly preserved by Christians on—so far as it was possible—strictly inviolate conditions both as regards the form and contents. Nevertheless, literary approximation of the synoptic Gospels permits of the admission that the Synoptics mutually knew the writings of one another, namely, Mark that of Matthew, Luke both that of Matthew and of Mark, as it has already been expressed by blessed Augustine (*De cons. ev.* i. 2).

Happiness at the Table—and After.[1]

By the Rev. A. C. Mackenzie, M.A., Dundee.

'For as the sufferings of Christ abound unto us, even so our comfort also aboundeth through Christ.'—2 Cor. i. 5 (R.V.).

We have had, I believe, a joyous and profitable Communion season, and we are all here, I trust, to give glory to God through Jesus Christ. Whether or not the individual experience has in every case been of this joyous kind, I must for the purposes of my text assume it to have been so. And in any case we can easily imagine it to be so, for we have a common experience of humanity, Christian and unchristian alike, to go upon. We have all at some time or other been present on a festive occasion which we have very much enjoyed. Our pulses beat faster, our spirits rose with the occasion, and our whole being was suffused with an indescribable feeling which we usually express by saying that we greatly enjoyed ourselves.

The day after, when we have brought it all to the clear, cold light of reflection, we sometimes wonder what it was that we did enjoy. The lights, the music, the viands, the decorations, the company, the feast of reason, the flow of soul,—all these we pass through the mind in turn, but our account of the occasion is unsatisfactory till we combine with these a *something* that we cannot name—the festal spirit of the hour which expressed itself through the whole. It does not diminish our sense of the enjoyment nor make our memory of it pale, that we may not be able satisfactorily to account for it, but if we could lay our finger upon the true cause of it, we could again evoke the same joyous spirit to repeat the experience.

Now in Christian joy the Communion is a thing that a man may feel as he feels the warmth of sunshine without being able to account for it. But Christian joy in any of its phases is not a vague and formless, still less a baseless, thing. It has roots and foundations which can be laid bare. As Christians we are expected to be able to render a reason for the faith that is in us, and as Christian communicants we should be able to say not only that we were happy at the Table, but also why we

[1] Given at a post-Communion service, 28th October 1901.

were happy there and look forward to being happy again.

In trying to do this—to get at the bases of Christian joy in Communion—we are faced at once with an obstruction. There is a stone at the mouth of the cave which some of us may not be able without assistance to remove. I think St. Paul helps us here and puts a lever into our hand to uplift and remove it. He is speaking in the text of the *abounding* towards us of the sufferings of Christ. The stone in our way is this. The sufferings of Christ we know were the deepest that He could undergo. There was no lower depth that a suffering man could then touch than to be crucified as an evil-doer and in the company of evil-doers. There was no baser form of death then known than crucifixion. We know that to the natural horrors of crucifixion was added unspeakable spiritual distress. One might be crucified in a good conscience, knowing oneself to be innocent, and bear up under it wonderfully, just as martyrs in every cause have borne similar tortures in a frame of moral triumph and even in spiritual ecstasy. But no such experience was Christ's. It was not a martyr's but an evil-doer's death that Christ died. God and man abandoned Him to that, for in some way there was 'laid upon Him the iniquity of us all.' He suffered in a darkness inward and outward. All this is plain enough and simple enough until we place other facts beside it.

Crucifixion, execrable as it was, and slow as the torture it produced was, is not the most horrible torture that the malignant ingenuity of man has devised. There are deaths that are slower and more horrible. There are sufferings that are more prolonged than Christ's. The years of Christ's earthly ministry were few in comparison with the long-drawn-out pains, bodily and spiritual, of many of His own followers even, and of others like the Fakirs of India. Men have died in a prolonged agony of spiritual distress, self-condemnation, inward agonies of the soul, up to the full measure of their powers of endurance. The Cains who have groaned 'my punishment is greater than I can bear' have in all the ages been many. None of them is a saviour of mankind, none of their deaths is commemorated with joy as this death is. We honour the noble army of martys, but we are not joyful at remembrance of their sufferings. We turn away from their miserable ends with relief. Why do we continue and why have millions of men for nearly 2000 years continued to remember *this* one death with joy, and to give praise to God the Father and deep homage and worship to His Son on account of it? What gives weight to this stone of obstruction is this: here were sufferings neither so prolodged nor so awful as we have elsewhere heard of. Why should they be so fruitful that instead of turning away from them we sing Psalms of praise for them and meditate upon them in the night-watches? As Christians we rejoice with trembling. It is a hope with us that we may rejoice with intelligence also and praise God with the understanding.

The angels that have come to our help and have *not* been able to roll away the stone are the theories which have come into the minds of men to explain this suffering and our joyous attitude towards it. One is that although the sufferings were less 'abounding' than those of some others, the Sufferer was of such transcendent dignity that a particle of them might weigh against tons of the sufferings of ordinary human beings. I am afraid that this will not help us much. The lever is too short, the fulcrum too low. In plain English it suggests that a few hours of divine suffering is enough to outweigh the sins of the world in all ages, enough to put away transgressions for ever and ever. Plainly this will not do. Allow for the transcendent dignity and all that can be said or thought about that, and you still leave an outrage upon common sense.

But here comes another angel with a tale more plausible. The Christ is suffering still, sinners prolong and multiply the suffering. In their Communion with Him they reproduce in even more terrible forms the pangs of crucifixion. They literally eat the flesh, they drink the blood of Christ. In other words, we are asked to believe by this expedient of inexorable Roman logic that our Saviour is literally dying daily, hourly, momentarily, and enduring penalties which fiends incarnate might congratulate themselves upon having invented. The Mass puts a bloody lever into our hands, but again it is too short. If it lifts one stone out of our way, it plants a more mighty one right across the path. There are other so-called angels of deliverance, but these are the chief among them.

All the while St. Paul is waiting for us. And his angel is so sweet and calm of countenance, so

obvious too, that we wonder why we had not observed him. Before he speaks of sufferings, St. Paul speaks of comforts (v.[4]), and of what one might call the natural increase of comforts: God comforting us and we in turn comforting others, God's comfort bearing interest and compound interest. This is what he means. And here is an illustration of it. In the ordinary course of duty a trained nurse was sent to attend a rich man in his last illness, which was a peculiarly painful one. Some difficulty was experienced in procuring the nurse. After the rich man's death, his widow was so impressed with the comfort of having a trained nurse in such circumstances, and felt so much for those who might be unable to get one that, in memory of the comfort, she gave a large sum to establish a home for such nurses where people in want of them could be instantly supplied. This was the compound interest of comfort. And if one cared to inquire into the secret history of hundreds of comforting institutions and endowments, one could find similar records. Hospitals, and beds in hospitals and endowments in hospitals (to mention only one channel of comfort), are monuments erected to the comfort experienced by individuals and communities from God Himself. 'The pious founder,' as we used in better days to call him, was one who was himself comforted of God. And so up and down the scale of works of mercy. Now there is an interest and compound interest both in the sufferings and the comforts of Christ. Suffering on behalf of others, and suffering even unto death and unto hard violent, long-drawn-out death for others, has become so common an occurrence that we cease to regard it as a prodigy of Christian valour or virtue. We spend and are spent in the service of our brethren and of the world, and no one thinks of giving us any praise for it. They praise Him who 'left us an ensample that we should walk in his steps.' Whether Christian martyrdom is short, sharp, and violent, or lasts a lifetime, and is like a slow fire, we have ceased to wonder at it, and when we think of it, it is to Him that we put the glory. In this sense there is a fruit of Calvary that is perennial and grows on every soil in which Christianity has been planted. This of itself is a fruit of righteousness entitling Christ to everlasting remembrance and to all the honour that suffering humanity can confer upon Him. It is, if we may so call it, a natural increase, as wonder-begetting as the million spores that spring from one. But this, though it is more than finite mind can grasp or heart imagine, is not the reason why we worship the Father through Christ, and for what He has done in Christ, and are happy in Communion. Natural increase is wonderful, spiritual increase—'abounding'—is much more. Our Communion is with the Father and the Son through the Spirit, and our adoration of all three Persons is based not on the magnitude of the sufferings, still less on their duration, but on the Divine acceptance of these sufferings, inadequate as they confessedly are, to the putting away of the sin of the whole world in all time.

The Son's sufferings came in the line of the sufferings of the lower creation for the putting away of man's sins. And it was never the *value* of these sacrifices—rather it was the *valuelessness* of them and the gracious acceptance of them by God that awoke in the heart of the true Israelite the praise of His grace and mercy. The gods of the heathen might exact, and did exact, the uttermost farthing. They were hard creditors, inexorable taskmasters, and laid cruel, sometimes far more cruel, retribution on their devotees than the crimes for which atonement was thus made. But *our* God, so an Israelite would say, is a gracious God, who keeps mercy for thousands and passes by the iniquity. The vital spark of the older sacrifice was God's good pleasure, His grace, which accepted so little in lieu of so much and sent His worshipper away, not thinking of his lambs and his bullocks, but sounding the praises of the merciful God on the loud timbrel. God's prophets were not left in ignorance that it was not ten thousand rivers of oil or thousands of rams that were important, but the grace that accepted the cruse of oil and the one lamb. The spiritual increase, the overflow, or, to use the apostle's phrase, the abounding of the sufferings of Christ unto us, has its source not in any magical effect which His transcendent personality gave them, but in the bosom-love and compassion of God, who accepted the sufferings as a ransom for the sin of the world. Thus our Communion reaches up through the channel of the Son's sufferings to the full-welling fountain of the gracious love of the Father who sent Him. And this is why we are glad with a gladness that we can renew and that increases with every renewal of the sacred rite, and with every wind of memory that brings back the fragrance of it. As

it is with the abounding of the sufferings so also is it with the comforts. The life of Christ abounded in consolations. He had no small mercies to be thankful for. They were all great mercies, following Him all the days of His life below. Nathanael's faith, Mary's devotion, voices in the heavens, the perpetual inward voice, the Father's 'well-done,' the assurance of His uninterrupted love,—these strewed the thorny path of suffering with fragrant flowers of consolation. If devils tempted Him, angels came and ministered to Him. And these consolations have had an abounding quality about them, a spiritual increase more wonderful than any natural increase you can think of. The Spirit of Christ dwelling in us has opened our eyes to things that are for us and make our crosses seem as gay garlands displayed on festal days. The Christian who dwells on the sufferings and magnifies them, and forgets that they were accompanied with consolations, which make us—as they made Him—love the weight we have to bear, is surely yet but an infant crying in the night, who knows not that the Father's soothing voice and helping hand are near.

And the sinner, whose sin is ever before him, and who reflects, as reflect he must, that he is but one of millions of his kind and his sin but one of transgressions that are as the stars for multitude, may well turn away in despair even from Calvary until we show him the abounding quality which God, whose thoughts, blessed be His name, are not as our thoughts nor His ways as ours, imparts to them. Without this the Cross is a rock of offence; with this it is the power of God and the wisdom of God to everyone that believeth.

At the Literary Table.

THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

Uniform with the delightful edition recently issued of the 'Horae Subsecivae,' Messrs. A. & C. Black have published a new edition of *Dr. John Brown and his Sisters*, by Miss E. T. M'Laren (2s. net). It is the sixth edition, and it supersedes all others by virtue of an Introductory Note which Professor Crum Brown contributes.

Dr. M'Adam Muir of Glasgow has written an account of the life and works of the chief *Religious Writers of England* enough to make a volume of the 'Guild Library' (A. & C. Black, crown 8vo, pp. 213, 1s. 6d.). No desire for originality, no determination to reverse the popular judgment has led Dr. M'Adam Muir away from his practical purpose of making the lives of these great good men remind the young men of to-day that they too can make their lives sublime.

IMMORTALITY, AND OTHER SERMONS. By the Rev. A. W. Momerie, D.Sc., LL.D. (*Blackwood.* Crown 8vo, pp. 317. 5s.)

Mrs. Momerie has prepared this volume for the press. It contains the chief sermons of the last four years. They mostly treat of the things concerning the End. They treat of these things unfettered by considerations of system or conformity. Perhaps the deepest interest in the sermons lies in their candid revelation of Dr. Momerie's own hopes and fears as to the things that are behind the veil. For he has as little hesitation in contradicting our cherished notions as in gainsaying the teaching of Scripture and the Church. They read as if they were the sermons of a layman, and in that unwonted aspect they are of much value, the more salutory perhaps the less comforting they are.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF THE REDEEMER. (*Cassell.* Crown 8vo, pp. 384. 6s.)

The editor of the *Quiver* selected twelve men and set them the task of writing the Life of our Lord. Each writer had one period or one set of incidents to write about. The result is both more homogeneous and more edifying than even the editor of the *Quiver* could have expected. For recent study of the origins of Christianity, though it has much disturbed the minds of the unwary, has brought evangelical students of the Life of Christ into closer fellowship, and eliminated much fruitless idiosyncracy. Each of these studies is

the writer's own, but an agreeable harmony of conception is carried throughout the volume. It is notable in itself, and it is notable as a tribute to scientific exposition. Some modern paintings, beautifully reproduced, increase the volume's value.

Two parts have been published of the seventh volume of the 'Cambridge Texts and Studies.' The first part is *The Meaning of Homo-ousios in the 'Constantinopolitan' Creed.* The author is the Rev. J. F. Bethune-Baker, B.D. (Cambridge: At the University Press, 8vo, pp. 90, 3s. net). The second part is *St. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel.* The author is Mr. F. Crawford Burkitt, M.A. (8vo, pp. 101, 3s. net). Both works are of the very finest workmanship, their accomplished writers' enthusiasm expressing itself in freshness of thought and in patience of investigation. Nor are they so confined in interest as their titles may suggest. Mr. Burkitt is of no little value to the exegete and critic; Mr. Bethune-Baker compels the attention of the Church historian and theologian.

THE WORLD'S EPOCH-MAKERS: ORIGEN AND GREEK PATRISTIC THEOLOGY. By the Rev. W. Fairweather, M.A. (*T. & T. Clark.* Crown 8vo, pp. 282. 3s.)

The present generation is said to be less conversant with the Fathers than the generation of Newman and Pusey was. It seems to us, on the contrary, that the acquaintance is closer and more critical. There may be less quotation (from convenient Ante-Nicene libraries and the like), but when editions appear they are more scientific, and when lives are published they are more progressive. The editions of Origen recently issued by the Cambridge University Press and the life of Origen now in our hands are sufficient to bear this out. Mr. Fairweather's work is as pleasant to read as though it were a purely popular compilation, it is as scholarly as though it were to be sat upon by patristic experts. That is the consummation these 'Epoch-Makers' seek to reach, and there is no reason why they should not all reach it.

THE WORLD'S EPOCH-MAKERS: MUHAMMAD AND HIS POWER. By P. de Lacy Johnstone, M.A., M.R.A.S. (*T. & T. Clark.* Crown 8vo, pp. 256. 3s.)

It is not the epoch-maker alone but the epoch he makes that this series seeks to describe. Muhammad we know at least a little; his epoch, his whole wonderful vital movement, we do not know so well. It is difficult to know. Literature perhaps cannot reveal it. We must reside among Muhammadans and know them before we can hope to know Muhammad. This is what Mr. Johnstone has done, and every page of his brilliant confident narrative reveals the man who knows. His manner of writing seems fitted to his subject. We are swept into the current of his copious Eastern vocabulary. We are helped to know by being made to feel. The book is small enough to be read at a sitting, and at a sitting it is likely to be read. We are glad that Mr. Johnstone has given us the great prophet with sympathy.

A cheap edition of Mr. Frederick C. Spurr's *Four Last Things* has been published at the Drummond Tract Depôt, Stirling (1s.).

THE TEMPLE BIBLE: GENESIS. By A. H. Sayce, LL.D., D.D. (*Dent.* 12mo.)

Messrs. Dent have undertaken the publication of a new series of commentaries, which they call the 'Temple Bible.' They are to be quite original in many ways. Outwardly the volumes are as charming as possible,—their leather binding being at the money quite a luxury,—and that is originality enough in commentaries. But that is not all. The text (it is the Authorized Version) is printed in paragraphs without chapter (except an asterisk) or verse division, and the page is divided off into lines, five at a time. The first volume, Genesis, being edited by Professor Sayce, its notes are mainly archæological. They are extremely useful and well expressed. The introduction is a résumé of what has been discovered about Genesis in our day. And there is a list at the end of English works which have borrowed materials from Genesis.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN BRAID SCOTS. By the Rev. W. Wye Smith. (*Gardner.* 8vo. 6s. net.)

Mr. Smith is a Canadian, and from Canada you see the whole of Scotland at a glance, so that his Scots is not the Scots of a single county. It is less provincial and less difficult to read than even the Scots of Burns. No Scotsman, no man of Scottish descent, should have any difficulty with it, and even for the occasional Englishman who may

seek nourishment in the volume there is a glossary of the most un-English words. There is no denying the pathos or even the power of the New Testament in braid Scots. It is more perhaps to the Scotsman, and especially to the Scotsman in a foreign land, than his native Hebrew tongue was to St. Paul, for it is less a literary language, more the language of the mother and the home.

To their 'Complete Library' Messrs. Gowans & Gray of Glasgow are in the way of adding the whole of *Cervantes' Works*. Four of the twelve volumes, containing and completing Don Quixote, have already appeared. The translation is Ormsby's with his latest corrections and additions; the editor is Mr. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly. Are these names nothing to you? Then you are the 'general reader' for whom these complete editions are being prepared. Take to the reading of Don Quixote in this translation and with this editor. The four handsome volumes will cost you but four shillings.

Mr. Philip Green has just published new editions of the two famous volumes of sermons by John Hamilton Thom, entitled *Laws of Life after the Mind of Christ* (crown 8vo, pp. 406, 429, 2s. 6d. net each). The sermons, as we know, are Unitarian, and of the finest modern type. One meets of course an occasional statement that seems needless if not unwarranted. In the fourth sermon of the second series, for example, we read: 'Faith in immortality with the Martyr Stephen, sees the heavens opened and the Son of Man, *Mankind imaged in the Son of man*, on the right hand of the throne of God.' But for the most part these sermons are as elevated in thought as they are rich in expression.

Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton have begun to publish a series of 'Christian Study Manuals' at 1s. net each. The general editor is the Rev. R. E. Welsh, M.A. Three volumes have been published: *The Early Church*, by Professor Orr; *Ruling Ideas of Our Lord*, by Dr. D'Arcy; and *Protestant Principles*, by Dr. Monro Gibson.

APOSTOLIC OPTIMISM. By the Rev. J. H. Jowett, M.A. (*Hodder & Stoughton.* Crown 8vo, pp. 285. 6s.)

Optimism is an unsatisfactory word. It argues a good digestion, or at least a sunny temperament, and there are those who say that temperament is all that there is in Christianity. But Mr. Jowett's magnificent first sermon puts it all right. The optimistic apostle is St. Paul, and three reasons are given for his victorious optimism. There is, first, his vivid sense of the reality of the redemptive work of Christ; next, his living sense of the reality and greatness of his present resources, that is to say, that he is not only 'by Christ redeemed' but also 'in Christ restored'; and, finally, his impressive sense of the reality of future glory. Clearly these things do not depend on temperament, but on the reception of Christ. The sermons are all of the same character, strong statements of evangelical doctrine, to be turned into energetic impulses of life.

A HISTORY OF THE PLYMOUTH BRETHREN. By W. B. Neatby, M.A. (*Hodder & Stoughton.* Crown 8vo, pp. 360. 6s.)

Twelve years ago Dr. Alexander, the present Primate of Ireland, described the warfare of his own Church in the following remarkable terms: 'The hill up which our little host must march is steep, and the hail beats in our faces. We hear the steady tramp of the serried ranks of Rome round us; the shout of the marauders of Plymouth rises as they, ever and anon, cut off a few stragglers. We draw close, and grip our muskets harder.' Mr Neatby begins his history of the Plymouth Brethren by quoting those words. He sees in those words a tribute to the importance of the 'marauders of Plymouth.' He has himself a yet higher estimate of their power and persistence. He undertakes his subject with a sense that it is a task worthy of the best that a historian can give to it, and he refuses to degrade it either by flattery or by vituperation. This apparently has never been done before. Here for the first time Plymouth Brethrenism is treated according to the laws of historical science, and as a portion of the history of the Church.

The latest volume of the 'Century Bible' contains the *General Epistles*, edited by Professor Bennett of Hackney College (Jack, 2s. net). We know Professor Bennett best as an Old Testament student, and are not surprised to find that the originality of this commentary consists in the richness with which the General Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude illustrate, and are them-

selves illustrated by the Old Testament Scriptures. There is much else that is worthy in the little book, but this is the most distinct and valuable service it has rendered.

Messrs. Longmans have published a new edition of Dr. Vance Smith's well-known manifesto, *The Bible and its Theology* (crown 8vo, pp. 347, 3s. 6d. net). The book has been largely rewritten. It is less polemical now, it is more useful.

PURGATORY; THE FAITHFUL DEPARTED; THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS. By A. J. Mason, D.D. (*Longmans.* Crown 8vo, pp. 187. 3s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Mason chose these subjects for his lectures because they are greatly exercising the minds of not a few in the Church of England at the present time. He is peculiarly well fitted to speak upon them, for he has made himself master of the whole range of their literature, and he has the mind of Christ.

Messrs. Macmillan have published Bishop Lightfoot's celebrated essay on *The Christian Ministry* in a separate convenient form (crown 8vo, pp. 148, 3s. net). The volume also contains illustrative extracts chosen by himself from the Bishop's other writings, for he felt that an unfair use had been made of some statements in the essay.

JOHANNINE PROBLEMS AND MODERN NEEDS. By the Rev. H. T. Purchas, M.A. (*Macmillan.* Crown 8vo, pp. 132. 3s. net.)

This is too small a book to deal satisfactorily with all the great problems it touches, but Mr. Purchas is a student and knows exactly where lies the pith of these problems. If we find little settled for us, we at least are put on the right track and stimulated to further pursuit. A chapter of exceptional interest is that on the true idea of the apostolate.

ESSAYS FROM THE 'GUARDIAN.' By Walter Pater. (*Macmillan.* 8vo, pp. 149. 8s. 6d. net.)

This volume, which will be gladly added to Walter Pater's previous works, contains nine essays which were contributed anonymously to the *Guardian.* Their subjects are English literature, Amiel's *Journal Intime*, Browning, *Robert Elsmere*, their Majesties' Servants, Wordsworth, Mr. Gosse's Poems, Ferdinand Fabre, *Les Contes* of M. Augustin Filon. They range in date from 1886 to 1890. They are very short, but Walter Pater was very intimate with these subjects, and wastes no words. We read them for their English style, for what he says of Wordsworth is true of his own essays: 'He constantly endeavours to bring his language nearer to the real language of men, not on the dead level of their ordinary intercourse, but in certain select moments of vivid sensation, when this language is winnowed and enobled by sentiment.' But the language is not everything, even the twelve pages on Wordsworth give us that which abides when the words are forgotten.

Mr. Melrose has published the story of the life of President M'Kinley, by David Williamson (1s. net).

Mr. Melrose has also published *The Endeavour Greeting*, a manual of information and suggestion for new members (1s.). The author is Amos R. Wells.

Mr. Melrose has further published a new edition of *Henry Drummond*, by Cuthbert Lennox (crown 8vo, pp. xxviii, 250, 2s. 6d. net). It contains a new preface, full of new facts, most frankly stated.

Again, Mr. Melrose has published a volume entitled *How to Promote and Conduct a Successful Revival* (crown 8vo, pp. 336, 3s. 6d.). It contains papers on all the phases of revival work by leading American and other evangelists, a large number of condensed sermons as suggestions for speakers at revival meetings, and a smaller number of 'topics and texts.' Why should revival speakers need so many hints and helps? If revival work is a good thing, send the best preachers to it.

THE CHRISTIAN'S GREAT INTEREST. By William Guthrie. (*Melrose.* Crown 8vo, pp. lx, 251. 2s. 6d.)

Have you made acquaintance yet with Mr. Smellie's 'Books for the Heart'? You have other editions of them all perhaps—*The Journal of John Woolman*, Pulsford's *Quiet Hours*, Jonathan Edwards' *Religious Affections*, and the rest. Nevertheless you will find that this edition excelleth them all. Its strength is in its introductions. For these introductions, in spite of their almost

pedantic accuracy, so subtly exhale the right literary fragrance that they seem to have been handed down from the past as an inseparable part of the book they introduce to us. This is a most rare gift, and makes a man an editor indeed. The volume before us is the latest addition to the series. It has all the outward beauty and inward permanence.

ROYAL MANHOOD. By the Rev. James I. Vance, D.D. (*Melrose.* Crown 8vo, pp. 251, 3s. 6d.)

American sermons seem to run after types more closely than ours do. There is the doctrinal like Shedd's, the philosophical like Bushnell's, and the anecdotal like Talmage's. This volume is of the anecdotal type.

'My father called me to him. "John," said he, very kindly, "I wish you would get the hammer." "Yes, sir." "Now a nail and a piece of pine board from the wood shed." "Here they are." "Will you drive the nail into the board?" It was done. "Please pull it out again." "That's easy." "Now, John," and my father's voice dropped to a lower, sadder key, "pull out the nail hole."'

That is one of its anecdotes. It has not only point in itself, but receives point from its place in the sermon. For this is one of the best volumes of the anecdotal type.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE NEW SCHOLARSHIP. By John P. Peters, Ph.D., Sc.D., D.D. (*Methuen.* Crown 8vo, pp. 333. 6s.)

Messrs. Methuen's books have a strong tendency to run into series. But an active mind can keep the various series and their editors separate. This book belongs to the 'Churchman's Library,' of which the editor is the Rev. J. H. Burn, B.D. Now the 'Churchman's Library' contains books of the utmost variety both of subject and accomplishment, and it is quite evident that Dr. Peters got liberty to write his book in his own way. He has written about the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament. But as that is a large subject now, he has wisely given a general exposition of its methods and results, and only gone into any fulness of detail in the case of Daniel and the Psalms. Dr. Peters is not what would be called an extreme higher critic, but he firmly believes in the divine mission of criticism. Not counting it his business to hold a brief for God, he lets methods work out their results, whatever their tendency may be. But he is most careful to check the results of a mere literary criticism by the findings of the monuments.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. By R. B. Rackham, M.A. (*Methuen.* 8vo, pp. cxvi, 524. 12s. 6d.)

This commentary, printed on thin light paper, and pleasantly bound, catches the attention first of all by its outward attractive appearance. The moment it is opened, however, it arrests the attention more completely by the singularity of its method. It belongs to the series of 'Oxford Commentaries,' edited by Professor Walter Lock. The first volume of the series was Gibson's *Job*, and it followed the accustomed manner, the text in large type at the top of the page, the commentary in double columns and smaller type below. This is the second volume, and its plan is wholly different. The notes are given in the form of a straightforward narrative, to be read just as the Book of Acts itself is read; and the text, which is that of the Revised Version, comes in when it is wanted. There are frequent discussions, sometimes learned enough, but no Greek word is allowed to arrest the English reader's interest. The footnotes are mostly what we call 'marginal references,' but occasionally they refer to some book, and they always contain the marginal notes of the Revised Version.

Mr. Rackham's general aim seems to be to translate the Acts into modern language. In order to do this, in order to put us, as it were, by the side of the original readers, his paraphrase has to explain many allusions, and that makes it far longer than the original Book of Acts. But the immense mass of accurate information which his book contains, not to speak of its interest, makes one only wish that it had been longer.

Elsewhere will be found a note touching a point of scholarship in the book. It is enough for the present to say that both the Introduction and the Commentary prove Mr. Rackham's capacity for Scripture exposition of the highest order, and, in particular, his thorough grasp of the problems and whole situation involved in the Book of Acts. His indirect dedication of his book to Bishop Gore and Dr. Moberly is an indication that his theological position is moderate High Churchmanship.

FOUNDATION TRUTHS OF THE GOSPEL. (*Morgan & Scott.* Post 8vo, pp. 184. 3s. 6d.)

These papers, by various evangelical writers, were originally contributed to the *Christian.* Sketchy though they are, they were worth gathering together. For the one balances the other, and together they form a fairly complete round of doctrine. Amongst the writers are Mr. F. B. Meyer, who grapples with the thorny but salutary doctrine of the Fall; Dr. Monro Gibson, who writes tersely on Faith; and Dr. Moule, who touches (would he had had space to go deeper) the most momentous of all things, the doctrine of Regeneration.

THE WORKS OF JOHN BUNYAN. (*Nelson.* Fcap. 8vo, pp. 331, 289, 128. 3s. 6d. net., in leather.)

Messrs. Nelson have added the *Pilgrim's Progress*, the *Holy War*, and *Grace Abounding* to their thin paper editions of the great English Classics. Paged separately, the three books are bound in one volume, which nevertheless is not too thick to be carried with comfort in the pocket. It is a good large type and well spaced, inviting even to aged eyes, while the binding is suitable for presentation. In beauty and convenience there is no edition of Bunyan that can for a moment compete with it.

The Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul, arranged in the form of a continuous history, by Thomas Morrison, M.A., LL.D. Few books are more familiar to students of the Bible in Scotland. This is the third edition (Oliphant, crown 8vo, pp. 191, 1s. 6d.). But if a copy had been bought every time that the book was read, it would have passed by this time into more than three times three editions.

Under the title of *Two Hebrew Idylls*, the Rev. G. B. Macnaughtan, M.A., B.D., of Ardoch, has published some lectures on the Book of Ruth and the Book of Jonah (Oliphant, crown 8vo, pp. 185, 2s. 6d.). Clearly and handsomely printed, the lectures make very agreeable reading, and the author justly claims that the two books which he has brought together deal with the same great lesson which Israel was so slow to learn, the lesson that she was called out of the world in order to be a blessing to the world.

NINETEEN CENTURIES OF MISSIONS. By Mrs. W. W. Scudder. (*Oliphant.* Crown 8vo, pp. 250, 3s. 6d.).

The time is at hand, it appears, when the subject of missions will be included in the 'Leaving Certificate.' So Mrs. Scudder has prepared the text-book. It is admirably adapted for cramming, the prominent matters in it being dates and districts, while every chapter ends with a set of examination questions. Teachers of missions all the world over will find it their readiest handbook.

BIBLE CHARACTERS: STEPHEN TO TIMOTHY. By Alexander Whyte, D.D. (*Oliphant.* Crown 8vo, pp. 304. 3s. 6d.)

They must be near the end. This is the fifth volume. When the end does come, there will be lamentation and weeping, for these 'Bible Characters' have through the religious press formed the Sabbath afternoon reading of innumerable Christians in Scotland for a long time. But the volumes will remain, and we can go over them again, and again and again, as indeed we have been doing with the earlier volumes all this while. And not only so, but we all believe that Dr. Whyte will discover other topics for his daring discerning tongue and pen.

WITH THE THIBETANS IN TENT AND TEMPLE. By Susie Carson Rijnhart, M.D. (*Oliphant.* Crown 8vo, pp. 406. 6s.)

There are foreign missionaries who never leave their native land. Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier are of the number. By their missionary literature they make known the work that foreign missions are accomplishing, and thus, though they go not abroad themselves, they send into the foreign field both men and money. They carry us all abroad indeed, and give us a personal interest in the lands to which the gospel has been brought, as well as in the men and women who have brought it. This new volume has the double charm of a missionary of genius and a land of mystery. The writing is extremely simple, much after the manner of a picturesque diary,—the genius is not in that. But the woman who passed through all that Mrs. Rijnhart did, is a genius as a missionary; and the picturesque simplicity of the language, by the very clearness and truthfulness of its information, does not dispel but deepens the religious mystery of the strange land of Thibet.

OUTLINE OF A HISTORY OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS. By Gustav Warneck. (*Oliphant.* 8vo, pp. 379. 10s. 6d.)

Dr. George Robson introduces this new edition of Dr. Warneck's well-known *Outline*. He says: 'Of all existing histories of Protestant Missions, I have no hesitation in characterizing Dr. Warneck's as by far the best, not only in respect of the completeness and orderliness of its survey, but also in respect of insight into historical development and enlightened sobriety of judgment.' And Dr. Robson knows. His word may be received without reserve. The new edition is a new book, a far larger, fuller, richer book. Of course much new material comes to the hand of the historian of missions every year, and Dr. Warneck seems to miss nothing. But besides that, the whole field has been surveyed anew, and the former conclusions have been mercilessly tested and revised. The translation makes it an English book, and the occasional notes which the editor has added, supplying fuller information about Scotch and English missions, serve the same welcome purpose. The maps are too full of matter for ordinary readers, but they who are interested in the book will take the trouble to master its maps. Most cordially do we thank author, translators, editor, and publishers for the best history of missions in existence.

Only a Prayer-Meeting is the title his publishers have given to a volume of forty addresses by the late C. H. Spurgeon (Passmore & Alabaster, crown 8vo, pp. 366, 3s. 6d.). It is Spurgeon at his best, and Spurgeon at his worst was better than most of us.

New volumes by C. H. Spurgeon still frequently appear. For there is not only a great opportunity in his published writings for selection and arrangement, but there are also many unpublished manuscripts still. The latest issue is entitled *Good Tidings of Great Joy* (Passmore & Alabaster, crown 8vo, pp. 152, 1s. 6d.). It is a series of experimental chapters on the Incarnation.

THE ROMANCE OF RELIGION. By Olive Vivian and Herbert Vivian, M.A. (*Pearson.* Crown 8vo, pp. 320. With Illustrations. 6s.)

What mirthful and also what monstrous things are done in the name of religion! This book is a repository of both. But it is more than that. For its authors are not content to record occasional curious phenomena, they trace causes and effects. Their book is scientific, as well as entertaining. They range for their strange subjects over many centuries and many lands. Their style is highly picturesque. With whatever expectation their book is opened, it will immediately secure the attention, and it will not be laid aside until it is read through. The illustrations, taken from life, are in keeping with its wonderful contents.

THY HEART'S DESIRE. Edited by the Rev. R. Lovett, M.A. (*R.T.S.* Crown 8vo, pp. 280. 6s.)

This is a book of family prayer. The prayers are contributed by Dr. G. S. Barrett, Mr. G. E. Asker, Mr. W. Roberts, and Mr. W. T. Rowley. They are for morning and evening, and they cover thirteen weeks. There are also passages of Scripture suggested. The book is both handsome and appropriate. And the prayers—well, it is simply impossible to read prayers with a paper-knife in hand. And yet the one criticism that we would venture upon them is that they seem written to be read.

ROMAN LAW AND HISTORY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By the Rev. Septimus Buss, LL.B. (*Rivingtons.* Crown 8vo, pp. 480. 6s. net.)

The object which Mr. Buss has set before him is to run through the New Testament and lay his finger on all the signs it bears of the presence and power of the Romans. In some parts these signs are quite numerous, as when our Lord was tried before Pilate and St. Paul before Festus. These scenes are much more lifelike when we clearly understand the Roman customs to which reference is made, and which Mr. Buss fully, even elaborately, explains. Even the words that have any Roman flavour about them receive a separate paragraph of explanation. It was an excellent idea to gather out of the complex many-coloured life of Palestine at the beginning of our era this one influential element, and Mr. Buss has all the scholarship and patience to realize his idea. Consequently we not only see the Roman element itself and are surprised at its fulness, but we are then able to see more clearly the Greek and Jewish elements that remain. A service has been rendered to the interpretation of the New Testament by this book, which it is surprising was never rendered before.

THE CRIMINAL. By Havelock Ellis. (*Walter Scott.* Crown 8vo, pp. 441. 6s.)

This is the third edition of the standard work on Criminology. It has been revised and enlarged. It contains forty pathetic or revolting illustrations. It is a book one must either have nothing to do with or devour. To read it for mere pastime is impossible. It is a book of science; its purpose is noble and enobling. It reveals the working of God's great laws of moral and physical health, and their unerring retribution as disease. It tells us what has been done for criminals. It suggests the means by which their numbers may be reduced. It asks us earnestly what *we* have done for our fellow-criminal *for whom Christ died.*

LESSONS FROM THE PARABLES. By Mrs. W. J. Tait. (*Elliot Stock.* Crown 8vo, pp. 216. 5s.)

The lessons are meant 'for home and school use.' It is only in the home and in the school that you can touch the parables. To the present generation, at least, they seem to be impossible in the pulpit. For their meaning is so plain that even the children never miss it, and you have only to set their minds to think. But their meaning is also so difficult that our deeper study drives us to despair. We can only hope that unborn generations will make more of them than we can do.

STONES FOR SERMON BUILDERS. By the Rev. John Mitchell. (*Stockwell.* Crown 8vo, pp. 122. 2s.)

Here is not only the straw for the bricks, but the bricks themselves. He does not know his craft, and should betake himself to another, who cannot build with this.

AN EDITOR'S SERMONS. By Sir Edward Russell. (*Fisher Unwin.* Crown 8vo, pp. 267. 6s. net.)

Clergymen have little patience with sermons by a layman. It is not professional jealousy only. They have tried and found them wanting. But these sermons stand apart. They have the professional man's knowledge together with the layman's detachment. For Sir Edward Russell is not only a man of surpassing ability, but throughout his public life he has given himself to the interpretation of the great problems of morals and religion. The Bishop of Hereford writes an introduction to the volume, commending it especially to clergymen, not merely, however, because it lets us see ourselves as others see us, but because it also makes distinct contribution to the subjects of which it treats, such as the gift of prayer, high-mindedness, and the decay of experimental religion. If we were allowed a phrase in which to express our obligation to these sermons, we should say that they had urged us to be more spiritual in our thinking, more intellectual in our spirituality.

A New Uncial of the Gospels.

By W. C. Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B., Banbury.

A year ago Mr. J. Bevan Braithwaite of London procured from Macedonia an uncial MS. of the Gospels in Greek, which I have since had the opportunity of examining and collating. He proposes to call it the Codex Macedoniensis. I gave some particulars of the document when lecturing at the recent Friends' Settlement for Bible Study at Scarborough, but its interest justifies a wider publication.

When complete the MS. seems to have consisted of 42 quires of 8 folios each, and of one odd folio containing part of the κεφάλαια of Luke, making 674 pages in all, of which 66 pages, or 9.8 per cent., are missing, namely—

Mt 1^1 . . . Διατί μετὰ 9^{11}; 10^{35} [θυγα]τέρα . . . βλέπετε 11^4; a folio with part of the κεφ. of Mark; Lk 1^{26} εἰς πόλιν . . . ἐν γή[ρᾳ] 1^{36}; 15^{25} πρεσβύτερος . . . προσκαλεσά-[μενος] 16^5; 23^{22} εὗρον . . . ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ 23^{34}; Jn 20^{27} χεῖράς μου . . . ὁ Πέτρος 21^{17}.

The MS. is on parchment leaves measuring 18.1 by 13.2 cm. in single-column writing, 11 by 7.5 cm., ruled 16 to 21 lines to a page. In the side margins stand the numbers of the Ammonian sections with the Eusebian canons, and in upper and lower margins, as the case may require, the τίτλοι of the κεφάλαια *majora* with their numbers, which are repeated on the side margins. All these, and also the initials in the margin at the opening of sections and the apparatus of lection notes in text and margin, are in bright carmine ink, except the initials occurring from Lk 1^1 to 11^{26} (7 quires), which are in black.

Very tasteful frames of spot and pattern work in carmine and gold enclose the titles of the Gospels, and the first letter of each is also richly illuminated. The titles run Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον, etc.

The writing is in small dark brown continuous uncials (without use of a syllable divider) in letters as nearly as possible 2 mm. high, punctuated by a single point, chiefly at the top or bottom. A comma or colon is used in a few cases, a semicolon never. Accents and breathings are general, and are usually correctly given. The breathings have the rectangular form ⊢ ⊣. Double letters and a few simple contractions occur occasionally, and the words regularly contracted in uncial MSS are almost invariably so written in the new codex.

The writing may be confidently identified as ninth century, and resembles the facsimiles of F, Γ, K, and Ev 150 given in Scrivener's *Introduction*, though smaller and neater than any of these. The letters E Θ O C have the narrow oval shape, the base of the Δ is prolonged beyond the triangle and strengthened at both ends with points, the middle stroke of the Θ is also prolonged and strengthened with points, the M is broad out of proportion to the other letters and its middle loop is carried below the line, the angular part of the K is entirely separated from the upright stroke.

The round uncials used for the chapter-headings, and the occasional use in the text of the older form of Ξ, made like a Z with a horizontal line above it, strengthened at both ends with points (as the modern copyist of an eighteenth century document might preserve an occasional long s), suggest that the codex from which the MS. was copied was a seventh century one. The MS. is carefully written, and I have found no clear case of omission of lines by homoioteleuton. In six cases, however, entire phrases are omitted, namely, Mt 9^{19} καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ; Mt 24^{6} δεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα (so in margin) γενέσθαι; Lk 2^{25} καὶ Πνεῦμα ἦν Ἅγιον (so in margin) ἐπ' αὐτόν; Lk 10^{38} καὶ αὐτὸς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς κώμην τινά; Lk 11^{7} οὐ δύναμαι ἀναστὰς δοῦναί σοι; Jn 6^{43} Μὴ γογγύζετε μετ' ἀλλήλων. In the first case no words are supplied in the margin, in the next four cases the words are supplied in black, in the last case in red. As neither Tischendorf nor Tregelles notices these omissions, they seem due to the copyist, and the probable inference is that his copy was written in sense-lines.

A menological rubric to the page Jn 12^{19-25} gives a lection for Tarasius, Patriarch [of Constantinople], about 780 A.D., and, so far as it goes, confirms the palæographical evidence as to date.

An examination of the text of the MS. soon shows that it is to be classed with the mass of later uncials of mixed 'Syrian' text, namely, EFGHKMSUVΓΔΧΠ. For instance, it contains all the eight 'conflate' readings cited by Westcott-Hort (*Introduction to the N.T. in Greek*, pp. 95–104). Like the others, it also has a ninth conflation, not noticed by Westcott-Hort, as it was not taken into the Received Text.

Mt 27^{41} μετὰ τῶν γραμματέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων. (ℵ)ABL Memph. Vulg.
μετὰ τῶν γρ. καὶ φαρισαίων. D, most old Lat., Syr.-Sin.
μετὰ τῶν γρ. καὶ πρεσβ. καὶ φαρ. Later uncials, Syr.—Pesh., and Hark.

But though the mixture characteristic of 'Syrian' texts pervades the new uncial, it may nevertheless rank high in its own class by virtue of its resistance to this tendency, and to the extent of this resistance may give important support to pre-Syrian readings. The mixture and smoothness of text exhibited by the later uncials are explained when we remember that a MS. is commonly the offspring of a marriage (often a mixed marriage) of two older MSS—one parent being the copy used by the scribe, the other the text followed by the διορθώτης or corrector who went over his work. This double parentage, repeated in each generation of ancestors, naturally resulted on the one hand in the mixing into the text of readings capable of mixture, and on the other in the disappearance of refractory readings and of non-interpolations. The MS. now under discussion, for example, contains omissions of Mt 22^{14}, Mk 15^{28}, and part of Jn 8^{14}, which, so far as can be judged, are genuine variants, but the corrector has supplied the omitted words in the margin, and the variant would thus probably disappear from any copy made from this MS. The survival of early readings in a characteristically late text is therefore excellent evidence of their vitality and originally wide currency.

How then does the new codex compare with the other late uncials named above in retaining

early readings? Dr. Sanday's convenient Delectus Lectionum appended to the Clarendon Press Greek Testament may serve for a rough test. In the parts of the Gospels contained in our MS. he examines 153 variants, but in 116 of these the late uncials in question all go one way, and in four other cases (Mk 7^{19} 14^{65}, Lk 9^{55}, and Jn 5^{1}) their evidence is too evenly divided to afford assistance on this point. This leaves 33 cases where one or more late uncials of 'Syrian' type are found standing out from their fellows either for the approved primitive reading or for some early variant. X (Codex Monacensis), though far from complete, does so 17 times, and has evidently a text of high value. Π (Codex Petropolitanus Tischendorfii) has 12 cases, our codex has 10, of which eight follow the approved primitive reading and two an early variant; K (Codex Cyprius Parisinus) has 7 cases; none of the others has more than 5.

The new MS. therefore ranks high in its own class. It supports the Westcott-Hort text against the T.R. about 400 times, say once for every ten various readings in that text.

I add a selection of various readings, citing other uncials mainly from Tischendorf's apparatus, and taking first good readings supported mainly by non-Syrian attestation, which often includes most of the early versions.

Mt $16^{2,3}$ Omit Ὀψίας γενομένης . . . οὐ δύνασθε, with ℵBVXΓ.
,, 16^{11} ἄρτων for ἄρτου, with ℵBCLKMSΠ.
,, 19^{3} Omit οἱ before Φαρισαῖοι, with BCLMΔΠ.
,, 24^{18} τὸ ἱμάτιον, with ℵBDKLZΠ.
,, 24^{36} Omit μου after πατήρ, with ℵBDLΔΠ*.
,, 25^{13} Omit ἐν ᾗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται, with ℵABC*DLXΔΘ^{h}Π. Added probably to round off and point the moral of the lection, Mt 25^{1-13}, read on Saturday of seventeenth week after Pentecost. Our MS. adds the words in red ink in margin, which confirms this origin.
,, 27^{64} Omit νυκτὸς, with ℵABC*DEHKVΔΠ.
Mk 4^{21} ὑπὸ τὴν λυχνίαν ἐπιτεθῇ. So ℵB* 13-69-346, 33, but with verb τεθῇ. According to Westcott-Hort, ὑπὸ is a primitive corruption rightly corrected to ἐπὶ by a very early conjecture.
,, 8^{26} τὸν ἄνθρωπον, with AC*DΠ.
,, 11^{19} ὅταν for ὅτε, with ℵBCKLΔΠ*.
,, 14^{23} Omit τὸ before ποτήριον, with ℵBCDLW^{b}XΔΞ.
,, 14^{65} ἔλαβον for ἔβαλλον, with ℵABCIKLNSVΓΔΠ.
,, 15^{14} ἔκραζον, with ADGKMPΠ*.
Mk 15^{28} Omit verse, with ℵABC*DX. Corrector adds in margin.
Lk 13^{35} Omit ἔρημος, with ℵABKLRSVΓΔΠ.
,, 14^{5} Omit ἀποκριθεὶς, with BDLKΠ.
,, 14^{5} Read ὄνος (not υἱὸς), with ℵKLXΠ 1, 33, abci, Vulg., Syr.-Sin., Syr.-Hier, Arm., Memph., Æth. With the help of the Syr.-Sin. and the new codex critics may now be asked to draw up the 'son' out of the well and leave the 'ass' there instead.
,, 21^{25} ἦχους for ἠχούσης, with ℵABCLMNRX.
,, 23^{15} ἀνέπεμψε γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, with ℵBK LMTΠ.
Jn 3^{25} Read Ἰουδαίων (not Ἰουδαίου), with ℵ*GΔ^{2}Π^{2}.
,, 5^{1} Omit ἡ before ἑορτή, with ABDGKNSUVΓΛ.
,, 6^{63} λελάληκα for λαλῶ, with ℵBCDKLNTUΠ.
,, 7^{12} Omit πολὺς, with D a c e ff^{2} l Arm.
,, 7^{52} ἐγείρεται, with ℵBDK(N)ΤΓΔΠ.
,, 7^{53}–8^{11} καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν . . . μηκέτι ἁμάρτανε. Omit with ℵABCLNTXΔ. In the margin are two faded asterisks, not by the first hand, but the text leaves no special blank, the words ὀυκ ἐγείρεται. Πάλιν οὖν αὐ | forming one line. The table of κεφ. contains no reference to the Pericope.
,, 8^{38-44} Read καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἃ ἠκούσατε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν ποιεῖτε. Omit ἄν at end of v.^{39} and οὖν after εἶπεν in v.^{42}, and read ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς v.^{44}.
,, 13^{25} ἀναπεσὼν, with BC*KLXΠ*.
,, 18^{1} τοῦ for τῶν before κέδρων, with S. AΔ 123 have τοῦ κεδρών, and c e f q Vulg., Goth., Arm. support the same reading.

In several of the above readings the principal late uncial support comes from the group KMΠ, and while this is not the only line of relationship in the new codex, which often diverges from the KMΠ readings, there is an important strain of text in common, as the following cases of special agreement with the group will show:—

Mt 19^{29} οἰκίαν, with K 33.
,, 22^{31} Omit ὑμῖν after ῥηθὲν, with KΔΠ.
,, 22^{45} Add ἐν πνεύματι after Δαβὶδ, with DKMΔΠ.
,, 26^{40} αὐτοῖς for τῷ πέτρῳ, with EKMΠ.
Mk 7^{19} καθαρίζον, with KMUVΓΠΣΦ.
,, 9^{12} καθὼς for καὶ πῶς, with AKMΔΠ.
,, 10^{20} Add τί ἔτι ὑστερῶ, with KMNΠ.
,, 10^{21} Add εἰ θέλης τέλειος εἶναι before ἓν σοι ὑστερεῖ, with KMNΠ.
,, 10^{24} Omit τέκνα, with EGKΠ.
,, 14^{53} Add καϊάφαν after ἀρχιερέα, with AKMΠ.
,, 14^{61} Add τοῦ Θεοῦ before τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ, with AKΠ.
,, 15^{10} ἐπεγίνωσκε, with AKΠ.
Lk $9^{55,56}$ Retain καὶ εἶπεν Οὐκ οἴδατε . . . σῶσαι, with FKMUΓΔΠ.
,, 11^{51} Add τοῦ δικαίου after Ἄβελ, with KMΠ.
,, 18^{24} τῶν οὐρανῶν for τοῦ Θεοῦ, with KMΠ. Apart from this reading and the reading of ℵ* in Jn 3^{5}, the phrase 'kingdom of heaven' seems confined to Matthew.

Lk 20^{41} Add *τινές* after *λέγουσιν*, with AKMΠ.
Jn 5^{4} Add *Κυρίου* after *ἄγγελος γὰρ*, with AKLΔΠ.
,, 6^{10} Add *ἄνθρωποι* before *ἄνδρες*, with AKΠ*.
,, 14^{30} *εὑρήσει* for *οὐκ ἔχει*, with KΠ.
,, 16^{10} *οὐ* for *οὐκέτι*, with Π* 131* $w^{Scr.*}$, *οὐκέτι* being at variance with our Lord's post-resurrection appearances.
,, 18^{34} *ἄλλος σοι εἶπεν*, with MSΠ*N.

Other readings of interest are the following:—

Mt 10^{8} Omit *νεκροὺς ἐγείρετε*, with all late uncials.
,, 10^{25} *ἀπεκάλεσαν* (to call by a name of abuse), with U.
,, 20^{25} *κατακυριεύσουσιν*, with B 124. Also in Mk 10^{42} with D (Gk.), and *κυριεύσουσιν* in Lk 22^{25}, without other authority.
,, 22^{14} Omit verse, with 33, but corrector inserts in margin. In Mt 20^{16} the words are retained, and in Lk 14^{24} they are added, with GH(X)ΓΛ.
,, 26^{36} *Γεσσημανεί*, with E(G)(H)VΔ. Also in Mk 14^{32} with EFGΠ(X)N.
Lk 1^{10} *προσδεχόμενον* for *προσευχόμενον*, without other authority.
,, 6^{26} Omit *πάντες*, with DFLSVΓΔΛ.
,, 9^{23} Omit *καθ' ἡμέραν*, with CDEFGHSUVXΓΔΛ.
,, 20^{19} Omit *τὸν λαόν*, with GSVΓΛ.
,, 22^{4} *συνέλαβε* for *συνελάλησε*, without other authority.
,, 22^{30} Omit *ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου*, with EFGHSVΓΛ.
Jn 8^{14} Omit *ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἴδατε πόθεν ἔρχομαι ἢ ποῦ ὑπάγω*, with MSΓΔ 28, 33, 69, but the words as above are added by corrector in margin.
,, 10^{8} Omit *πρὸ ἐμοῦ*, with ℵ*EFGMSUΓΔ.
,, 19^{27} *ἡμέρας* for *ὥρας*, with AE* 33, 69.

Except for the lists of *κεφ.* the only additional matter in the new MS. consists of short sentences in the same uncial hand as the text, which occur at the end of each Gospel, but relate to the character and composition of the next. Those for Mark, Luke, and John remain, and belong to the series contained in the cursive Scr. 512 = Greg. 473, from which Scrivener (*Introduction to the Criticism of the N.T.*, 4th ed. vol. i. p. 66) cites the sentences for Matthew, Mark, and Luke. They are also found among other introductory matter in Scr. 236 and in other cursives (see Gregory's *Proleg. to Tisch.* p. 456). The new uncial seems to be the oldest authority for them.

The interest of these sentences lies in the confirmation they give to the argument recently revived by Mr. F. C. Burkitt (*Two Lectures on the Gospels*, London: Macmillan & Co., 1901) in favour of the view that the Fourth Gospel was written at John's dictation or prompting rather than actually by John himself. Mr. Burkitt bases his argument partly on the ancient tradition found in the Muratorian canon, and partly on a prologue in the tenth century MS. of the Vulgate, now at Madrid, known as the Codex Toletanus, which states that Papias wrote the Gospel at John's dictation: 'Qui hoc euangelium Johanne subdictante conscripsit.' He also cites a statement to the same effect in a late Greek *catena patrum* (cited among the fragments of Papias in Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*), the word there used being *ὑπαγορεύειν*, 'to suggest,' 'to dictate.'

The sentences run as follows—supplying the one to Matthew from Scr. 512:—

'Ιστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ γραφὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· ἐν 'Ιερουσαλὴμ ἐξεδόθη· ἑρμηνεύθη δὲ ὑπὸ 'Ιωάννου· ἐξηγεῖται δὲ τὴν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον τοῦ Χριστοῦ γένεσιν, καὶ ἐστιν ἀνθρωπόμορφον τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

'Ιστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον ὑπηγορεύθη ὑπὸ Πέτρου ἐν 'Ρώμῃ· ἐποιήσατο δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ προφητικοῦ λόγου, τοῦ ἐξ ὕψους ἐπιόντος, τοῦ 'Ησαΐου, τὴν πτερωτικὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου δεικνύς.

'Ιστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ Λουκὰν εὐαγγέλιον ὑπηγορεύθη ὑπὸ Παύλου ἐν 'Ρώμῃ· ἅτε δὲ ἰερατικοῦ χαρακτῆρος ὑπαρχον ἀπὸ Ζαχαρίου τοῦ ἱερέως θυμιῶντος ἤρξατο.

'Ιστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ 'Ιωάννην εὐαγγέλιον ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Τραϊανοῦ ὑπηγορεύθη ὑπὸ 'Ιωάννου ἐν Πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ· διηγεῖται δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ (*sic pro* ἀπὸ) τοῦ Πατρὸς ἡγεμονικὴν καὶ πρακτικὴν καὶ ἔνδοξον τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεάν.

Scrivener, after giving the three of these which he found in his copy, says, 'The reader will desire no more of this.' The matter cannot, however, be dismissed so lightly. For the second clause of each sentence is taken verbally from the well-known passage in Irenæus (*Contra Hær.* iii. 11 § 8); and if the compiler used equally good authority for his first clauses, they certainly claim careful attention. Now Scr. 512 heads the sentence to Luke *Κοσμα 'Ινδικοπλ. εἰς Λουκ. παραγραφη.* Cosmas Indicopleustes flourished about 520 A.D., and would base his statements on some earlier source of information. He uses the word *ὑπαγορεύειν* in the case of Mark, Luke, and John. Peter 'suggested' the contents of Mark, and Paul those of Luke, by which is evidently meant that these two apostles were the authority for the substance of the Second and Third Gospels. When, therefore, Cosmas also uses this word of the Fourth Gospel, he must mean that John stood behind the actual writer in the same way. The modified Johannine authorship advocated by Mr. Burkitt has so much of internal evidence to recommend it that we shall do well to inquire carefully into the possible existence of satisfactory external evidence in the same direction.

The Songs of the Ascents.

By the Rev. David Smith, M.A., Tulliallan.

IV.

Persecutions in the Desert.

1. Unto Jehovah in my distress
   I called, and He answered me.
2. Jehovah, deliver my soul from the lying lip,
   from the deceitful tongue.

3. What shall He give unto thee, and what add unto thee,
   thou deceitful tongue?
4. Arrows of a mighty man, well sharpened,
   together with coals of juniper.

5. Woe is me, that I sojourn in Meshech,
   that I dwell by the tents of Kedar!
6. Too long hath my soul had her dwelling
   by him that hateth peace.
7. I am all peace, but when I speak
   they are for war.—Ps. cxx.

This little poem is exquisitely pathetic. A long time has now elapsed since the exiles with glad hearts and eager steps quitted the land of their captivity and turned their faces joyfully homeward. But they have encountered unforeseen and vexatious obstacles; and, instead of arriving speedily at the dear city of their fathers and the sacred temple of their God, they have been kept wandering long with weary feet and hungry hearts over the homeless and inhospitable desert that stretches like an ocean of drifting sand betwixt Babylonia and Palestine. The wilderness tribes, with their savage instinct to reckon the defenceless as fair game, have barred the progress of the pilgrim band and hunted them hither and thither over the desert. Northward as far as *Meshech*, a tribe near the Black Sea, better known by its Greek name the *Moschi*; southward again to the tribe of Kedar in the north of Arabia and abreast of Palestine, have they been chased; sometimes in full view of those westward mountain ridges which they have only to cross in order to descry Mount Zion and Jerusalem. It is hard to have travelled so far only to be detained here almost in sight of home. Could they but elude those harassing tormentors, a few days' march would bring them to their own land.

It is little wonder that one of the pilgrims wearily and somewhat revengefully gives voice to his impatience and exasperation. Who he may have been we cannot guess, but his opening words give us a vivid glimpse of his character and history. Desperate and indignant he is, but he is neither cowardly nor weak. On the contrary, he is one who can look back on hosts of troubles manfully encountered and by God's help vanquished.

> Unto Jehovah in my distress
> I called, and He answered me.

Here he takes his stand: 'Thou hast helped me in the past, O God; help me now.'

The enemies he seeks deliverance from are *lying lips* and *deceitful tongues*. Falsehood and treachery have always been characteristics of the Arabs, and we can imagine how the pilgrims would fare at the hands of those fleet and wily *banditti* of the desert. With a show of friendliness and treacherous promises of assistance they would win the confidence of the unsuspecting pilgrims, only to surprise them suddenly and plunder them at unawares; or they would propose to guide them over the trackless desert only to lead them into some trap; and, when it came to fighting, instead of meeting them in a fair and open field, they would career about them on their fleet steeds, hurling their javelins and vanishing in a cloud of dust ere the discomfited Israelites could draw breath. It would be experiences like these that prompted the prayer:

> Jehovah, deliver my soul from the lying lip,
> from the deceitful tongue.

In the next stanza the speaker breaks out with a passionate vindictiveness not altogether unjustifiable:

> What shall He (*i.e.* God) give unto thee, and what add unto thee,
> thou deceitful tongue?

He has appealed to God for deliverance, and in view of the enormous provocation he feels that

God's retribution must needs be terrible. It will be *retribution upon retribution.* 'What, and what more, shall He give unto thee?'

Then he answers his own question. 'What shall He give unto thee? He shall give arrows of the mighty, well sharpened, together with coals of juniper.' It may be questioned whether 'the mighty' should be taken as referring to God or as meaning a valiant hero. Most probably the latter is the true interpretation. These treacherous Arabs have shot their arrows at the defenceless exiles; but retribution will overtake them in the just providence of God. A mighty warrior will one day assail them with his keen and invicible shafts. It is possible that the Psalmist was one of the leaders of the returning exiles, and is here anticipating the day when his people will be securely established in their land and he will be free to lead forth a disciplined troop and repay to those Arabs with usury the injuries they have inflicted.

In the intensity of his passion he confusedly heaps metaphor upon metaphor. The punishment of the persecutors is to be not only the warrior's sharp arrows, but coals of juniper. Juniper is the crisp broom which grows in the desert and which is still used as fuel by the Bedouins. It gives a very intense heat. The Rabbis and St. Jerome tell fabulous stories of travellers cooking their food over a fire of juniper, and on their return that way a year after finding the embers still smouldering.

This twofold punishment of the deceitful tongue would appear less far-fetched to the Hebrews than to us. Jeremiah had already spoken of the deceitful tongue as *an arrow.* 'Their tongue is a deadly arrow; it speaketh deceit; one speaketh peaceably to his neighbour, but in his heart he layeth wait for him' (9^8). And later, St. James said: 'The tongue is a fire . . . and is set on fire by hell' (3^6). Such is the strong Hebrew way of describing the injurious consequences of falsehood and deceit. They pierce like sharp arrows and burn like a fierce fire.

The retribution here predicted for the deceitful tongue is thus simply a figurative and Hebraic rendering of that solemn principle of God's providence, *that men are punished as they sin.* It is a law which operates as surely in the spiritual as in the natural world, that 'whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.' In his castle at Loches that crafty and inhuman monarch, Louis XI. of France, had a variety of engines devised with fiendish ingenuity for the torture of the hapless wretches who incurred his displeasure; and none was more appalling than those 'iron cages' in which the captive could neither stand upright nor lie at length. This horrid torture was devised by the Cardinal la Balue, and many a poor mortal did he ruthlessly aid in consigning to it. It is not a striking instance of the irony of Providence that la Balue himself should incur the tyrant's displeasure and spend the last eleven years of his life in one of those cages which his own diabolical ingenuity had contrived? It would have given him pause when he was planning the horrid device, had he foreseen that he would himself be one of its victims; and it would surely give *us* pause did we but realise that, whenever we commit a sin, we are, as it were, letting loose a wild beast which will one day pounce upon ourselves and rend us. 'Our deeds,' says one of our English novelists, 'are like children that are born to us; they live and act apart from our own will. Nay, children may be strangled, but deeds never: they have an indestructible life both in and out of our consciousness.' It is an absolute law which no contrivance or cunning is able to arrest, that 'with what measure we mete, it will be measured to us again'; and it is not only at the Judgment Seat that our sins will meet us face to face and call us to account. The day of reckoning may be postponed, but it will certainly arrive sooner or later; and the longer it is postponed, the heavier the interest that will have accumulated.

By this solemn law of retribution it is ordained that we shall receive back not merely what we have given but incalculably more. Alike for the giver of good and for the giver of evil the law is: 'Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall they give into your bosom.' Accordingly, the deceitful tongue which has pierced the innocent with its arrows and scorched them with its fire, is doomed to be itself transfixed with arrows of the mighty, well sharpened, and burned with glowing coals of juniper. 'What shall He give, what add, unto thee, deceitful tongue?' Not simple retribution, but retribution upon retribution. Thou shalt 'receive of the Lord's hand double for all thy sins.' No deed is trifling if regard be had to the magnitude of its results. It is an unspeakably solemn fact that by the mani-

fold actions of daily life, which appear for the most part so trivial and of such slight account, we are laying up for ourselves a vast heritage of blessedness or of sorrow.

In the third stanza the Psalmist turns away from the treacherous Arabs and bewails his own sad condition:

> Woe is me that I sojourn in Meshech,
> that I dwell by the tents of Kedar!

In view of the falsehood and treachery of his enemies, he eagerly anticipates the retribution which is sure to come; but in view of his own distresses he is filled with impatience and despair. Retribution is indeed sure to come, but it comes so very slowly!

> Too long hath my soul had her dwelling
> by him that hateth peace.

The Psalm closes in utter hopelessness and discouragement. Resistance and conciliation were alike vain. For the former the exiles were too weak, and the latter was scorned by their persecutors:

> I am all peace, but when I speak
> they are for war.

One cannot help feeling that this Psalm begins better than it ends. The Psalmist begins by staying himself on God's past deliverances. So long as he stands here, he courageously faces present distresses and confidently anticipates that God will deliver him again. It is a pity that he quits this ground so soon and betakes himself to revengeful imprecation. His indignation is indeed neither causeless nor exaggerated; at the same time it does him no good but only harm. It leaves him enfeebled and embittered. It would ill become us to cast blame on this sorely vexed man. His provocation was great, and had we been in his place, we should perhaps have been more bitter and vindictive than he. But we ought at least to learn wisdom from his mistake. Had he continued as he began, and, instead of cursing his persecutors, committed himself to God and calmly waited till God should vindicate him and his comrades, he would not have ended so darkly and dismally. On the contrary, he would have been strengthened and encouraged. The situation would have remained as dangerous and distressing as ever, but, had he only trusted God, he would have discovered that behind the clouds the sun was still shining and the sky still blue.

Here then is the secret of hope and courage in the midst of distress: *Remember the lovingkindness of the Lord.* Say, 'God has helped me in the past, and He will help me again.' Perhaps, however, we are so blind and stupid that we cannot see that ever in all our lives has God helped us. Then we can still say, 'He has helped others. I will trust Him, and He will help me.' The deliverances which God has wrought for others, are so many pledges that He will do no less for us if we will only trust Him and bravely set ourselves to work out His holy Will. When we are in distress, we can do no worse than, like this Psalmist, give way to bitter and revengeful feelings; nor can we do better than submissively and lovingly commit ourselves to Him who is to all that trust Him a Refuge and Strength, a very present Help in trouble.

Recent Foreign Theology.

'The Messianic Secret in the Gospels.'[1]

Readers of Dr. Wrede's earlier essays on *'The Task and Method of (so-called) New Testament Theology* and the Epistle of *Clemens Romanus* will be prepared for the qualities of acuteness and independence which are conspicuous in this daring, fresh, and carefully written monograph. The subtitle is as important as the title itself. The thesis of the book depends finally upon exegetical data, and these are in the first instance drawn from the primitive evangelic tradition embodied in Mark's Gospel, which the author believes to have been composed after 70 A.D. in advance of the other Synoptics. Priority and primitiveness, however,

[1] *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien. Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markusevangeliums.* Von Dr. W. Wrede, o. Professor der ev. Theologie zu Breslau. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901. F. Bauermeister, 49 Gordon Street, Glasgow. Price M.8; bound, M.9.

are not allowed to involve any sacrosanct or historical infallibility. So far from accepting the early and common tradition as *ipso facto* entitled to credence, Dr. Wrede proceeds to expiscate its contents, with the result that the Gospel as a whole is pronounced defective and deceptive from the historical standpoint, while one series of passages is set aside as due to special theological reflection operating on the primitive tradition. The basis for this criticism is found in what are declared to be conflicting strata within the narrative. The real truth, Dr. Wrede believes, is that Jesus never claimed Messianic dignity during His lifetime. He had no such ambitions, and therefore there was nothing to be concealed upon His part. All was open, frank, and simple, alike in His actions and in His utterances. But by the time that Mark came to tell the story of His life, theological reflection had been at work upon the primitive tradition, investing it with Messianic significance and throwing back into the earthly life part of the later mystery and glory. This dogmatic atmosphere was created, not by the Jewish idea of a hidden Messiah (preserved, *e.g.*, in Justin Martyr), but by the early Christian belief that the resurrection marked the full entrance of Jesus into His Messianic rule. Then for the first time He was recognized as the Christ (Ro 1^4) and completely endowed with power. But, men proceeded to argue, perhaps half unconsciously, what of His life on earth? Must not that also have had some Messianic meaning and content? Surely Jesus must have been Messiah from the first in some degree? And if, as we learn, He was not recognized as such, the reason must have been that secrecy was His desire and His design. Till the resurrection (Mk 9^9, etc.) Jesus must have been in the nature of the case a mystery, even to His own adherents, and much more to the outside world. So, we may conjecture, the early Church reflected. The result is that its earliest product, in the line of evangelic narrative, contains not merely a nucleus of historical value, but a large amount of variant matter, incidents as well as sayings, in which we can distinguish more or less clearly a theological idea illustrated and expanded. Such passages include all recognitions of Jesus as the Messiah by dæmons ($1^{23-25.\ 34}$ 3^{11-12} 5^{6-7} 9^{20}), all prohibitions addressed to disciples, dæmons, and others with regard to the promulgation of His Messiahship (*e.g.* 1^{43-45} 5^{43} $7^{24.\ 36}$ $8^{26.\ 30}$ $9^{9.\ 30f.}$ $10^{47f.}$), the repeated attempts of Jesus to preserve His Messianic *incognito*, His conception of the parables as an open secret to disciples and a deliberate puzzle to outsiders, His predictions of the death and resurrection (8^{31} 9^{31} $10^{33f.}$), and, finally, all references to the 'imbecility' and dulness of the disciples. The perspective of these is at once wider and later than the perspective of the original life.

Nor is this standpoint to be regarded as confined to Mark, although in his Gospel it is first and most fully developed. Matthew, it is true, throws the dæmonic prohibitions into the background, and regards the disciples as, on the whole, less blameworthy for their failure to understand Jesus. To this evangelist the secret of the Messiahship is an occasional element, no longer primary. But in Luke the dæmonic antithesis again becomes prominent, and the general conception of Christ's mysterious Messianic rôle approximates decidedly to that of Mark. Still more evidently in the Fourth Gospel the Marcan preconception is elaborated. The forms of expression naturally differ, but substantially the same idea underlies both Gospels. Here also even the disciples fail to grasp the divine revelation of their Lord. His earthly life is a manifestation of the divine truth—but a manifestation ἐν παροιμίαις. The secret things of His person and mission remain a riddle till the Spirit comes, and with the Spirit light dawns for the first time on the actual meaning of His existence.

With Dr. Wrede's entire principles and positions there is no need to quarrel. Some are valid enough; others are reasonable, within limits. One is not concerned to claim absolute chronological accuracy for the order of events in Mark's Gospel, although much more might be urged on its behalf than he is disposed to admit. Nor can it be denied that the story embodied in this Gospel may have been, and probably has been, tinged with later conceptions. But this element is seriously exaggerated. Doubtless the level of historicity is not uniform, and some passages contain strange phenomena. But any sweeping depreciation of Mark's historicity carries little or no conviction with it, and one must admit that it sounds almost like a fantastic paradox to describe such a narrative as thoroughly dogmatic, destitute of serious historical importance, and so symbolic that recurring phrases like τὸ ὄρος and εἰς οἰκίαν

are practically symbols for states of manifestation and retirement. Such a theory would require far more consistent and ample evidence than Dr. Wrede, with all his keenness, has been able to adduce. Indeed, many of the discrepancies upon which his argument is really based are quite imaginary; they rise when too logical and literal a test is applied to naïve narratives, and for the most part they vanish so soon as the criterion is modified by common sense. Certainly the 'psychological' method of interpreting the Gospels has often been discredited by its harmonizing and modernizing forms. It may be employed to explain away rather than to explain. But obviously there is a *via media* between such extravagances and so rigorous a rejection of the method as that proposed and practised in this treatise. After all, the evangelic narrative was concerned with living men, often inconsistent, often unconscious of their inconsistencies. Human experience has a rhythm of its own, which is seldom as clear and straightforward as the movements of dialectic. Vestiges of this are sure to exist in any record. And if this factor had been recognized more cordially by Dr. Wrede, it would have materially altered the aspect of a number of sayings and incidents which, when viewed merely as passages in a document, may seem dim and incoherent. In a word, the standard applied here to the gospel tradition appears to be far too prosaic and literary. Even from a scientific standpoint, it is inferior to that applied by writers like J. Weiss, Holtzmann, and Jülicher.

This general criticism might be worked out in detail. But space forbids. The only special remark which we would make with reference to the exegesis is that the writer occasionally fails to adequately appreciate certain awkward points: *e.g.* the παρρησία in 8^{32} (which forms the clue to some previous passages like $2^{10.\ 28}$ 2^{19-20}), the οὔπω in 4^{40} (which surely implies some previous acquaintance), and the presence of πάλιν in 10^{32}. Here, and at several other stages in this clever analysis, one is provoked to dissent. But, as a whole, the discussion, however unconvincing, always sets one thinking, although one has to constantly discount a repugnance to the 'supernatural' (which, by the way, is never defined). The real merit of the book lies in its stimulating quality rather than in the conclusions which it proposes to establish. It views things from a new angle, and it will probably do service in many quarters by calling attention to quite a number of points in Mark and the other Gospels, which are not to be so readily solved as many editors and theologians apparently imagine. We owe Dr. Wrede thanks for his obstinate questioning and undaunted originality. He is an Ishmaelite in criticism. His work stands quite apart from the dominant schools even in Continental theology, his main allies being of the past, Bruno Bauer, Volkmar, and Hoekstra. But it will be impossible for any serious critic in future to edit the Gospels or discuss the Messianic consciousness of Jesus, without coming to terms with the argument which runs through this radical and subtle contribution to New Testament interpretation.

Unfortunately, Hollmann's recent essay: *Die Bedeutung des Todes Jesu*, and Oscar Holtzmann's *Leben Jesu* appeared too late for use in Dr. Wrede's pages. This is especially to be regretted, as both volumes, and particularly the former, traverse by anticipation the ground which he covers. Both find little or no difficulty in treating the gospel tradition with equal candour, yet with a much less sceptical spirit; and in this they represent, it must be added, the main current of contemporary scientific thought upon the subject. Otherwise, Dr. Wrede deals adequately and vivaciously with most of his predecessors and contemporaries. But his knowledge of the literature of his subject is hardly perfect. He seems ignorant of Dr. Martineau in this country, whose position was not far removed from that advocated by himself. Nor does he betray familiarity with French writers like Stapfer and Réville, or with English authors like Dr. James Drummond and the late Dr. Bruce, from all of whom even he has some things yet to learn.

JAMES MOFFATT.

Dundonald.

Sellin's Latest Work.[1]

OUR readers will remember the interest that was awakened two years ago by Sellin's *Serubbabel*, in which the author sought to identify the suffering

[1] *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüd. Gemeinde nach dem babylon. Exil.* Von E. Sellin. I. 'Der Knecht Gottes bei Deuterjoesaja' (M. 6. 50); II. 'Die Restauration der jüd. Gemeinde in den Jahren 538–516.—Das Schicksal Serubbabels' (M.4.50); the two volumes together M.10. Leipzig: A. Deichert; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901.

Servant of Deutero-Isaiah with Zerubbabel. The book encountered much hostile criticism, some of it not altogether fair, as the author points out in the work before us. He takes exception, in particular to the strictures of Oettli and Giesebrecht, with both of whom he deals somewhat sharply. At the same time he has been led, partly by the objections of Nowack and Meinhold, and partly by renewed examination of the whole problem of Deutero-Isaiah, to reconsider his position, and, while he still holds himself entitled to believe in an exaltation of Zerubbabel to the Davidic throne, followed by his overthrow and imprisonment, if not death, at the hands of the Persians, he gives up his identity with the Servant of the Lord. This change of opinion has been brought about partly by his study of Ed. König's *The Exiles' Book of Consolation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899, price 3s. 6d.), and by his acceptance of that author's contentions in favour of a Babylonian origin for certain parts of Deutero-Isaiah which Sellin formerly held to have been composed in Palestine. But he is still confident that the Servant is an individual and a member of the Davidic family. His new candidate for the honour is king Jehoiachin, whose surrender to king Nebuchadnezzar is held to have been an act of self-sacrifice on behalf of his people (as it probably was), and whose memory, it is argued from various O.T. references, was fondly cherished in the hearts of his countrymen.

We cannot pretend to have any expectation that this new proposal will hold the field any more than its predecessor. For ourselves we are convinced that the *collective* and not the *individual* interpretation of the Servant is the correct one. But even those who hold that the Servant is an individual will find weighty objections to the identification with Jehoiachin (witness Bertholet's powerful criticism in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 14th and 28th September 1901). At the same time we freely acknowledge the great ability of Sellin's argument, and the valuable sidelight it throws upon much that is obscure in the period of Jewish history with which it deals. The book is written in a clear flowing style, and the reader's interest is never allowed to flag. It deserves to be widely read.

Perhaps the author will meet with more assent to his conclusions in that part of his work which deals with the history of the Return as told in the Book of Ezra. The Chronicler fares much better at his hands than at those of Kosters, Wellhausen, Marquart, and similar writers. Sellin's results are in many ways akin to those reached by Ed. Meyer in his *Entstehung des Judenthums*. The last word has not yet been spoken on this subject, but Sellin has materially contributed to the settlement of the questions that yet remain open, and the scientific spirit and value of his investigations will be universally acknowledged.

Strack's 'Grammar of Biblical Aramaic.'[1]

It is very gratifying to note that Professor Strack's admirable *Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* has reached a third edition. It contains all that the student who wishes to make a thorough acquaintance with the Aramaic portions of the O.T. requires. As compared with former editions, the present work shows a considerable number of additions and improvements which materially increase its usefulness. The Grammar proper (pp. 9–40) has been thoroughly revised and has gained in clearness of arrangement. The texts have been collated afresh and with the aid of additional MSS., while a number of passages, Dn $3^{12-15.\ 20-24}$ 4^{21}–7^{7}, are given with the supralinear punctuation. The vocabulary is concise but adequate. Dr. Strack is to be heartily congratulated on the success, which, in spite of obstacles that ought never to have arisen, has attended the publication of this work, and we rejoice that the expectations we expressed in these pages in May 1896 regarding what was then only an *Abriss*, have been realized in the appearance of this Grammar, which ought to be as popular as it is scientific and reliable.

Miscellaneous.

In his Rectorial Address last August, Professor Harnack of Berlin discusses the question which is

[1] *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen, mit den nach Handschriften berichtigten Texten und einem Wörterbuch.* Von Professor H. L. Strack, Dritte grossentheils neubearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1901. Price M.2; bound, M.2.50.

often raised at the present day, whether the Theological Faculty in the Universities ought to confine itself to the Christian religion or to take the wider scope of dealing with the general History of Religion. Harnack does full justice to the arguments that support this latter course, but decides without hesitation in favour of the present arrangement. He urges forcibly that the Christian religion has such characteristics that 'the man who knows it not, knows no religion, whereas he who knows it and its history, knows all religions.' 'Christianity in its pure form is not a religion side by side with others, it is *the* religion.' The lecture, which is published in pamphlet form by J. Ricker, Giessen (*Die Aufgabe der theol. Facultäten und die allgemeine Religionsgeschichte*, price 50 pf.), and which we are glad to see has already reached a third edition, deserves to be widely read.

Dr. Otto Stählin has rendered a real service to Septuagintal study by the publication of his *Clemens Alexandrinus und die Septuaginta* (Nürnberg: J. L. Stich, 1901). Clement's quotations are numerous, and show an acquaintance with all the books included in the LXX, except Ruth, Canticles, Obadiah, the Epistle of Jeremy, and 3 and 4 Maccabees. No distinction is made in the quotations between canonical and deutero-canonical books. Dr. Stählin goes carefully through the quotations from the various books, and has no difficulty in reaching the conclusion that in many instances Clement quoted, not from memory, but directly from MSS. Unfortunately, however, his study has not led him to any positive result as to the particular form of recension or class of MSS to which the text used by Clement belonged. It is true that his text throughout diverges from B, and that in the Pentateuch it shows a frequent affinity to Lucian, or perhaps, rather to A. These results may appear rather meagre and disappointing, but students of the LXX owe a debt of gratitude to Stählin for the materials he has collected and the great care with which he has handled them. When we add that the author expresses his indebtednes for help throughout the work to Dr. Nestle, students will know what to expect in the way of fulness and accuracy.

One of the most important contributions that have been yet offered on the subject of the origin and history of the tribes of Israel is contained in Dr. Carl Steuernagel's *Die Einwanderung der israel. Stämme in Kanaan* (Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1901; price M.3.60). Dr. Steuernagel is too well known as a critic (and the present work will sustain that reputation) to incur any risk of being set down as an 'apologist,' although some of his conclusions might, in some quarters, earn for him that name. He sets himself in this book to a careful study of the Israelitish tradition regarding the tribes and their movements, and discovers far more material that can be turned to historical use than it has been the fashion to allow. Even the stories of the patriarchs yield, in his hands, valuable data. A great deal of interest attaches to his handling of the period of the Judges. He believes himself entitled to conclude that the various tribes, immediately after the entrance into Canaan, occupied quite different settlements from those in which we find them at a later time. On the question of the conquest of Canaan, the number of tribes that took part in it, etc., our author reaches conclusions that differ greatly from the traditional ones, but which are coming to be familiar and widely accepted. Dr Steuernagel himself would be the last to claim finality for all his results, but he is entitled to a careful study of his book, and to have a more excellent way pointed out to him, if such exists.

Dr. Otto Weber, a pupil of Professor Hommel, has published his Inaugural Dissertation on the age of the Minæan kingdom (*Studien zur Südarab. Altertumskunde*: I. 'Das Alter des Minäischen Reiches'; Berlin (Peiser), 1901, price M.3). Readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES are well aware, from Professor Hommel's own contributions, of the importance for O.T. study of the Minæan inscriptions. A burning question at present is whether the Minæan and Sabæan kingdoms existed contemporaneously (D. H. Müller, Mordtmann, *et al.*), or whether the Minæan kingdom was prior to the Sabæan, which destroyed it and took its place (Glaser, Hommel, *et al.*) Dr. Weber argues powerfully in favour of the latter theory, and in the Dissertation before us collects all the data available for a decision. His contribution to the discussion will no doubt find, as it deserves, many readers, and will receive full attention from experts.

Amongst the contributions to the recent 'Festschrift für B Stade' was Dr. v. Gall's *Zusammensetzung und Herkunft der Bileam-Perikope* (Giessen: J. Ricker, 1900, price M.1.50). We may say, at once, that while the Balaam episodes in Nu 22–24 have their difficulties, and while the analysis of these chapters has perhaps never been satisfactorily achieved, we find it impossible to follow Freiherr v. Gall in his extreme conclusions. The investigation of the sources is certainly marked by acuteness and abundant learning, but the mere statement of the results he reaches will be enough in the estimation of many to condemn them. In regard to the narrative portions he believes that there were originally two Balaam stories, one by J, the other by E, and that each knew of only one blessing of Israel. The two stories were combined by R^{JE} in such a way that again only one blessing was recorded. Two further blessings were afterwards interpolated in this narrative by two different hands. And, finally, prophecies about other peoples were at a later period added by various hands. The poetical passages are considered by v. Gall to be all of late origin, emanating from the post-exilic period, and in part as late as the days of Jesus Christ!

In consequence of the progress which the last few years have witnessed in the investigation of the laws of Hebrew metre, and, in particular, on account of the appearance of various works on Jeremiah, Professor Cornill has felt compelled, with the sanction of P. Haupt, to publish a text of the metrical passages of that prophet, which is meant to be an improvement on the text he has already furnished for the *S.B.O.T.* This new text will form the basis of the translation and notes in the *Polychrome Bible*, and it was published a few months ago mainly in order that it might appear before Duhm's 'Jeremiah,' which was issued very soon thereafter. The whole circumstances are explained by Professor Cornill in his Preface, which invests with quite a pathetic interest the figures of editor, contributor, and publisher in these days of high pressure. The little work, now that it has been safely issued, will be welcomed by all O.T. scholars (*Die metrischen Stücke des Buches Jeremia reconstruirt*, von C. H. Cornill; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1901, price M.1.50).

Dr. O. Herrigel, Stadtvikar in Carlsruhe, rendered a service to N.T. students some eighteen months ago by the publication in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* of his verbatim report of the late Dr. Carl Holsten's class lecture on the results of historical criticism as regards the Canon of the N.T. We called attention at the time to this publication, and we have now the pleasure of noting that in the same periodical (pp. 324–369) Dr. Herrigel has published a similar report of Dr. Holsten's latest utterances (from the Professor's own papers) on the important questions raised by the Epistles to the Corinthians (*Einleitung in die Korintherbriefe*).

Professor Rothstein of Halle, so well and so favourably known as an O.T. scholar who always has a practical as well as a speculative interest in the problems raised by historical criticism, has published a volume which ought to serve a useful purpose at the present juncture (*Bilder aus der Geschichte des alten Bundes in gemeinverständlicher Form*; Erlangen: Fr. Junge, 1901). It will reassure many as to the possibility of combining the scientific treatment of the O.T. and the acceptance of many of the predominant results of literary criticism with a deep sense of the uniqueness and the abiding value of Scripture. It is a work, too, from which even those who may consider the author's standpoint somewhat conservative may learn much. The first 60 pages of the book are occupied with preliminary matter, and then comes the first Scripture character studied, Moses (pp. 61–294). This is only the first of a series of studies, for which we would bespeak a hearty welcome.

The first and second issues of the 20th vol. of Messrs. Schwetschke & Sohn's invaluable *Jahresbericht* have reached us. The former of these (price M.9) has for its subject 'Exegese,' and Bruno Baentsch is responsible for the O.T. part, A. Meyer for the N.T. The other is devoted to 'Historische Theologie,' and is the work of Lüdemann, Preuschen, Ficker, O. Clemen, Loesche, Kohlschmidt, Lehmann, Hegler, and Koehler. It is unnecessary to repeat the testimony we have frequently borne to the fulness and accuracy of this great work, which is invaluable to all students of theology.

J. A. Selbie.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

Among the Periodicals.

The Text of the New Testament.[1]

THE *Theologische Rundschau* occupies a unique place amongst German reviews. It is a monthly that does not aim at noticing every publication of the month, but new books are promptly entered in the Bibliography, which is now issued separately. Each of the several branches of theological and biblical study is assigned to one of the experts on the long list of contributors, and from time to time an article appears which gives a survey of all the literature published on that particular subject since the last notice was written. By this means it is possible, in a few pages, to give reviews which are not scrappy and which do not overlook any work of importance. An excellent example of the working of this plan is furnished in a recent article on 'The Text of the New Testament' by the senior editor, Dr. Bousset.

It is nearly three years since the appearance of Dr. Bousset's first article on 'The Textual Criticism of the New Testament,' and his formidable list of books, which have been published during this period, bears eloquent testimony to the activity of workers in this department of study. As was to be expected, the foremost place is given to Dr. Caspar R. Gregory's great work, the first volume of which was issued last year. 'It may be regarded as a new German edition of the Latin prolegomena' which Dr. Gregory contributed to Tischendorf's *editio octava major*, but use is made of the constantly accumulating material which is now so abundant as almost to be embarrassing. Special praise is given to the very instructive 'Introduction' prefixed to the list of Greek Liturgies.

The greater part of Dr. Bousset's article is devoted to an examination and estimate of the contributions made to the solution of the outstanding problem—the value of the 'Western' text,—by writers who have supported or opposed the well-known theories of Dr. Blass. It is a fault of Nestle's excellent and well-written *Introduction to the Greek New Testament* that its arguments in favour of the β text (Western) read too much like special pleading, whilst the instances cited by opponents of the theory of Blass ought, in a handbook, to be more 'objectively' considered. Dr. Theodore Zahn is rightly described as one of the most influential supporters of the views advocated by Dr. Blass, and yet on the important question of the variants in Ac 15 these two critics come to opposite conclusions. The β text omits from the apostolic decree the words 'and from things strangled' (*καὶ πνικτῶν*); it also inserts the Golden Rule. Zahn maintains that in this passage the reading of the β text cannot be primary, and his argument is convincing; but Bousset remarks with force: 'The conclusion that a secondary reading does not belong to the original β text is a *petitio principii*, which assumes what needs to be proved, namely, the superiority and originality of the β text.'

In Bousset's judgment Harnack has established the secondary character of the β text in Ac 11^{27-28} 18^{1-27}. On these and on other grounds it is held that although the researches of Blass have given a powerful impulse to the work of textual critics, his chief hypothesis has not been established. Quite recently Blass has modified his own theory,[2] for he no longer regards the β text as the original of the Acts. The β text and the α text are, according to his latest statement, the first and the second editions respectively of an original which remained in the hands of Luke.

Bousset speaks in terms of high appreciation of Mr. Barnard's work[3] in the Cambridge series of 'Texts and Studies.' Clement of Alexandria is one of our oldest witnesses; in Barnard's collection of biblical quotations found in Clement's writings we have fragments of a New Testament of the second century, and careful study of these fragments shows that the peculiarities of the β text are found in the text used by Clement. Nevertheless, Bousset denies the inference drawn from these facts by Mr. Burkitt that the β text is the oldest accessible. That it seems to be older than the B$\aleph$ text he allows; but the B$\aleph$ text may be a learned Alexandrine recension, and yet it may also be purer than the β text, for the scribe may have corrected the β text by comparison with older manuscripts.

Fragments of a MS. containing one-third of Matthew's Gospel and written in gold letters on purple vellum were recently discovered in Sinope. Omont's edition of this MS. shows that its text is

[1] *Theologische Rundschau.* Vierter Jahrgang. Neuntes Heft. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. London: Williams & Norgate.

[2] *Studien und Kritiken*, 1900, 11 und 19.

[3] *The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria.*

almost identical with the text of the three purple codices NΣΦ. Bousset thinks that all these MSS were produced in the sixth century and probably at Constantinople. He appositely quotes Chrysostom's polemic against those who covet these *editiones de luxe*, but do not covet the wisdom treasured up in the words written in golden letters.

The attention of an editor, who seldom nods and to whom all his readers are greatly indebted, may be directed to an amusing slip in the last issue of his *Bibliographie*. Under the heading 'History of Israel' there is this entry: Lamb (Charles), Essays of *Elia*! Let us hope that the mistake has introduced some German student of the Hebrew prophet's life to the genial English essayist.

J. G. TASKER.

Handsworth College.

Historical and Dogmatic Method in Theology.

Reischle, a member of the Ritschlian school, contributes to the July and August numbers of the *Theologische Rundschau* an important article on the above subject. It is a criticism of an article by Troeltsch, written in opposition to an apologetic essay by Niebergall, 'On the Absoluteness of Christianity,' in which two propositions were proved. 'The moral personality is an absolute magnitude,' and 'Christ gives us the perfect satisfaction of the deepest needs of our moral personality.' Troeltsch condemns Niebergall's method as *dogmatic*, and in antagonism states what he calls the *historical*. While he insists on the application to Christianity as to the other religions of the historical method; yet he modifies that method in important respects: (1) he admits that religious psychology reaches in the leading personalities of religious history, 'a last fact akin and yet unlike to moral judgment and æsthetic taste, a life of the soul, which reveals the independence, the inner unity, and the originality of religion,' 'the original actual, repeatedly experienced contact with God'; (2) he maintains that in the history of religions we may discover progress, and are led to the conclusion that in Christianity this progress has reached its highest stage. In discovering this progress we are guided by our personal feeling, and in our conclusion about Christianity all we can affirm is that 'it is relatively the highest of existing religions, not that it is the absolute religion,' although a higher may be for us inconceivable; (3) he holds that all logical, epistemological, and ethical problems point for their solution to a highest unity, an absolute consciousness; and although this is not the religious conception of God, it leaves in human thought a place where this conception can find room.

In criticism of this method, claiming to be historical, and not dogmatic, Reischle points out: (1) that Troeltsch 'steps altogether out of the limits of the historical standpoint,' when he introduces as an explanation of the phenomena of religion a mystical experience of the presence of God in the leading personalities, based on divine revelation; (2) that he forsakes the path of purely historical observation, when as a conclusion from a comparison, he represents Christianity as the crown of the religious development; (3) that personal conviction is an active factor in the solution of the problems of thought. In these respects a limit is set to historical relativity by a systematic, we can even say dogmatic point of view, which is due to a conviction of faith. This method, Reischle concludes, is not so very different from that followed by theologians influenced by Ritschl. For they also accept a comparison of religions, seek to carry this out without partiality, admit a universal revelation, and attempt to base on this comparison a historical and philosophical view of the history of religion. Further, they too recognize the necessity of proving that Christian ideas are not opposed to a philosophical world-view or the results of particular sciences.

But there are also differences as regards method and result. As regards method: (1) instead of attempting a spiritual metaphysics dealing with these last problems of thought, as Troeltsch does, the Ritschlians are content with a critical epistemology, while not denying that a personal conviction of the validity of intellectual, æsthetic, and moral ideals may be reached, and a philosophical world-view may be constructed out of these elements, and parts of our knowledge of the real world, in which, however, the individual, personal attitude to the spiritual contents of life is decisive; (2) however valuable, the comparison of religions cannot be fundamental, but must be supplementary to another method of apologetics, even a practical one, the proof of the value of Christianity to the personal life of the believer; (3) the estimate of Christianity as the highest stage of a course of

divine revelation does not rest on merely historical grounds, but involves a judgment of faith; a man must himself have experienced divine revelation to recognize its presence and operation in other religions. 'If the method of Troeltsch,' says Reischle, 'seems to make too high scientific claims, the result is too modest': (1) Christianity is not only relatively the highest existing religion, but absolutely the highest conceivable. 'He who has found in Jesus Christ here salvation, communion with God Himself, and eternal life, has therein experienced the absoluteness of Christianity, and understands how Christianity must carry on world-missions, if it is not to deny itself'; (2) the person of Jesus Christ is not like all individual historical facts relatively uncertain; for, although by historical inquiry only probability can be secured, yet 'he who in faith seizes Jesus Christ presented to him in a living witness, because he is seized by Him, and finds eternal life in Him, knows himself, in spite of all historical mediation, placed in a personal intercourse with the person of Jesus Christ, and therewith gains a certainty of the living reality of this person, which transcends the probability to be gained in the historical critical way.'

The interest and importance of this essay warrants this full outline of its contents. The Ritschlian school is so often misrepresented, suspected, and censured, that it is desirable and profitable for English readers to know what a thinker like Reischle has written, not only as an individual, but as a representative of the school and in its name, on the right method of theology. We are not much given in Britain to the investigation of questions of method. Many theologians seem to work by 'rule of thumb.' And, therefore, besides the importance of the essay as a defence of the Ritschlian school, the subject itself should possess interest. These two reasons seem not only to excuse, but even to justify this demand on the attention and patience of readers.

A. E. Garvie.

Montrose.

The Unrighteous Steward and Machiavellism.

By A. N. Jannaris, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer on Post-Classical and Modern Greek in the University of St. Andrews.

Commenting upon my recent treatise on 'The Logos in St. John,' which appeared in the February number of the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, some critics, including The Expository Times (April, p. 290 f.), have expressed surprise at, and even incredulity in, my statement that, 'as it appears in our printed editions, the New Testament is perhaps the worst edited of all ancient books.' These words of mine, which represent the mature result of long and assiduous studies in the New Testament, can be substantiated by numerous instances of editorial misreadings and misrenderings throughout the sacred text, and I propose here to adduce a fresh illustration.[1] If I select the Parable of the Unrighteous Steward (Lk 16), it is because it forms one of the most vexed questions in the New Testament,[2] and then because I was recently treated to a sermon on that text and derived therefrom that kind of pleasure which is often overmingled with annoyance. For the minister, who is a widely-read, practical, and very able preacher, strove to have his audience believe that in the parable referred to Jesus holds out the dishonest steward as an example to Christians who should endeavour to spread the cause of the Gospel and the Church even by questionable means. After the spirited sermon I could not help approaching my reverend friend to whisper into his ear the rather im-

[1] Other instances have already been adduced in The Expository Times of January last, p. 189 ff., while a surprising number of them will be pointed out in my forthcoming edition of St. John's Gospel and Epistles (London: Nutt).

[2] 'The difficulty of this parable is well known and the variety of interpretations is very great. A catalogue of even the chief suggestions would serve no useful purpose. . . . The literature on the subject is voluminous and unrepaying. For all that is earlier than 1800 see Schreiber [read Schreiter], *Historico-critica explanationum parabolae de improbo oeconomo descriptio*, Lips. 1803. For 1800–1879 see Meyer-Weiss, p. 515, or Meyer, Eng. tr. p. 209' (A. Plummer, *St. Luke*, in the 'International Critical Commentary,' p. 380 f.).

patient question, 'Could you not have selected a better text for your sermon?' to which he replied, 'I have done my very best to smooth away the awkwardness of the teaching.' And truly awkward it is. For here we are asked by the very soundest and most conservative expositors of the New Testament to believe that the keynote of the parable—καὶ ἐγὼ (or κἀγὼ) ὑμῖν λέγω· ἑαυτοῖς ποιήσατε φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας, 'I also say unto you, Make to yourselves friends by means of the unrighteous mammon'—is an argument *a fortiori*: si laudari potuit ille . . . quanto amplius placent Domini (Augustine; so too Euthymios Zigabenos, Grotius, Corn. a Lapide, Maldonatus, and most subsequent expositors down to this day). —'Hasten to make for yourselves, with the goods of another, personal friends, who shall then be bound to you by gratitude and share with you their well-being' (Godet, in *loco*); 'In this portraiture Jesus does not scruple to use the example of the wicked for the purpose of stimulating His disciples' (*idem, ib.*). In plainer terms: The end justifies the means.—Nor do we improve matters much by reading into the text the less unpalatable and far-fetched meaning according to which 'the steward, however wanting in fidelity and care, *showed great prudence in the use which he made of present opportunities as a means of providing for the future* [sic]. The believer ought to exhibit similar prudence in using material advantages in this life as a means of providing for the life to come.' (A. Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. 380). In this respect Meyer (*Commentary to St. Luke*, p. 226, note, Eng. tr.) is praiseworthy in honestly and candidly disallowing this lame and forced interpretation: 'Also the expedient which many have adopted of maintaining that attention is not directed to the morality of the steward's conduct, but only to the *prudence in itself* worthy of imitation (see Luther, Calvin, Grotius, Michaelis, Löffler, Bleek, and many others) must be regarded as mistaken, as on general grounds it is unworthy of Christ.'

Indeed, it must make a sore place in the hearts of many a Christian to be told that Jesus bids us, 'Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness,' thus lending direct support to that immoral doctrine which we deprecate under the name of Machiavellism, *the end justifies the means.* Happily we can question the grievous insinuation, first because there is no parallel in the whole life and teaching of Jesus, and then because we can prove that even the present passage is misread. I maintain that Jesus nowhere ever—either directly or indirectly—insinuated or encouraged a Machiavellian doctrine; for the supposed parallel of the Unrighteous Judge (Lk 18^{1-8}) is not a case in point: there no commendation of dishonesty is implied. Still less relevant is the case, sometimes referred to, of 15^{8-10} where the woman asks her friends and neighbours to congratulate her for having recovered her lost piece of silver; or the case in Mt 13^{44}, where the kingdom of God is likened unto a treasure hidden in the field.

As to our passage under discussion: καὶ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν λέγω· ποιήσατε φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ, ἵνα, ὅταν ἐκλίπῃ (Rec. ἐκλίπητε), δέξωνται ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους σκηνάς, 'And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness, that, when it hath failed (Rec. when ye are gone), they may receive you into everlasting habitations'—the reading becomes the more doubtful the more closely we examine the verse. For, apart from the grievous imputation of Machiavellism to Jesus, how can we imagine friends receiving us into '*everlasting*' habitations? Friends acquired in this world by means of mammon and 'everlasting' habitations are two incongruous and irreconcilable things. As to the context, the immediately succeeding verses clearly imply that we should make *no* friends out of the contemptible mammon: 'He that is faithful in the least thing (that is, in the worthless mammon), is faithful also in a great deal; and he that is unrighteous in the least thing, is unrighteous also in a great deal. If, therefore, ye have NOT (mark the negation *Not*!) been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust that which is true? And if ye have NOT (!) been faithful in that which is another man's, who will give you that which is your own (rather, "mine own")'?

So far, then, the whole moral teaching of Jesus, the internal incongruity of the very passage in question, and the context, forbid us to accept the current interpretation, 'Make friends by means of the unrighteous mammon'; indeed they suggest the very opposite, 'Make *no* friends by means of the unrighteous mammon.' Now that opposite or negative sense we obtain by simply discarding the current punctuation of the editors, which is doubly

wrong and grievous, and reading the passage interrogatively: καὶ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν λέγω· ποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας, ἵνα, ὅταν ἐκλίπῃ, δέξωνται ὑμᾶς; εἰς τας αἰωνίους σκηνὰς ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστός ἐστι, κ.τ.λ., *i.e.* 'Shall I also say unto you, Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness, that, when it hath failed, they may receive you? In the everlasting tabernacles he that is faithful in the least thing is faithful also in a great deal,' etc.

The Great Text Commentary.

THE GREAT TEXTS OF HEBREWS.

HEBREWS XIII. 8.

'Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and to-day, yea and for ever' (R.V.).

EXPOSITION.

'Jesus Christ is the same.'—A new sentence with an aspect behind and before. (1) Jesus Christ, who strengthened your departed pastors to live and to die, is the same also for you. Imitate their faith. (2) Jesus Christ is not Yea and Nay (2 Co 1^{19}). He changes not, Be not carried astray by novel and shifting doctrines. The ambiguous rendering of ἔκβασιν in the A.V. (*end*) in v.^{7}, and the strange omission of the verb *is* in this verse, led to an entirely mistaken interpretation . . . and by degrees to an alteration of the full stop into a colon at the end of v.^{7}.—VAUGHAN.

'Yesterday and to-day, yea and for ever.'—The notes of time are two, not (as in the Authorized Version) three. (1) The same to-day as yesterday; (2) the same for ever. (1) The same at this day as in the 'yesterday' of your departed ἡγούμενοι; (2) the same in the longest future of time and eternity. Therefore (1) trust as they trusted. Therefore (2) hold fast the faith once for all delivered.—VAUGHAN.

THE clause καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας is added to the sentence which is already complete to express the absolute confidence of the apostle: 'Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and to-day: yea, such a confession falls wholly below the truth: He is the same for ever.'—WESTCOTT.

METHODS OF TREATMENT.

I.

Inconsistency.

By the Rev. C. J. Vaughan, D.D.

We have two words expressive of the same general idea—constancy and consistency. The difference may be defined as tenacity of purpose and tenacity of plan. Either term is applicable to Christ. He was constant in that having made the rescue of man His aim, He never swerved from it. He was consistent in that He was tenacious of His plan, and that plan was seeking the race through the individual. He dealt with human need in detail, not in a grand philanthropic manner. To be the Saviour of the world He began by being the Saviour of one or two—by touching here and there the innermost part of a single human being. And afterwards He caused the record of it to be so written that any one in distress may find Him in His Word. He has not ceased to feel and help. He is the same for ever. He challenged His generation to deny the consistency of His life; and nothing impresses us more than the unity of the representation of Him given by many different writers. He is the same in childhood, youth, manhood; in all the circumstances of life; and He is still the same, the same in sympathy and in love.

We are not so; Scripture, history, experience prove the inconsistency even of the saints. Prophets warn against it. Christ tells the Parable of the Patched Garment—the parable of inconsistency.

1. Who is consistent all through? We set an object before us. We may be constant in purpose. Are we consistent in plan? (1) In thought. We profess to count all things but loss that we may gain eternal life. Yet who does not attach too much value to things seen? Who can indeed think of death as the gate to immortality? (2) In speech. What worldly estimates! What uncharitable judgments! Are they consistent with His service? (3) In life. Every one is conscious of such inconsistency, known only to God and the heart.

2. The motives of inconsistency are various—fear of the world, love of the world, desire to show versatility or to attract others by showing that they need not be ascetics. But all inconsistency

is due to the want of God's spirit in the heart, to unbelief in things unseen and in God's power to subdue all things to Himself.

3. The consequences of inconsistency. (1) Impotence. It ruins influence. In politics a man may be obliged to be inconsistent to change his plan that he may cling to his purpose. If even such conscientious inconsistency is punished with loss of strength and influence, how much more in that province where inconsistency is sin? (2) Misery. Even when it is involuntary inconsistency due to human infirmity. To grieve Him to whom all gratitude is due is painful, and only confession to Him and His absolution can restore peace. How wretched must be the life that is all inconsistency, contradicting constantly the profession of the lips. (3) Hypocrisy. Not necessarily in its worst form of professing to be good when one is utterly bad. It may consist in concealing our knowledge of truth and sense of duty. Hypocrisy is duplicity, having principles not practised, convictions disguised by silence, professions contradicted by conduct.

4. The Christian must fight this foe with the rest. Determine to be consistent. Never outrun your convictions in your professions. Guard against censorious judgments. In finding fault with others we make laws for ourselves, which we cannot break without inconsistency. Walk circumspectly. He who guards against small inconsistencies will be forearmed against great transgressions.

II.

The Changelessness of Christ.

By the Rev. W. A. Gray.

The words are generally read as a qualification of the preceding clause. But v.[7] is complete in itself. It bids us remember those who have had the rule over us, with regard to their 'faith,' their 'conversation,' and their 'end.' Then v.[8] draws our attention to Him with whom they had to do in all three. For He is the same to us as He was to our fathers, and will be to generations to come. The changelessness of Christ is the keystone of all theology, and lies at the root of all Christian experience.

1. He is changeless in His divine essence. He is the Christ of 'yesterday,' existing from all eternity. When He took His place in the sphere of time, he became the Christ of 'to-day'; and through all the day of time, from Eden to the Final Judgment He is the same, parting, indeed, while on earth, with His manifested, but not with His essential glory. Pass beyond time to eternity and He will be the same—the same in His divine essence, in His power, in His omnipresence, in His deep joy.

2. He is the same in His office. He was, is, and shall be the one Mediator between God and man. In the 'yesterday' of Old Testament history, closed by the Cross, He was the Mediator. Through Him the saints who died went home to God. In the fulness of time He came and suffered. 'It is finished' rang out the old epoch; 'He is risen' rang in the new. But He is the same Jesus now with the selfsame office. And to all eternity that office will continue. He will always be the Mediator of His people in whom they deal with God, and God with them.

3. It is true also of His manifestation in history. In His incarnate life on earth, He was always accessible, helpful, compassionate, sympathetic. To-day when He has ascended He is the same in His willingness to bless, to protect, to cleanse. And to all eternity there is no ministry which He fulfilled for His people in grace that He will not fulfil in glory. Helpfulness? He waits to receive them. Comfort? He wipes the tears from their eyes. Sanctification? He will present the Church to Himself as a glorious, spotless bride.

4. He is unchanging in the experience of His people. The 'yesterday' of your history had needs to be supplied, sorrows to be soothed, temptations to be conquered, sins to be forgiven. He did all. Yesterday has passed; to-day has its own needs, but the Jesus Christ of yesterday is the Jesus Christ of to-day. To-day joins hands with yesterday in attesting His faithfulness, and to-morrow will join hands with to-day. The future is unknown, but the Companion is tried. Experiences vary, but Christ is the same. We may argue not only from our own experience but from that of others. When they are divided from us by death, we look back upon their faith, their conversation, their end, and argue from their experiences what is possible for us. For Jesus Christ, who was all to them is the same for ever. Compassed about with a great cloud of witnesses let us look to Jesus the author and finisher of their faith as of ours.

Illustrations.

Man's systems are the shadows on the hillside. Christ is the everlasting, solemn mountain itself. Much in the popular conception and representation of Christianity is in the act of passing. Let it go; Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. We need not fear change within the limits of His Church or of His world. For change there means progress, and the more human creations and embodiments of Christian truth crumble and disintegrate, the more distinctly does the solemn, single, unique figure of Christ the same rise before us.—A. Maclaren.

A friend is rare to be found that continueth faithful in all his friend's distresses. Thou, O Lord, Thou alone art most faithful at all times, and there is none like unto Thee. —Thomas à Kempis.

The One remains, the many change and pass;
Heaven's light for ever shines, Earth's shadows fly;
Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
Stains the white radiance of Eternity—
Until Death tramples it to fragments. Die,
If thou wouldst be with that which thou dost seek.
Shelley.

God's changeful providence comes into all our lives, and parts dear ones, making their places empty that Christ Himself may fill the empty places, and, striking away other props, though the tendrils that twine round them bleed with the wrench, in order that the plant may no longer trail along the ground, but twine itself round the Cross and climb to the Christ upon the Throne. 'In the year that king Uzziah died, I saw the Lord sitting on a throne.' The true King was manifested when the earthly, shadowy monarch was swept away. And just as, on the face of some great wooded cliff, when the leaves drop, the solemn strength of the everlasting rock gleams out pure, so, when our dear ones fall away, Jesus Christ is revealed, 'the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.' 'They truly were many, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death; this Man continueth ever.'—A. Maclaren.

It fortifies my soul to know
That, though I perish, Truth is so;
That, howso'er I stray and range,
Whate'er I do, Thou dost not change.
I steadier step, when I recall
That, if I slip, Thou dost not fall.—Clough.

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The Question of the Unity of Isaiah.

By Professor Ed. König, M.A., D.D., Bonn.

II.

Professor Cobb appeals, in support of his contention that Is 40–66 belong to the age of Hezekiah, to the circumstance that there are only a 'few allusions to Babylon and to Cyrus in Is 40–66' (p. 85). Now, even if we met with only a single mention of Babylon in these chapters, it would be enough. The ear of the reader would be sufficiently pierced by the shrill cry, 'Come down, sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon,' etc. ($47^{1-3.\ 5ff.}$), and is not the call clear enough, 'Go ye forth from Babylon, flee from Chaldæa' (48^{20})? A hitherto unobserved indication of the century in which the author of Is 40 ff. lived, is found in the order of the two expressions, 'the Assyrian oppressed them (Israel) without cause' (52^{4b}) and '*now*, therefore, what have I to do *here*' ($v.^{5a}$)? The period of the Assyrian dominion over Israel is past; the period that is present to the author of these chapters is that when the Babylonians had led the inhabitants of Jerusalem captive ($v.^{2}$).

In like manner a single mention of Cyrus would

suffice to justify the conclusion that the passage in question was not written in the years immediately after 701. It is true, indeed, that the prophecies of the O.T. had not their source in the incidents of history. Nowhere, I suppose, has this been more thoroughly demonstrated than in my own work, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des A.T.* Nevertheless prophecy, in the choice of its vehicles of description, follows a course parallel with the progress of history. This fundamental principle of the development of O.T. prophecy I have established in my *Einleit. in d. A.T.* p. 323 f. If then Isaiah had spoken even once of the rise of the Persian Empire and of Cyrus, he would have gone ahead of what was done by Jeremiah and Ezekiel and other pre-exilic prophets. But there is a considerable number of passages in Is 40 ff. which allude to the conqueror whom the Divine disposer of the world's history has called from the rising of the sun to punish Babylon for her immorality ($47^{1bff.}$) and tyranny ($41^{2-4.\ 25ff.}$ 44^{28} $45^{1.\ 13}$ 46^{11} 48^{14}; and there is much in favour of reckoning also 55^{11} to this series).[1]

Professor Cobb, it is true, has revived the explanation of 41^{2-4} which finds in the words 'Who hath raised up one from the East'? an allusion to the call of Abraham. But, in the first place, was the divine call of Abraham an occurrence so open to question and so recent that it could be submitted to the peoples as a problem (v.[1])? Secondly, it is a fact, indeed, that Abraham defeated Chedorlaomer and the kings allied with him (Gn $14^{14ff.}$). But this military exploit of Abraham would be far too hyperbolically described in Is 41^{2}, and the words 'a path corresponding to (= along) his own footprints he trod not' (v.[3b]) cannot be understood of Abraham. For there was nothing wonderful in Abraham's not returning to Mesopotamia or Chaldæa, and after the defeat of Chedorlaomer he did return by practically the same road as that along which he had pursued the hostile kings to Dan. Further, Abraham's migration to Canaan and his victory over Chedorlaomer cannot be supposed to have made such an impression upon the nations as is described in vv.[5-7]. Finally, if the allusion in vv.[2-7] had been to the ancestor of Israel and the impression made by his deeds, we should not have had the transition, 'and thou, Israel, my servant' (v.[8ff.]), seeing that essentially the same subject would have been spoken of immediately before. Accordingly, the following connexion of the principal parts of chap. 41 f. is to be preferred:—

'In view of the emphasis laid upon the divinely inspired impulse given to the hero from the East (41^{2-4}), Israel, like the other nations (vv.[5-7]), might have been filled with panic-terror, and might have become doubtful of its own special relation to God. In this situation, the designation of Israel as the special servant of God made its appearance all at once like the bubbling up of a heavenly spring of consolation. . . . After the following mention of the Eastern conqueror and his proceedings (41^{25b}), it was natural that in $42^{1ff.}$ the mind should turn to the divine organ which had been mentioned in 41^{8}, namely, Israel and *its* way of working' (*The Exiles' Book of Consolation*, p. 62).[2]

Professor Cobb feels himself that his interpretation of 41^{2} clashes with 46^{11}, where Jahweh says that He has called a vulture from the East, a man of His counsel (*i.e.* a confidant), from a distant land. Professor Cobb discovers here no mention of either Abraham or Cyrus. He takes the allusion to be to Sennacherib and the year 701. He recalls the exclamation, 'Ho Asshur! rod of mine anger,' etc. (Is 10^{5}). But is it the aim of the addresses in Is 40 ff. to threaten Israel, or was it the desire of the prophet to comfort his people? Seeing that the latter is the case, Sennacherib's commission to chastise Israel cannot be the subject of 46^{11}. The words of this verse must, on the contrary, refer to the hero who, according also to 41^{2}, was called from the East; and is not the task of this hero mentioned in the immediate vicinity of 46^{11}, namely, to bring about the fall of Babylon ($47^{1ff.}$)? It is self-evident, of course, that it is nothing to the point that Sennacherib *too* had to contend with Babylon, so that there is no value in Professor Cobb's quotation (p. 87) of Sennacherib's account of his war with Merodach-baladan.

A similar verdict must be pronounced upon the following attempt of Professor Cobb. He suggests the possibility that such characteristics of the godless portion of the community as meet us, *e.g.* in 57^{3-13a}, may be intended to describe the inhabitants of Ephraim, Manasseh, etc., who rejected with scorn Hezekiah's invitation to a joint celebration of the Passover (2 Ch 30^{10}). What avails it to admit this abstract possibility? Other

[1] This interpretation of 55^{11} will be found discussed in my work, *The Exiles' Book of Consolation* (1899), p. 92 f.

[2] It may be noted that my view of the servant of Jahweh is entirely approved of by the Swedish scholar Matheus Lundborg in his interesting work, *Begreppet Herrens Tjänare hos Andre-Esaias* (Lund, 1901), p. 101 ff.

scholars suggest another possibility. They hold that passages like $57^{3ff.}$ present pictures of the impenitent portion of the exiles, only that in the drawing of these the eye sometimes strayed back to the centuries that were past. This was natural, seeing that the Exile was the punishment for the former sins of Israel, and it actually happens in the Book of Ezekiel. The latter prophet also readily combines the view of the sins of his contemporaries with the view of the sins of their fathers (Ezk 2^{7b} 3^{7b} 13^{4} 19^{10} $20^{5ff.\ 30ff.}$).

In Professor Cobb's opinion, the weight of argument in favour of the exilic date of Is 40 ff., which is derived from the *form* of these chapters, is even smaller than that from their contents. 'What the negative critics forget is the Protean character of genius. Other things being equal, the greater the genius the wider the limits within which his style will disport itself.' These words are only the variation of an old theme, and even the appeal to the case of Goethe is not new. But any one who means to treat of the weakness of the argument which is drawn from the linguistic colouring of a literary product, will do well to distinguish carefully the groups of materials upon which this argument is based. The means of making a thorough acquaintance with the nature of this argument, I may add, are at the disposal of anyone who cares to study the special section I have devoted to this subject in my *Einleit. in d. A.T.* pp. 147–151.

Applying the principles there set forth to Is 40 ff., we find, *e.g.*, so frequent a word as the relative 'who' expressed in the Book of Isaiah only twice (42^{24} 43^{21}) by זוּ (*zû*). The pronominal forms 'to them' or 'to him' are reproduced only three or four times (43^{8} $44^{7.15}$, ? 53^{8}) by לָמוֹ (*lâmô*). The negative 'not' is expressed by בַּל (*bal*) in 40^{24} 43^{17} $44^{8f.}$ Note that אֶפֶס (*'éphes*), besides its single occurrence in 5^{8}, meets us other ten times in chaps. 40–54. The preposition 'according to' is expressed by כְּמוֹ (*kĕmô*) in 43^{2} $44^{16.19}$, and the preposition 'until' appears in the form עֲדֵי (*'ădê*) in 65^{18}. The conjunction 'also' or 'and' has its equivalent in אַף (*'aph*) in 40^{24} $41^{10.23.26}$ 42^{13} $43^{7.19}$ $44^{15f.19}$ $48^{12f.15}$. Further, I have noted such points as that the conjunction יַעַן כִּי (*ya'an kî*) occurs in 3^{16} 7^{5} 8^{6} 29^{13}, but the simple יַעַן (*ya'an*) in 61^{1} 65^{12} 66^{4}. Moreover, the interjectional use of חֲזֵה (*ḥăzê*), 'behold!' which recalls the Aram. preference for the verb חזה, may be noted, and not a few other phenomena might be added (cf. my *Einleit. in d. A.T.* p. 321 f.). Some of these, such as the writing of אוֹת (*'ôth*) for *'itt*, and מאוֹת for מאת (54^{15} 59^{21}), belong to the linguistic differences to which I have given the name 'successive.'

It is certainly hard to say why Isaiah, if he is the author of the whole book, should have changed so completely in his choice of such frequent words. I am not denying to any one freedom in his use of words. But it must be doubted whether an author in the exercise of this freedom would have resorted to change in so many of the components of his vocabulary, which, on account of their frequency, are wont to be employed unconsciously. Doubt as to the identity of the author grows when among the linguistic differences we find such as characterize a different stage in the development of the particular language.

Thus stands the matter in regard to the linguistic colouring of Is 40 ff., and this condition of things cannot be robbed of its argumentative value by general remarks on the possible variability of style.

Professor Cobb's hypothesis is set in a peculiar light by the circumstance that he connects it with the supposition that the name of Cyrus, in the two passages where it meets us in Is 40 ff. (44^{28} and 45^{1}), is a later interpolation (p. 90). The hazardous character of this conjecture is not removed by the fact that there are actually glosses in the O.T. Such explanatory notes recur with considerable frequency from Gn 2^{19b} (נפש חיה, cf. 1^{20a}) onwards. But the supposition that there is a gloss must be justified in each particular passage, and—which is the main point—the gloss embodies in any case a very ancient view of the meaning of the passage.—Now, can it be supposed that in the first of the above two passages the name of Cyrus is an interpolation? No, for the beginning of 44^{28} proceeds in quite normal fashion, nay, there must be a dative supplied to the words, 'that saith,' if the לכורש be removed. Hence there are only a very few exegetes, such as the Roman Catholic theologians, Henneberg and Schegg, who have decided on seeing in לכורש of 44^{28} an interpolation. I cannot associate myself with them. Somewhat different is the situation in 45^{1}. There nothing would be wanting as far as the external form is concerned, although לכורש

were removed. But in that verse the anointed of Jahweh is a hero called from without, for it is said, 'whom I have held by his right hand.' Consequently the expression 'to his anointed' would lack the closer definition it needs, were not the apposition, 'to Cyrus,' added. The view, moreover, that the two expressions, 'his anointed' (45^1) and 'my servant Jacob' ($v.^{4a}$) cover the same subject, has everything against it and nothing in its favour. All the features of $vv.^{1-3a}$ support the interpretation which finds in the hero mentioned there a non-Israelitish prince who was conducted by the living God of Israel to great political successes, and so received the commission to free the servant of Jahweh from captivity. There is no proclaiming here of 'a mission of Israel to Israel' (Cobb, p. 90).

Finally, the verdict that the last twenty-seven chapters of the Book of Isaiah were not written by the prophet of the year 701, cannot be shattered even by the ironical remarks of Professor Cobb on the rapid advance of critical theories (p. 96 f.). The false extremes of criticism cannot throw suspicion on its reasonable assumptions, which put forward nothing but what is based at once on material and formal indications.

New Gift and Reward Books.

Messrs. Nelson have published the following books for the Christmas and New Year season :—

In Fair Granada. By E. Everett-Green. 5s.
Held to Ransom. By F. B. Forester. 5s.
Jim's Sweethearts. By E. L. Haverfield. 2s. 6d.
Great Explorers. 2s.
Dickie. By Mrs. Hamilton Synge. 1s. 6d.
The Queen's Shilling. By Geraldine Glasgow. 1s.

Miss Everett-Green's *In Fair Granada* is a handsome volume of 450 pages, bound in blue and gold. It is one of her series of historical tales. It is a tale of Moors and Christians.

Held to Ransom is more modern and more literary. It cannot be said to be more stirring, for both are steeped in adventure. Its heroes and heroines, strange to say, are Spaniards also. It is bound in a paler blue, set off with æsthetic brown and black. Both books are illustrated, of course, but Miss Everett-Green's has the novel feature of two coloured illustrations.

Jim's Sweethearts are, of course, 'grown-ups'—mostly. For Jim is only seven. He is a brave, truthful little boy, and is often puzzled to find that though the truth tells twice it sometimes must not be told once. His mother enjoys a somewhat tearful responsibility in the upbringing of so manly a boy; but his friends at the Vicarage find all things in him to be loved.

The *Great Explorers* are Marco Polo, Christopher Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and nine more. Their story is told with much brevity, and the marvellous old illustrations, if seen by any ordinary boy, will speedily create an appetite for its wonderful narratives.

Dickie is a beautiful little circus-girl. She is beloved by an ill-tempered, high-spirited horse named 'Black Boy.' She alone can manage the horse, who, indeed, manages himself when she is with him. They have conquered a temper together, perhaps, for she too has had one. Their story is very pleasant, and there are many interesting circus people besides them.

The story of *The Queen's Shilling* we seem to know before we read it.

Besides these, Messrs. Nelson have published four picture books at 1s. each.

Messrs. Blackie & Son have published the following :—

With Roberts to Pretoria. By G. A. Henty. 6s.
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The Doctor's Niece. By Eliza F. Pollard. 3s. 6d.
In Quest of the Giant Sloth. By Dr. Gordon Stables. 3s. 6d.
The Boyhood of a Naturalist. By Fred Smith. 3s. 6d.

Mr. Henty's volumes, which lead this attractive list, both deal with camps and glory. Both are handsomely bound with olivine edges, the Boer war being in brilliant military red, the story of the first Afghan war in naval blue. They are not histories, though the history of both campaigns has, no doubt, been carefully studied for facts and incidents, and the countries themselves for local colour. They are stories, boys' stories. Both books, therefore, possess the double interest of public achievement and private concern. They are written in that vivid entrancing style which makes the readers of Mr. Henty's books hold their breath with excitement, and they are both characteristically illustrated.

The Dragon of Pekin, bound in green and red and yellow and gold, with olivine edges, is a tale of the Boxer revolt in China. If the war had not been going on in South Africa our boys would have known far more about that terrible revolt than they do. But stories like this will bring it home to them,—its wild extravagance, its heart-rending scenes of suffering, its heroic endurance even unto death.

In *The Doctor's Niece* we are at home again. At least we are nearer home. Its scene is France, its heroine

thoroughly French, and most pathetic and heroic. It is a story of home, and home is reached at last, though through much tribulation, and there is peace and rest.

Dr. Gordon Stables has had many adventures in his lifetime, but surely they are as nothing to those he has invented for his little heroes and heroines. *In Quest of the Giant Sloth* sends little boys and girls through the most wonderful experiences, but it does not matter what they set out to accomplish, they always accomplish it and come back smiling.

The Boyhood of a Naturalist is the most instructive of all Messrs. Blackie's books, yet it is without a dull page. We do not know who Fred Smith may be,—it is not the author's own name,—but he must have had a glorious boyhood, for it is his own boyhood he describes here, and he must surely have grown into a famous naturalist.

Woodland, Field, and Shore.

Mr. Oliver G. Pike has written a book which will delight the lovers of nature, and give them an interest in outdoor things even in winter. He has not only written it, but he has also most richly illustrated it, and the Religious Tract Society has given it the best possible paper and printing and binding, and reproduced two of the full-page illustrations in the best style of colour-printing. It costs 5s. net.

The Awakening of Anthony Weir.

This is Silas Hocking's new story. It was Anthony Weir's moral nature that was asleep, clergyman though he was. It was the touch of true love that awakened it, though his mother's prayers prepared the way. It was a true awakening and not too late for the duties of life though somewhat late for its enjoyments. (R.T.S., 3s. 6d.)

Heather's Mistress.

Heather and Bluebell were twin sisters who lived in the country with their grandmother and two old servants. The grandmother died, and Abigail the old faithful servant was much distressed when they were enticed to London and its gaieties. But they came back to their dear old 'mistress' in time; first Heather, Bluebell much later, after marriage and sorrow. The book is by Amy le Feuvre. (R.T.S., 3s. 6d.)

The Gold that Perisheth.

To say that *The Gold that Perisheth* is by David Lyall is to give it a circulation at once. It is a domestic tale, for there is both comedy and tragedy enough in most family circles to thrill us with. It is not the comical side of life however that this great writer is impressed by. Happiness is understood and well described, comicality is lost in the pathos of the things that men and women dare and endure. The tragedy is deep enough, and although the last chapter says 'All's well,' we know that much is lost that never can be found again. (R.T.S., 3s. 6d.)

An Artist's Walks in Bible Lands.

The Religious Tract Society has the honour of having published the finest book on Palestine, if not the finest book on travel, this season. It is the work, both pen and pencil, of the late Mr. H. A. Harper, who knew Palestine intimately, loved it, understood it, wrote about it, and sketched it. Reading this book and examining its artistic pictures they who never saw 'that goodly land' will learn to understand and love it. The publishers have produced a work fit to be laid beside the same author's *Walks in Palestine*, and higher praise of workmanship is scarcely possible.

Shires of England.

In the year 1897 the Bishop of London, the late Dr. Mandell Creighton, published a volume which he called *The Story of some English Shires*. It covered seventeen counties, and told their story both historically from the very earliest times till now, and also geographically from great city centre to open weald or down. The book has now been republished by the Religious Tract Society (8vo, pp. 384, 6s.), and contains an additional chapter on the county of Cambridge. This permanent library form of the book is most welcome. The information it contains may all be found somewhere else, but here it is related in a most unassuming manner, in a pleasant, continuous narrative, and with the most scrupulous accuracy of fact. Bishop Creighton's purpose seems to have been to leave on his reader's mind a general but distinct impression of each county's peculiarities. He has so succeeded that each county takes its characteristic place in the mind as clearly as it occupies its position on a coloured map.

The Story of Joseph.

Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton have published some simple chapters by the Rev. J. R. Miller, D.D., on the life of Joseph, with its application to modern lives (2s. 6d.). The book is very attractively printed, and will no doubt be one of the most popular Christmas presents.

Dr. Parker's Pulpit Bible.

Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton have published a handsome quarto edition of the Authorized Version under the title of *The Pulpit Bible*. It is edited by the Rev. Joseph Parker, D.D., minister of the City Temple. Dr. Parker writes a short preface which he calls 'My last Will and Testament.' He also contributes brief homiletical notes to almost every verse throughout the Bible. These notes are printed in small type on the margins, right opposite the verse they annotate. They form the distinctive feature of the *Pulpit Bible*.

The notes we say are homiletical. This must be understood or the work will be utterly misjudged. They explain no obscurity of allusion, they identify no sites, they suggest no new translations. Their sole intention is to 'improve' the statement of each verse, that is to say, to state its

religious meaning, or at least to suggest some religious purpose to which it may be turned.

Now Dr. Parker is a remarkably clever man, and this is the line of his greatest cleverness. But the striking thing about these homiletical notes is that he has schooled himself not to say clever things, in order that he might say things that would be useful to young preachers.

But here is an example. Let us choose the passage (Gn 19^{12-21}, occupying one column of the book) which describes the visit of the angels to Lot in Sodom.

Verse 13—The ministry of destruction. Fire succeeds water. Disregarded voices,—experience, revelation, testimony.

Verse 14—The preacher has often been mistaken for a mocker.

Verse 16—Angel-driven! Expulsion may mean salvation! God writing His signature in capitals!

Verse 17—Do not make a pastime of deliverance! Flee! Be energetic! Lose not a moment!

Verse 18—The prayers of ignorance! We offer them to-day.

Verse 19—Cities preferred to mountains. Divine mercy stooping to human weakness. Judgment waiting.

Verse 20—Where God can accommodate man He will.

Verse 21—God sometimes yields to man. It is an error to oppose human desire to divine judgment.

Notable Masters of Men.

There is an idea at present that the doctrine of self-help has been pressed too far. Nevertheless, we should read and heartily recommend another such book if another Samuel Smiles would arise and write it. Mr. Edward Pratt's *Notable Masters of Men* comes very near it. The story of the successful men whose lives it relates and portraits it presents is undoubtedly made inspiring and enobling, for it is clearly shown that their nobility did not lie in the love or acquisition of money. It is a well-bound, handsome prize or present. (Melrose, 3s. 6d.)

Boys of Our Empire.

The problem for an editor of juvenile literature is how to combine interest and edification. It is one of the most difficult problems of our day. But the issues at stake are so tremendous that it is worth all the determination and patience which it involves. A year ago *The Boys of Our Empire* was started with this commendable purpose clearly before the mind of its publisher, Mr. Andrew Melrose. The year's numbers make a heavy handsome volume. Its title has been well chosen and never forgotten. It is a book for British boys. Every week introduces a new champion in some British sport, every week has its stories of adventure and its obvious jokes, and every week excludes everything that sensitive parent or suspicious guardian might disapprove of.

The Sunday School Union has published:—

Into Stormy Waters. By Mrs. Henry Clarke. 1s. 6d.
The Captain's Flags. By W. E. Cule. 1s. 6d.
Catharine of Siena. By Florence Witts. 1s.
Stories from the Pilgrim's Progress. 1s.
The New Playfellow. By Gertrude E. M. Vaughan 1s.
Marley's Boy. By Jennie Chappell. 9d.
Geordie's Victory. By Margaret S. Haycraft. 9d.

Into Stormy Waters is a girl's story, *The Captain's Flags* a boy's. The first is a story of the home, the second of the school. Both are very pleasantly written with wholesome purpose, and suitably illustrated. The *Story of Catharine of Siena*, and the *Stories from the Pilgrim's Progress* are also well illustrated, the illustrations in the latter being sometimes quaint and original. *The New Playfellow* belongs to the 'Red Nursery' Series. The illustrations this time are so charming that their author must be named, Florence Meyerheim. *Marley's Boy* and *Geordie's Victory* are excellent prizes for the younger pupils.

The Animals of the Bible.

Mr. Gambier Bolton has written an account of some of the leading animals of the Bible, and illustrated it by photographs from life. He does not say that he went to Palestine to find the living animals, some of them indeed are not to be found there now, but that does not matter. The little book, which is published by Messrs. Newnes at 1s. 6d., is both entertaining and useful.

Times of Retirement.

Messrs. Nisbet, in a beautiful Christmas volume, have published a series of devotional papers which Dr. Matheson recently contributed to *St. Andrew* (3s. 6d.). They are very short, but they are as thoughtful and thought-suggesting as anything Dr. Matheson has written. And Dr. Matheson alone is able to rescue our generation from the charge of inability to write devotional literature that will last.

The Wide World Magazine.

The seventh volume of the *Wide World Magazine* contains its issues from April to September (Newnes, 6s. 6d.). Its leading feature is Conan Doyle's History of the great Boer war, of which it contains nine graphic chapters, illustrated by maps and photographs. But every page palpitates with thrilling narrative and amazing illustration. There is no need for adventurous youth to risk life or limb in war or wild beast chase, the utmost possible excitement of either can be had at the fireside, by some good uncle simply presenting a copy of this volume of the *Wide World Magazine*.

Bergen Worth.

A strong American story—strong in character and strong in incident. It is love that brings out manliness, and other deep passions are disclosed. But perhaps the keenest interest in the book arises from the part played by the men and things of God. It is not a religious novel, but religion is in it, religious sentiment and religious practice. Bergen Worth is a hero to be remembered. Wallace Lloyd's next book will be looked for. The publisher is Mr. Fisher Unwin.

Contributions and Comments.

Christ and the Woman of Canaan.

MATTHEW XV. 21–28.

IT may be that in considering this narrative of the woman of Canaan, sufficient attention has not been given to the fact of her addressing our Lord as 'son of David.' This is the Gospel of St. Matthew we must remember, who was writing specially for Jews, and was concerned to exhibit Jesus as the Jewish Messiah. He would naturally be tender with Jewish prejudices, so far as possible, and he would be glad to show Jesus as tender with those prejudices also. For they were not entirely prejudices. God's election of the Jews was a great historical fact; and as God does nothing lightly, so 'He abideth faithful: He cannot deny Himself.' Their position of privilege was a reality, and it had not been forfeited yet. They had claims upon Him such as no other people could prefer; they stood in a unique relation to Him still. Had Jesus slighted those claims and ignored that relation, the Jews might justly have resented it, but He did nothing of the sort. As here in the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, so in Samaria (Jn 4^{22}), He is loyal to the Jews' prerogative.

Now what do we notice about this Canaanitish woman? She addresses Him as the 'son of David.' This can hardly have been accidental; it must have been done with a motive. Did she think to commend herself to Him by this mode of address? Was it done to curry favour? Was it the least bit insincere? Did it amount to something like an attempt to sail under false colours? for she was using a title which meant nothing for her, taking up ground in her approaches to Him to which she really had no right. If this was so, it may partly account for our Lord's seeming harshness in so dealing with her that she might be led to rest her suit upon a truer ground. Those words of His that follow: 'I am not sent, but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel,' are easily explained by restricting the reference to His own personal ministry, but as overheard by the woman they would bring home to her her mistake in addressing Him as the son of David. That title meant something; it was no mere title of courtesy; and in all their approaches to Him, He would have people to be absolutely real. Witness His reply to the young ruler's appeal, 'Good Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?' there was something not quite genuine in the young man's standpoint evidently. Even so, perhaps, in the case of this woman. At all events, it was as 'son of David' that He belonged quite specially to the Jews, and, in choosing to address Him so, whatever her motive may have been, she had herself emphasized the fact that she had no claim upon Him. The woman sees her mistake, she stands corrected, but she will not therefore abandon hope; to be corrected is to be put in the way of doing better; and she does better when hereupon she falls at His feet, and simply begs, 'Lord, help me,' her only claim her need, her only hope His mercy. So now the interest of the situation, and what shall make it instructive for all time, has resolved itself into the question, Will she really be able to accept this position unreservedly, as one who has no claim, nothing to commend herself by at all? Jesus will put it to the proof; He will try her by a severe utterance from the strictest Jewish point of view; He will hold her for a moment at that extreme distance which a Pharisee might have done. If from that distance she can still plead, if from that level she can be seen prevailing, what a door of mercy will thus be found opened for all these *dogs of Gentiles!* She will be pleading and winning her cause, not for herself alone, but for them all. She is like their representative. Taken at the Jews' own valuation, they shall, by the mouth of this woman, put in their plea; and as it fares with her shall it be known how it may fare with them. 'He answered and said, It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to dogs.' Most suppliants would have been silenced by receiving an answer like that. But Jesus knew the faith that was in this woman; otherwise one feels certain that He would not have spoken as He did; and the high honour He had in view for her was that she should be the one to draw out of these very words, which were only borrowed words as Jesus used them, a ground of hope for

all who pass among their fellow-men as outcast and despised. The Jewish setting of this incident is accidental. The abiding lessons seem to be two: (1) Let the world put upon us the lowest valuation that it will, Jesus will not reject us, whatever that valuation be. (2) Only there must be no coming before Him pretending to be other and better than we are. As candidates for grace, the lowest valuation we can set upon ourselves is not likely to be too low.

F. G. Cholmondeley.

Leek Wootton Vicarage, Warwick.

Galatians vi. 9.

'Let us not be weary (μὴ ἐγκακῶμεν) in well-doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not (μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι).'

The commentators are careful to emphasize at greater or less length the distinction between these words; and even the ordinary New Testament reader cannot fail to observe the change from 'let us not *be weary*' to '*faint* not.' The distinction is, of course, no idle one, and merits a few words. The ordinary reader observes that the apostle uses two different terms to express what, at first flush, seems to be the same thing; St. Paul speaks first of 'being weary,' and then of 'fainting.' But the two terms are by no means identical in meaning, and the subtle mind of the apostle perceives at once the contrast and the connexion between the two. The exhortation, '*let us not be weary*,' means, and indeed might be more fittingly translated, 'Let us not *lose heart*'; the reference is more particularly to our attitude of mind, to our feelings. The condition, '*if we faint not*,' refers to our actions, and means, 'if we do not *entirely desist, absolutely stop*.' That is to say, there is in the two phrases all the difference between the *feeling of care-nothing* and the *state of do-nothing*. Of course the one is very apt to lead to the other: if we care naught, we are apt to do naught; and that is just why the apostle writes as he does. 'Let us not lose heart': he frames his exhortation with reference to the *cause*, not with reference to the *effect*, for the cause is at once more common in its occurrence and more subtle in its influence. And a further helpful thought is suggested by this. The 'reaping'—the result we desire and aim at—depends on our *actions*, on our 'not-fainting'; it does not depend on our *feelings*, whether of despondency or of hopefulness. Let us be never so downcast and hopeless as to the issue, still if we persist in our labours, the reward shall be ultimately ours.

Harry Smith.

Tibbermore Manse, Perth.

Luke i. 3.

It seems worth while to point out how early the question whether πᾶσιν, in the sentence, παρηκολουθηκότι πᾶσιν ἄνωθεν ἀκριβῶς, was *masculine* or *neuter*, was answered in the opposite direction.

The first who took it as masculine seems to have been Justin the Martyr (about 150), when he speaks of ὑπομνήματα written by apostles of Christ and *those who followed them*, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων (*Dial.* 103). For he alludes here, apparently, to the Gospels of Matthew and John as written by apostles, and those of Mark and Luke as coming from followers of the apostles.

The same construction is maintained by Eusebius, when he writes on Luke (*H.E.* iii. 4, 7): τὰ πλεῖστα συγγεγονὼς τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς δὲ οὐ παρέργως τῶν ἀποστόλων ὡμιληκώς, 'He lived mostly with Paul, but conversed also more than occasionally with the other apostles, receiving from them the art of medical treatment of souls (ψυχῶν θεραπευτικῆς), traces of which he left in two divinely inspired books (ἐν δυσὶν . . . θεοπνεύστοις . . . βιβλίοις) in the Gospel, which he testifies to have written, as delivered unto us by those who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, *with whom all*, he says, *he followed from the beginning*, (οἷς καί, φησίν, ἐπάνωθεν ἅπασι παρηκολουθηκέναι), and in the Acts,' etc.

A third ancient authority for this view is Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 51. 7. Like Eusebius, who expressly calls the books of Luke divinely inspired, he emphasizes that the Holy Ghost induced Luke to write his Gospel (ἀναγκάζει τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ ἐπινύττει τὸν ἅγιον Λουκᾶν), 'who introduces in proof of truth as witnesses the ministers of the Word . . . and says: It seemed good to me, after I followed in order from the first them who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, to write unto thee (ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν τοῖς αὐτόπταις καὶ ὑπηρέταις τοῦ λόγου γενομένοις).'

The same view is taken by Euthalius (ed.

Zacagni, 421), and, perhaps, also by Papias and Clement of Alexandria, when they used the same word, while speaking of the Gospel of Mark: Papias, that he did not *follow* Christ, but later Peter, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ ὕστερον δὲ . . . Πέτρῳ; Clement, that the Roman Christians asked him *as follower* of Peter to write his Gospel, παρακαλέσαι τὸν Μᾶρκον ὡσὰν ἀκολουθήσαντα αὐτῷ πόρρωθεν καὶ μεμνημένον τῶν λεχθέντων ἀναγράψαι τὰ εἰρημένα.

It seems, further, to be found in the Latin *Prologus* to the Third Gospel, where Luke is designated as *discipulus apostolorum, postea* (*vero*) *Paulum secutus.* The Latin version of the text, 'adsecuto a principio om*nibus*,' is ambiguous; but the verb (*assequi*) favours the *neuter*, and some MSS of the Old Latin and of the Vulgate, and the printed editions of the latter, put om*nia*.

Grammatically it is possible to take πᾶσιν as masculine; but the connexion excludes this view, and it is strange that it found so much favour in the oldest times, and even later, after the explanation as *neuter* had been put forward. The first certain trace of the latter explanation I find in the Syriac palimpsest from Sinai, 'When I had examined all these things from the beginning,' דבחרת אנין כלהין מן ריש. The same sense is given as that of the *Peshito* in the *Literal Translation from the Syriac Peshitto Version*, by James Murdock (sixth edition, Boston and London, 1893), 'as they delivered *them* to us . . . as I had examined *them* all accurately.' But when we turn to the Peshito text itself, we find that it runs quite differently: מטול דקריב הוית יציפאית לכלהון, *i.e.* 'because I was *near* carefully to all of them.' It is curious to ask how Murdock came to anticipate in his translation the reading of the Sinai Codex by more than forty years. With the Peshito seems to agree, again, the later Syriac version, the so-called Philoxeniana, as edited by White. It is true White translated: 'Qui assecutus sum alte om*nia* diligenter,' but the text has דאתנקפת מן לעל לכלהון חתיאית, and must be translated, 'having followed from above *all* carefully'; כלהון is masculine, the neuter πᾶσιν is rendered in this translation by כלהין; see, for instance, Lk 2^{20} $3^{19.20}$.

It is not necessary to quote other witnesses; only one word about the *Gothic* version, in which 'allaim' is again ambiguous; it may be neuter or masculine. This version agrees with a few Latin MSS (b g of the Old Latin, and B G O of the Vulgate) in the gloss: 'visum est mihi et *spiritui sancto*.' Did this gloss enter from the Latin into the Gothic, or from the Gothic into the Latin, or is there any trace of it already in Greek sources? See above on Eusebius and Epiphanius.

EB. NESTLE.

Maulbronn.

St. John's Gospel and the Logos.[1]

A VERY interesting contribution from the pen of Professor Jannaris has lately appeared, on the interpretation of the prologue to St. John's Gospel, which deserves careful consideration. The author approaches his subject from a standpoint different from that of most students of the Gospel; and as few things throw so much light on a well-worn study as a new point of view, this advantage should be borne in mind.

A Greek himself, Professor Jannaris knew colloquial Greek as a living tongue in the first instance, and became a classical scholar in the second; and his principal publication is meant to show the unity of the Greek language from the most ancient times to our own.[2] Being then a master of the classical and the modern colloquial language equally, and having traced the stages by which the one has given place to the other, he has singular opportunity for reading the Greek of the New Testament, which is intermediate, with all the light that can be thrown on it from either side. 'Some years since,' he says, 'I was struck by the frequency in New Testament Greek of what I should call editorial misreadings and misrenderings. . . . As it appears in our printed editions, alike Received and critical, the New Testament is perhaps the worst edited of all ancient texts.' Professor Jannaris finds in the opening of St. John's Gospel a notable instance of this; and his paper is to show how the passage ought to be read. He says: 'My object here is not the ambitious task of investigating or even reviewing the Logos doctrine in its wide and post-apostolic history, nor shall I embark on philosophical and theological speculation. My research will be con-

[1] *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft una die Kunde des Urchristentums.* Giessen: J. Ricker. By A. N. Jannaris.

[2] *An Historical Greek Grammar, chiefly of the Attic dialect as written and spoken, from classical antiquity down to present times.* London, 1897.

fined within the N.T., or rather to the Johannine writings, and the method I shall adopt is that of a purely philosophical, *i.e.* grammatical and historical study.'

In the interpretation which he finally reaches, Professor Jannaris innovates in two respects; first in the meaning of the term λόγος, and secondly in the punctuation and connexion of the text. He assumes indeed the Received Text throughout the fourteen opening verses, which alone he discusses (save in a triviality of spelling), but his division of the clauses presents several changes.

First the usual meanings of λόγος are discussed. From the two senses of λέγω—'say' and 'tell'—those of a saying or message, and of an injunction or command, are immediately derived. To these are added two other uses, namely, that of articulate thought, or reason, and that of an equivalent for the Aramaic *memra* when coupled with a possessive in which it is virtually merged, *e.g.* 'the Name of God,' which may be simply a paraphrase of 'God.' These are regarded as the only distinct meanings which λόγος bears in the N.T. generally, while even of these the third is absent from the Gospels. One would have thought that the meaning of a 'reckoning' or 'account,' which the word often has in the N.T., ought at all events to be added. However, Professor Jannaris considers none of these senses applicable to the opening of St. John, so a full enumeration is unimportant.

Next the question is considered when the term λόγος first appears in post-biblical writers 'as the personal or anthropomorphic Logos, as the Incarnate Son of God.' The form of the question is curious, as Christian writers have not identified the Logos with the Son of God only when Incarnate: but that is perhaps a slip. The answer given is that it first emerges in the middle of the second century; and the Logos doctrine seems to have gained currency only at the end of that century. This meaning is therefore set aside also as inapplicable in St. John. Professor Jannaris very truly observes that the introduction of the term ὁ λόγος (with the article) in the opening sentence of the Gospel,—and that with no preparation or subsequent explanation,—implies that the author used it in some well-known sense; and this is confirmed by the fact that he never reverts to its use afterwards, as he certainly would have done, had he been impressing some new meaning upon a term selected for a position of such prominence.

What then can be meant by this Logos—*the* Logos—which the writer assumes will be familiar to all? 'It can only be the well-known λόγος, "der Spruch," the dictum or deliverance with which the Book of Genesis opens: God *said* (εἶπεν ὁ Θεός), the utterance (λόγος) or *Spruch*, by which God created the world, by the repetition (nine times!) of which utterance all things came into being (ἐγένετο) one after another, and without which not a thing came into being. . . . In beginning the life of Christ, St. John very naturally and fittingly thinks of the beginning of the world, and so opens or prefaces his narrative with the account of the creation in Genesis. 'God said, Let there be light, and there was light.' . . . Conceiving Christ as the 'true Light,' then, John very naturally connects him with the account in Genesis where the *light* marks the first divine step.'

It is one merit in this interpretation, as Professor Jannaris rightly points out, that it 'accounts for the coincidence—the unmistakable coincidence—regarding the use of the term λόγος both in St. John and Philo. For without necessarily copying or knowing each other, both writers refer to the same well-known work of God recorded in the well-known opening lines of Genesis.'[1] And quotations from the writings of Philo go to show that the resemblances and differences between these and the prologue of St. John's Gospel, in the use of the term λόγος, are alike consistent with its adoption by both from the story of the creation.

Notwithstanding the limits that Professor Jannaris set himself at the beginning of his paper, he adds a few paragraphs to show how the λόγος used by St. John in this simple sense might easily, and did in fact, become the basis of the theological teaching which subsequently identified the Logos with the son of God. This he attributes to the need felt by men who were Hellenic philosophers before they became Christians, for bringing their new faith into touch with their philosophic habits and convictions, and presenting it to others who

[1] Cf. Bigg's *Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, p. 18, where after quoting from the *De Agric.* a passage on the λόγος, Professor Bigg remarks, 'Here Philo is thinking, not of Wisdom, but of the mighty "God said" of the Book of Genesis.'

were not yet believers, in a form suited to speculative minds. No doubt if the reading of St. John's prologue on these lines be accepted, the history of the Logos doctrine must be explained in such a way.

A further point must be added if Professor Jannaris' view is to be presented completely. Where λόγος occurs in v.[14], it is not taken in the same sense. Twelve verses intervene between its previous mention and this point, and these contain many ideas weighty enough to carry the mind forward, and so to make a direct resumption in v.[14] far from the only possible way of reading it. The natural reference, in the opinion of Professor Jannaris, for καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο is to the ἐξουσία of the sentence preceding, this word being understood in the sense of 'commandment,' which it often bears. The charge given to believers to become God's children is conceived as becoming embodied in us (ἐν ἡμῖν) Christians, and so as 'becoming flesh.' If Professor Jannaris' translation of the whole passage be given, no difficulty will be found in seeing both how he punctuates the text in a new way, and how he gives effect to these corrections in the translation of the principal term in dispute:—

V.[1] In the beginning was the utterance. Now the utterance was made unto God, and was a god. This [2]utterance was in the beginning made unto God. [3]All things came into being through it, and without it not a thing came into being. That which is come into being, [4]therein was life and the life was the light of mankind. [5]And the light is shining in the darkness and the darkness hath not overtaken it.

[6]There appeared a man sent from God: his name was John. [7]The same came for declaration (to declare things concerning the Light), so that all may become believers through him. [8]He was not the Light, but was (came) to declare *things* concerning the Light. [9]The true Light that illuminateth every man coming into the world [10]was in the world, and the world came into being through him, and *yet* the world recognized Him not. [11]He came into His own home and his own people received him not. [12]But as many as received him, to them gave he authority to become God's children for those which believe in his name; [13]which were born not through bloodshed nor through the will of the flesh nor through the will of man, but from God. [14]And the mandate became flesh and lodged in us, and *so* we beheld his (the Light's) glory.

It will probably be felt that some parts of the views which Professor Jannaris thus puts forth are more convincing than others. To deal with a minor issue first, most readers will perhaps demur to treating λόγος in v.[14] as quite unconnected with the same term where it occurs in v.[1]. Nor is it easy to see how the charge to become God's children could be said to 'become flesh, or even to 'lodge in us.' For myself I should say that this interpretation was forced, and resulted in no really intelligible sense. But it does not stand or fall with Professor Jannaris' main contention that λόγος in v.[1] means the creative word of God recorded in the opening of Genesis. In this there is much to attract. It puts to rest once for all the difficulties that have always been felt at finding here, and here only in the Johannine writings, the language of speculative theology, which not only is characteristic of a later generation, but has besides more affinity with the philosophy of the schools than with the profound simplicity and the Hebrew cast of mind so noticeable elsewhere in St. John's writings. Of course the acceptance of this interpretation no more involves the denial of the later-developed doctrine concerning Christ as the Logos of God than the rejection of 1 Jn 5[7] (in the Received Text) implies denial of the doctrine of the Trinity, or the reading of ὅς instead of Θεὸς in 1 Ti 3[16] implies the rejection of the doctrine of the Incarnation. But it would at once cut away the strongest ground on which attacks upon the authenticity of the Gospel have been based; and it would bring the opening verses into complete accord with the rest of the Gospel, inasmuch as the ideas there expressed would be found simple, profound, and deeply Hebraic, as elsewhere.

True this does not remove all difficulties. Whether one places the stop after καὶ Θεὸς ἦν, treating this as a clause complete (as Professor Jannaris does), or after the following ὁ λόγος (which is the customary punctuation), or after the οὗτος following (which is perhaps the best division), it remains a difficulty that the word which God uttered in creation should be identified with God who uttered it. I am disposed to take this clause as intended to exclude the false idea that the utterance once made had a power of itself, and to guard the truth that God, and God alone, was the source and origin of created things. Just as the later Brahmans taught that even the gods themselves attained their ends and became what they were by means of sacrifice,[1] thus giving to sacrifice an independent existence and magical

[1] *E.g. Satapatha Brâhmana*, 1. 6. 2. 1.; 1. 5. 2. 6.

virtue quite inconsistent with its essential character as an act of relation between man and God, so in an age when magic was still professed and commanded respect the apostle guarded against such 'idols' by affirming that 'The word was with God; and God was this word; it was in the beginning with God.' A further difficulty remains in the latter part of v.[3]. It is far from clear what Professor Jannaris understands by the clause, 'That which is come into being, therein was life,' etc. Does he mean 'Life was in what came into being,' or does he mean, 'What came into being was life in the word'? I am disposed to accept the second alternative, treating 'was life' as again a Hebraism for 'lived' in correspondence with ἐγένετο above, just as ἐν αὐτῷ corresponds with δι' αὐτοῦ.[1]

Despite these difficulties of detail—from some of which no interpretation yet propounded is free—the main point of Professor Jannaris' rendering commends itself. The case for reading λόγος as the creative word which summoned all things into being, as Genesis records, appears to me even stronger than Professor Jannaris has shown, when taken in the same sense in v.[14], with due attention given to the analogy drawn out in vv.[1-5] on the one hand, and vv.[6-14] on the other. The fundamental ideas in St. John's mind are those which he expresses somewhat differently in 1 Jn 1[1-5] 2[7,8]. He had himself witnessed a new creation. A 'word of Life' had once more been uttered by God, and it was the apostle's duty to declare the Life, the Eternal Life, which was with (πρὸς) the Father, and was manifested. It was no novelty—this creative command—and yet it was a new word of power. Light was its first effect in the beginning of all things, and yet the light did not banish the darkness. Now again the word of God was uttered, and again the same effect; so that at last 'the darkness is passing away, and the true Light is already shining.' This teaching is drawn out, with of course difference of form and phrase, in the prologue to the Gospel, but in complete harmony with the Epistle. 'In the beginning was the creative word. Through it God, and God alone, called all things into being. All that was made became alive in it. And this life was light for men. Yet a light that left darkness surrounding, unable to quench the light, but never scattered by it. Then God's word was heard again: the word of the Lord came unto John, who was sent to declare the Light which was Life for men. And once more the true Light was found not to banish the darkness at once; for when in the world the world did not recognize Him,—no, not even His own did so. Yet those that were truly His own—who received Him and believed on His Name—were given the power of a new life, an eternal life, so that they might become sons of God. By no natural birth must they become such, but being begotten of God. So God's word became flesh—took human form—and dwelt in our midst; and we beheld the glory which shone forth on this new utterance, "Let Light be,"—glory as of an only Son from a Father's side, full of grace and truth.'

It is hard to say whether the more suitable pronoun in reference to the true Light is 'He' or 'it.' In any case, the thought is wholly fixed on Jesus Christ; but, except in the clause 'became flesh,' the *form* of the thought is not personal, the Lord being conceived as the Light. Perhaps more justice would be done to the metaphor—which yet is more than metaphor, for 'this is the message which we have heard from Him and announce unto you, that God is Light,'—if the less personal pronoun were employed. But the whole thought is so intensely personal at bottom, that one can hardly deem this adequate.

The connecting link between ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο and the previous ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος . . . πάντα δι' αὐτὸν ἐγένετο is thus found in v.[6], which is but another way of expressing the established O.T. phrase, 'The word of the Lord came unto John.'[2] And the whole of the prologue answers to, and is interpreted by, the ideas embodied in St. John's

[1] Parallels are not uncommon; *e.g.* Jn 6[63] 14[6], where the sense is probably 'I am the Way; the true and living Way.'

[2] ἐγένετο λόγος Κυρίου πρὸς . . . is a common form.

First Epistle, whose very phrases continually aid its exposition. As one last illustration of this I may add that the key to the understanding of ἐξ αἱμάτων is certainly to be found in 1 Jn 3^9, and Professor Jannaris' translation 'bloodshed' is without doubt a mistake. E. P. Boys-Smith.

Hordle Vicarage.

ʿAzeḳa: A Supplementary Note.

When I wrote my note on ʿAzeḳa, published in last month's issue (p. 95 f.), I was unaware that the wish I then expressed for a speedy publication of the Inscription 82–3–23, 131 had been realized half a year ago. Hugo Winckler, whom we have to thank for making us acquainted with so many new historical texts, gave to the public a transcription and translation of the above inscription in his *Altorient. Forschungen*, zweite Reihe, iii. 2 (Leipzig, 1901), i. p. 570 ff., under the title 'Bruchstücke von Keilschrifttexten,' No. 18. The inscription belongs, according to Winckler, to Sargon (cf. the expedition of the latter to Ashdod), and runs as follows:—

2. . . . . to my land . . . . . .
. . . . . of Assur, my lord, a district (*nagû*) . . .
. . . . . the city *A-za-ḳa-a*, his garrison town (*bît tuklâti-šu*), which between . . .
5. . . . a high . . . a mountain peak, was situated, like the sheath of an iron dagger . . .
. . . and rivalled each other the peaked mountains . .
. . . in bringing siege instruments (*arammê*) . . . . .
[The approach] of my horses saw they and the tumult of my troops [heard they]
. . . . . I captured and plundered . . .
10. . . . . of a royal [city] of the *Philistines* . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . huge . . . unblemished oxen [I offered?]
. . . . . of the palace, like a mountain before them . .
. . . then rose not up for him his sun-god, at the [drying up] of his water,
15. [while he . . .] hewed with axes, a trench round about
. . . . . men skilled in war he brought in . . . . .
. . . . . the troops of Martu, all of them . . . he,
. . . [summoned I] against them, with seven times sixty (=420) . . .
. . . . . who from within [made a sally, I fought?].

Strangely enough Winckler has not recognized the identity of this city Azaḳa, situated in the hill-country, with the O.T. ʿAzeḳa, holding as he does that from line 10 onwards a fresh campaign is spoken of. 'The name of his[1] strong castle, Azaḳa, is unknown elsewhere' (Winckler, p. 572). But, in spite of the fragmentary character of the text, it is quite clear that we have to do with *one and the same* war of the Assyrian king; and indeed, as far as I can see, it may be just as well an episode in the Judæo-Philistine campaign of *Sennacherib*, a point which it may be left to others, with the aid of his inscriptions, to discuss further. ʿAzeḳa lay on the route from Jerusalem to Philistia, and a glance at the map shows abundantly the mountainous character of this region.

We have now a double interest in what the O.T. tells us about ʿAzeḳa. In Jos $10^{10f.}$ we read that the Amorites were pursued by Joshua from Gibeon up to Beth-horon, and thence to ʿAzeḳa and Maḳḳeda. In 1 S 17^1 the Philistines assemble their host at Socho, and encamp at Ephes Dammîm, between Socho and ʿAzeḳa. According to 2 Ch 11^9 Rehoboam re-fortified a number of cities in Judah and Benjamin, and among them Socho, Lachish, ʿAzeḳa, and Ẓorʿa. In Jer 34^7 it is said that Lachish and ʿAzeḳa alone were left of the fortified cities of Judah, on the advance of Nebuchadrezzar. And, finally, in the post-exilic period, ʿAzeḳa is once more (Neh 11^{30}) named immediately after Lachish, among the settlements of the returned exiles. ʿAzeḳa must thus from ancient times, from the period of the Judges until after the Exile, have been an important mountain fortress; and that it gave trouble to the Assyrians in their Philistine wars, we learn from the inscription quoted above.

Fritz Hommel.

Munich.

[1] *I.e.* of the unknown rebel in his mountain fastnesses.

Printed by Morrison & Gibb Limited, Tanfield Works, and Published by T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, Edinburgh. It is requested that all literary communications be addressed to The Editor, St. Cyrus, N.B.

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

In his *Life of the Master* (Hodder & Stoughton, 25s. net), Dr. Watson seems to say that the brethren of Jesus were sons of Joseph by an earlier wife than Mary. That they were sons of Mary he cannot receive. They impress him as older, not younger, men than Jesus. And he thinks that if they had been Mary's sons Jesus would have committed her to their keeping, and not to John's.

He thinks they were sons of an earlier and less spiritual wife than Mary. For then he can understand 'their unbelief in this younger brother with His unworldly ideas and divine aspirations.' Then also he can understand something of what Jesus must have suffered in the Nazareth home during His early years. The misunderstanding and the criticism of His elder half-brothers must have been hard to bear—an early cross laid on His shoulders, and a heavy one. But at least, thinks Dr. Watson, it prepared Him for the gauntlet of Pharisaic faultfinding and slander.

'When Christ says, Resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also—it is an overstatement, made for the sake of emphasis.' So says Mr. W. J. Dawson, in his new life of Christ, to which he has given the title of *The Man Christ Jesus* (Grant Richards, 10s. 6d.)

He calls Christ's law of revenge an overstatement, made for the sake of emphasis. Surely he himself is guilty of a misstatement in doing so. An overstatement for the sake of emphasis—is that not simply an untruth? And if Christ was capable of an overstatement, was He also capable of an understatement? And are not these things the cause of half the bitterness in this world?

> 'For a lie which is all a lie may be met and fought with outright,
> But a lie which is part a truth is a harder matter to fight.'

'These enigmatic sayings inculcate a certain spirit and temper; they do not lay down a literal law of conduct.' That is on the same page, but that is different. That means, that in saying 'Whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also,' our Lord lays down a general law and does not state a particular example. It was the way in which this greatest Lawgiver gave His laws. It was the way His greatest countrymen gave them, and His hearers were so familiar with the way that they did not misunderstand it.

We misunderstand it because we are Western

and not parabolic. When Jesus said the mustard was the least of all seeds, we go and weigh it with other seeds, so prosaic and Western are we. And when He said, 'Whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also,' we wonder how it can be done, and call it an overstatement. It must be done and always done, else what do we more than others? It must be done and always done, else how can we be perfect as our Father which is in heaven is perfect? But how it is to be done depends on circumstances. I turn the other also to-day; to-morrow I do not. To-day you turn the other also, and I do not. It depends on circumstances.

How fares it with the Gospel after recent criticism? The Gospels we have, and after all is said against them they will be there, the wonder of our youth, the strength of our manhood, the comfort of our declining years. But the Gospel is greater and more vital than the Gospels. It is also more difficult to hold. The Gospels might remain, and we might read 'I am the true vine and My Father is the husbandman' with the old tremor, even after the Fourth Gospel has been proved to be the work of the Presbyter. But the Gospel wherein we stand, by which also we are saved—it means that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures—it is not like the Gospels, it is unseen, unhandled, it is miraculous. How fares it with the Gospel after recent criticism?

When you ask the question, recent criticism looks up in wonder. It has not touched the Gospel, it is with the Gospels that it has had to do. It has shown, or tried to show, that the Gospels are unhistoric. But it vehemently protests that it has only shorn the Gospel of its husks and hindrances, and left it better than ever it was.

But the husks are the miracles. They include the resurrection from the dead. They include the living, present Christ. The Gospel that is left is not the Gospel as we have received it. It may be as attractive as they call it, but it is not the Gospel wherein we stand.

They know that. They may call it a better Gospel; they know it is not the same. They know that the essential thing in the old Gospel is the miraculous. And they know that they are changing the Gospel completely, for it is just the miraculous that they assail.

We sometimes blame them for assailing the credibility of the Gospels. They are quite entitled to do that. If they think that the Gospels are incredible, or if they think that anything they contain is incredible, they are quite entitled to say so and try to prove it. Surely we are not afraid of the truth. Surely we do not want to hinder the search for it. But when they assail the credibility of the Gospels, they do so as a means towards an end. The end is the elimination of the miraculous. And we have a right to protest if *before they have begun to examine the Gospels* they have decided that the miraculous has no business to be there.

Did you hear that they rejected the miraculous because they knew that miracles were impossible? None of them say that. Schmiedel says the contrary. I am not going, he says, 'to start from any such postulate or axiom as that miracles are impossible.' Dr. Percy Gardner does say that 'miracles would form exceptions to that great law of the Conservation of Energy which men of science regard as holding in all parts of the physical universe.' But Dr. Percy Gardner, on his own admission, knows little about physical science, and even he does not commit himself explicitly.

Did you hear that they rejected the miraculous because they found that the documents which contained it were composed so long after the event as to be untrustworthy? The date, says

Dr. Schmiedel again, has nothing to do with it. 'The chronological question'—here are his very words—'is in this instance a very subordinate one. Indeed, if our Gospels could be shown to have been written from 50 A.D. onwards, or even earlier, we should not be under any necessity to withdraw our conclusions as to their contents; we should, on the contrary, only have to say that the indubitable transformation in the original tradition had taken place much more rapidly than one might have been ready to suppose. The credibility of the Gospel history cannot be established by an earlier dating of the Gospels.'

The date has little to do with it. It is true that Schmiedel and all who hold with him date the Gospels pretty late. It is true that in that way they get room for sources of the Gospels, and sources of sources of the Gospels, and are able to represent that there are things in the Gospels which may not have been there at the beginning, and even how these things got added to the original Gospels. But if they cannot get time, they do not mind. An '*indubitable transformation* in the original tradition' has taken place. They know that from looking at the Gospels as they stand. For the Gospels as they stand contain the record of miracles.

Now miracles may not be impossible, but to the modern critic they are incredible. After Professor Huxley he cannot say they are impossible; but after Professor Huxley he says they are incredible. And he says that no amount or quality of evidence will make them credible. To be incredible is therefore to be non-existent. But he is so loyal to the Lord Jesus Christ that he will not say He deceived the people. He says that they were not there at the beginning, probably not when the earliest attempts were made at writing Gospels; they were added later, they are an 'indubitable transformation in the original tradition.'

There are different ways of explaining how they came there. The latest and the most ingenious way is pursued by Professor Percy Gardner in his new book, *A Historic View of the New Testament* (A. & C. Black, 6s.).

Professor Gardner divides the miracles into two classes. There are the so-called miracles of healing, and there are the miracles proper. The miracles of healing were not miracles. They always demanded faith in the recipient. 'Now,' says Dr. Gardner, 'deeds of healing, in which a certain undefined power in the healer is met by faith in the person healed, are in no way miraculous.' The cures may have been many, or they may have been few; that depends on the evidence, and the evidence in such matters is exceedingly hard to sift. But they were not miracles. 'Jesus stands in history as one among a number of faith-healers.'

The cases of exorcism come under this head. They were cases of physical disease, says Dr. Gardner, especially of epilepsy and insanity. In ascribing them to diabolic agency, Jesus 'doubtless spoke in the manner of the age.' Whether he knew better or not, Dr. Gardner cannot say. He considers it probable that He did not, and he holds that we need think no less of Him on that account. But, be that as it may, the cases of exorcism were simply cases of healing. The same faith was needed in the recipient, the same influence was exercised by the stronger over the feebler nature. In casting out devils Jesus took His place among the faith-healers.

When we pass from the so-called miracles of healing we come to the miracles proper. They are deeds which 'are inconsistent with our experience of the working of law in the material world, such as the turning of water into wine, and the feeding of multitudes from a few baskets (*sic*) of food.'

Now, what Dr. Gardner has to say of the miracles proper is that they are not only not miracles, but they are nothing at all. They never

were wrought. No one at the time pretended that they were wrought. They are hero-worshipping inventions of a later age. 'Jesus as a healer of disease,' he says, 'is historic; and the tales told of His cures, though doubtless deformed by exaggeration and distorted by very imperfect physiological knowledge, rest on a basis of fact. But Jesus as turning water into wine, as feeding multitudes from a few baskets of food and the like, belongs not to history, but to a perfectly familiar field of pseudo-historic tale and legend.'

What ground has Dr. Gardner for saying this? He has no ground. He simply supposes, and says it must be so. As a critic of the Gospels he has his sources, and perhaps, like Schmiedel, his sources of sources. But, so far as it appears, the earliest sources are as full of the miraculous as the latest. The only proof he offers is a proof from analogy. Other men, he says, have had similar legends told of them; Jesus must also have had His.

He gives one example. He quotes it from Dozy's *Histoire de l'Islamisme*. 'At the outset of his mission,' says Dozy, 'Mohammed said that he also had dwelt in error, since he had taken part in the worship of idols; but God, he declared, had opened his heart. This figurative phrase was taken literally, and gave rise to the following tale, which was placed in Mohammed's own mouth:—"One day, when I was lying on my side near the Kaaba, some one approached and cut open my body from chest to abdomen, and took out my heart. There was brought to me a basin of gold filled with faith; in it my heart was washed and replaced in me."'

Professor Gardner places that story beside the narratives of the Gospels. And even that story, he admits, does not fit into the life of Mohammed as the miracle narratives fit into the life and character of Jesus. Quoting again from Dozy, he admits that 'the earlier biographies of Mohammed have infused the marvellous with so little skill that one can commonly with a little critical tact distinguish between truth and fiction. *Mohammed has never become a mythical or supernatural being.*

No one will lightly esteem the difficulty in believing in miracles. No one will needlessly multiply them. But the science of criticism is as faithfully followed by retaining what seems to be a miracle as by rejecting it. In his new book, *The Man Christ Jesus*, Mr. W. J. Dawson declares that that which St. John describes as 'the second miracle which Jesus did when He was come out of Judæa into Galilee' was not a miracle at all.

It is the healing of the nobleman's son. The son lay sick of a fever in Capernaum; Jesus was in Cana. The father came down to Him there, for he believed that his child was at the point of death, and, as Mr. Dawson puts it, 'as a last resource, he sought help of One who had already achieved the reputation of a thaumaturgus.' Jesus was disinclined to interfere. But when the nobleman exclaimed in an agony of love and vehemence, 'Sir, come down ere my child die,' Jesus melted towards him, and assured him that his child would not die. The nobleman accepted the assurance, returned to Capernaum, met his servants on the way, who had ridden out to tell him that his son was convalescent; and when he found that the amendment synchronized with the hour when Jesus said to him, 'Thy son liveth,' he naturally interpreted so remarkable a coincidence as a miracle.

Mr. Dawson does not find the miracles of the Gospels incredible, but he thinks it 'a safe rule to seek a natural explanation of any act described as miraculous where such an explanation is possible'; and he thinks it possible here. The child's illness was a fever. The symptoms would no doubt be described by the anxious father. Jesus had studied the local maladies of Galilee, and the nature of this fever would be quite familiar to Him. From these data it would be easy to deduce a prophecy

of the child's recovery. 'The modern physician, trained by long experience in habits of intuition and deduction, often ventures on such a positive verdict, and is rarely mistaken. Jesus in this case did nothing more than such a physician in the course of a wide practice often does.'

In the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for the present quarter Mr. Montefiore discusses a new pamphlet by Abbé Loïsy. The pamphlet is entitled *Études Bibliques*. It contains six essays bearing upon the Inspiration of Scripture, and upon Biblical Criticism. Its object, as Abbé Loisy states in his preface, is 'the reconciliation of Catholic dogma and discipline with the scientific study of the Bible.'

Mr. Montefiore finds these essays by a Roman Catholic scholar and theologian refreshing. He is accustomed to Protestant acceptance of the Higher Criticism. True, it is the Old Testament rather than the New that Protestants criticize and assort, which he easily understands, though he does not think it is justified. In the Old Testament, and to a far more limited extent in the New, he sees traditional dates, authorships of books, improbable stories, and awkward miracles all freely abandoned. In the Bible, as in so many other things, he hears of a growth and a development. The evolution reaches its term in the person and teaching of Jesus. He is not sure that this sudden arrival at perfection and finality with a particular date and person is as 'scientific' as the previous growth. In any case, he sees Protestants freely handling the Bible so, and finding it at once 'more human and more Divine.' But it is new to him to find the same things going on within the Roman Catholic Church.

So Abbé Loisy is refreshing. And Mr. Montefiore is pleased to find that he is only one of a band of Roman Catholic scholars who are seeking to reconcile Catholicism with free inquiry and critical results. He hears with interest that it has cost them something. M. Loisy himself speaks of persecutions for his pains. But he has not been driven out of the Church. And he has no intention of leaving it. Criticism led Mr. Addis to abandon Roman Catholicism; M. Loisy says that it has made him only the stronger and more determined Catholic.

Mr. Montefiore has much sympathy with Abbé Loisy and his criticism. He only wonders that he does not carry it farther. There are two matters which M. Loisy has to reckon with. The Roman Catholic Church has declared the Bible to be inspired. It has also declared that it contains and teaches no errors. Now it is an infallible Church, and Abbé Loisy has to shape his criticism to agree with both these statements.

As for the first, it is fortunate that the Church has nowhere explicitly stated what inspiration is. Therefore Abbé Loisy can divide the Bible into two parts, a human and a divine, and he can find ample scope for his critical processes in the human parts, while he leaves the divine (and presumably 'inspired') parts untouched. Mr. Montefiore has no quarrel with him over this. He is not sure, however, that it is easy to separate the human from the divine elements in the Bible; he is not sure that it is fair. It will not do, he says, to pick out all the gems (that is, whatever seems to *you* to be good and true) and to say, 'This is the divine part of the Bible, all the rest is human.' For 'the rest' may be put into the mouth of God and may be attested by miracles. Even M. Loisy himself admits that it will not do to 'vivisect' the Bible. Mr. Montefiore thinks perhaps it would be better to say that *in kind* the Bible is inspired as other good and true books are inspired, but that *in degree* it excels them all. But if Abbé Loisy does not quarrel with the Pope over his ideas of inspiration, he will not quarrel with Mr. Montefiore.

The case of the errors is more serious. Still, the Church, while declaring that there are no errors in the Bible, has not explained what an

error is. So Abbé Loisy arranges the things which look like errors into departments, and says they are not errors. An error, he says, is not an error when the sacred writer did not definitely intend to teach it; which disposes of all 'scientific' errors, since the writers of the Bible never intended to teach science. Again, an error is not an error when it is merely adopted for the purpose of conveying a truth, or when the sacred writer did not intend it to be regarded as a fact or truth. Further, an error is not an error when it is only an adaptation of truth to the moral and religious capacity of the time when it was written or told. And, lastly, an error is not an error when it is in accordance with the literary habits of the age.

Abbé Loisy finds all these kinds of error in the Bible. So also does Mr. Montefiore. Mr. Montefiore is not sure if these four categories cover them all. Thus M. Loisy says of the history of Israel, that after Samuel and Saul all is comparatively clear; before Samuel, as far back as Moses, there are points of reliable light; between Moses and Abraham we see dimly certain indistinct figures in the shadow; before Abraham all is dark night. Mr. Montefiore understands him to mean that the large majority of the statements made about Abraham and Moses are inaccurate, and he does not see how that comes under any of M. Loisy's convenient rules. So he frames a fifth rule. An error is not an error, he says, when it was written in good faith and has no relation to the real object or subject of revelation.

Mr. Montefiore, on the whole, agrees with Abbé Loisy. But he cannot understand why he who goes so far does not go farther. Or rather, he cannot understand why the popes do not go farther,—for no doubt Abbé Loisy would follow if they led. Why, he asks, do they not allow that there are errors in the Bible, not merely errors that do not count, but real errors—theological errors, historic errors, religious errors, moral errors? If they did, they would only make the infallible Church the more necessary. For if there were a few downright errors, with of course a great residuum of truth for the Church to rest upon, who would be able, like the infallible Pope, to say what and where they were? And Jew as he is—but he does not deny a touch of irony here—he admits that an infallible Church, interpreting, in just accordance with the religious needs and capacities of every age, a Bible true in the main, but not true in every statement and detail, is rather an attractive picture.

It is rather an attractive picture, 'if one could accept the dogma.' But he does not accept it. He is a critic, and he does not believe that criticism will end in Roman Catholicism, but 'either in Christian Unitarianism or in "Reformed Judaism."' He is a Jew, and for him at least it has already ended in 'Reformed Judaism.'

Prophetic Ecstasy.

By the Rev. R. Bruce Taylor, M.A., Aberdeen.

I.

Few more difficult problems present themselves to the student of the Old Testament than that of the ecstasy of the early prophets. The phenomena described have obviously a close relation in religious history to other phenomena, which have not added to the dignity and truth of men's intercourse with divine things. They suggest analogies in the life of to-day which are apt to make us think but poorly of those manifestations of religious possession which Balaam and Saul exhibited.

The narratives themselves ascribe the phenomena to the direct action of the Spirit of God, but

this does not help us much in our endeavour to discover the positive element in ecstasy. For the tendency which asks the 'Why' of everything is entirely modern. In those old days the work of the Spirit was so implicitly believed in, and was so evident a reality, that men did not stop to speculate about it. Nothing in human life was thought of as outwith the range of the Spirit's working. But whatever seemed to be beyond the limits of man's own ability was ascribed in special measure to the energy of the Spirit; and thus we find a somewhat incongruous association of qualities, all deriving themselves directly from it. The feats of Samson (Jg 14^6), the frenzy of the נְבִיאִים (1 S 10^{10}), the revelations of the prophet (Ezk 3^{24}), the wisdom of the ruler (Nu 11^{16}, 1 S 16^{13}), the heroic valour of the Judges (Jg 6^{34}), the inspiration of the poet (2 S 23^2), the genius of the artist (Ex 31^3 36^1), as well as the false oracles of deluded prophets (1 K 22^{22}), and the homicidal mania of Saul, are all ascribed to the direct agency of the Almighty.[1]

But, in the case of the ecstatic, the possession was supposed to exist in quite a special sense. The Hebrews held, as the Arabs still do, that the relation between soul and body was but slight. The soul of the individual might depart and be supplanted by the Spirit of God, which thus used the body of the possessed simply as a mouthpiece. In the case of the lunatic this dispossession was permanent, while in the case of the ecstatic it was temporary. Hence, through all Semite peoples, we find this conception that mental aberrations are a sign of peculiar sanctity. The Arabic word *majnun* (mad) is from the same root as *jann*, 'to cover over,' 'to veil,' from which also the word *jinn* or (as it is commonly transliterated) *ginn*, 'a spirit,' is derived. When a man is possessed by a *ginn*, his natural mind is veiled, his own personality is lost in that of the invading spirit.[2] 'An idiot or fool is vulgarly regarded by the Arabs as a being whose mind is in heaven while his grosser part mingles among ordinary mortals; consequently he is considered an especial favourite of heaven. Whatever enormities a reputed saint may commit (and there are many who are constantly infringing precepts of their religion), such acts do not affect his fame for sanctity; for they are considered as the result of the abstraction of his mind from worldly things—his soul or reasoning faculties being wholly absorbed in devotion—so that his passions are left without control. Lunatics who are dangerous to society are kept in confinement, but those who are harmless are generally regarded as saints.'[3] Thus David, when compelled to flee to Gath, found that the best course to secure his safety was to pretend to be mad. 'David was sore afraid of Achish the king of Gath, and he changed his behaviour before them, and feigned himself mad in their hands, and drummed upon the doors of the gate (LXX, καὶ ἐτυμπάνιζεν), and let his spittle fall upon his beard; then said Achish unto his servants, Lo, ye see the man is mad: wherefore then have ye brought him to me?' *i.e.* he was exempt from punishment, and must be treated with kindness (1 S $21^{10\text{-}15}$). Here we have typical features of madness—the effort to be free from restraint, וַיִּתְהֹלֵל בְּיָדָם, the senseless drumming upon the doors, and the defiling of his beard by letting the saliva fall upon it; an act which in itself showed all loss of self-respect.[4]

There are several other passages in the Old Testament which imply that in prophetic ecstasy the personality of the individual was regarded as being merged in the being of the Spirit that possessed him—passages which can be paralleled from what we otherwise know of Semitic life. We are told in Jg 6^{34} that the Spirit of the Lord 'clothed' Gideon (וְרוּחַ יי לָבְשָׁה אֶת־גִּדְעוֹן), where our version gives the colourless 'came upon.' The expression occurs in the J narrative, the oldest stratum of the history. And the conception underlying it is that the Spirit was a mere temporary afflatus, that it was sent upon Gideon for special work, that it had no more effect upon the natural man Gideon than the cut of clothes has on the build of the man's body. The Spirit was regarded as something extraordinary, and Gunkel has shown that even in New Testament times the conception was the same.[5] We must therefore be careful in such an inquiry as this not to impose our modern conception of the working of the Spirit, as something which completely and permanently changes the natural heart, upon those old times. It is extremely interesting in connexion with the use of לָבַשׁ, 'to clothe,' as applied to the work of the Spirit, to find the same word employed in the same way among the Arabs of

[1] Moore, *Judges*, p. 87, etc.

[2] Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, i. 221.

[3] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. x.

[4] Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, art. 'Medicine.'

[5] Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des Heiligen Geistes*.

to-day. Burton tells how he saw in Mecca a negro in the state called *Malbus* — religious frenzy. 'He was a fine and powerful man, as the numbers required to hold him testified. He threw his arms wildly about him, uttering shrill cries; and when held he swayed his body, and waved his head from side to side, like a chained and furious elephant, straining out the deepest groans. The Africans seem peculiarly subject to this nervous state, which, seen by the ignorant and the imaginative, would at once suggest demoniacal possession. Either their organization is more impressionable, or, more probably, the hardships, privations, and fatigues endured whilst wearily traversing inhospitable wilds, and perilous seas, have exalted their imaginations to a pitch bordering on frenzy. Often they are seen prostrate upon the pavement, or clinging to the curtains, or rubbing their heads upon the stones, weeping bitterly, and pouring forth the wildest ejaculations.'[1]

The word צלח, which is used in several places for the operation of the Spirit (Jg 14^{19}, 1 S 10^{6} 16^{13} 18^{10}), seems to imply the same temporary possession. Its root meaning is perhaps 'to cleave,' or 'to burst through,' and it is used for the crossing of a river (2 S 19^{18} (Heb.)), or the bursting in upon any one (Jg $14^{6.19}$ 15^{4} etc.). It is applied to Saul by Samuel: 'The Spirit of the Lord shall burst (*or* rush) upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned into another man' (1 S 10^{6}).

But, in considering the question of ecstasy in the Old Testament, we must remember that the phenomena which exhibit themselves there do not stand alone. They have occurred frequently in history, and almost always in the history of religious movements. The Semites, indeed, would appear to have a special susceptibility to those states, but they are common too in the history of European peoples. It would not be difficult to adduce a fairly exact parallel to the case of Balaam from the *Acta Sanctorum*, while instances of such ecstatic contagion as we read of in the story of Saul are legion.

The explanations of ecstasy have varied with the state of knowledge of the peoples giving them. Socrates, who fell into trances lasting for a whole day, ascribed them to the possession of the δαίμων. 'He believed himself to receive, from an inner divine voice, premonitions in regard to the success and unsuccess of men's undertakings, warnings of this and of that.'[2] The Hebrews, referring everything, both evil and good, directly to God, held that these phenomena were due to the working of that Spirit of Jehovah which covered the whole range of life. The Arab thinks himself to be possessed by a *ginn*, and according to the character of the revelation does he consider the *ginn* to be good or bad.[3] In the Middle Ages, and down to comparatively modern times, possession was supposed to be due either to an evil spirit, as in the case of witches, or to the Spirit of God as witnessed in the Tarantism of Southern Italy, the Dancing Mania in Aix-la-Chapelle in 1374, the strange hallucinations of the *Convulsionnaires* at the Tomb of St. Médard, the wild excitements of the Huguenots in France, and the cataleptic conditions often induced in women at modern revivals.

During the last fifty years real progress has been made in the investigation of those phenomena—progress which has advanced *pari passu* with the increasing knowledge of the structure and functions of the different parts of the brain. Ferrier, Hitzig, and MacEwan have mapped out the brain, and have shown that catalepsy, somnambulism, hysteria, and ecstasy are all due to the fact that certain parts of the brain are thrown out of gear, while other parts are acting normally.

The human brain is the highest development of an immensely long process of evolution. In some respects man is not as highly developed as many of the lower animals; his sense of smell is not so acute as that of the dog, nor can he see as distinctly. But as a thinking machine he is unique; and his brain shows clearly both what he has in common with the lower animals and what is peculiar to himself. Between the aspect of the bottom of the brain of a man and of a dog there is no great difference. It is in the bottom of the brain that the sensory apparatus is situated. But the human brain, looked at from the top, shows its development. It consists of two hemispheres, deeply convoluted in order that they may have a greater surface of grey matter, the part in which ideas are evolved. Those hemispheres are not peculiar to man, for they appear as far back in the scale of evolution as the fish. In birds they are considerably larger than in the fish. In the mammalia they have begun to cover the optic lobes; and as we ascend in the scale of life they gradually in-

[1] R. F. Burton, *Meccah and Medinah*, p. 413.

[2] Schwegler, *Hist. of Phil.* p. 41.

[3] Sprenger, *op. cit.* i. p. 221.

crease backward, until, in some of the higher apes and in man they entirely cover the cerebellum.

Roughly speaking, then, there are in brain two parts—a constant and a variable. The constant is the sensory apparatus, which must exist in all vertebrates, and the construction of which does not much vary in any. The variable part is that which denotes intelligence, those hemispheres which appear first of all in the fish, and increase as the evolution proceeds, until they culminate in man. Creatures which have no cerebral hemispheres, or in which these are imperfectly developed, are ruled simply by the sensory apparatus. An impression received along the nerves must at once react directly outwards, for there are no ideational centres to which they can be transmitted. There is no power of cogitation. But the process with a creature which does possess cerebral hemispheres is different. The impression received through the sensory apparatus is passed onwards to the cells spread over the hemispheres, and is there transformed into an idea or perception or thought. The hemispheres are thus the seat of the intellectual life, as distinct from mere sense, or impression, life. They are not necessary to sensation; they stand above it. As we might suppose, they are themselves insensible to pain—a point which has been demonstrated by a somewhat gruesome experiment. 'An animal which makes violent movements while the skin is being cut and the roof of the skull removed, remains quite quiet while its hemispheres are being sliced away.'[1]

Now it is on this fact that there are different nervous centres in the brain, each with its distinctive function, that the phenomena of ecstasy depend. Physiologists recognize four such centres. 'Each centre is subordinate to the centre immediately above it, but is at the same time capable of determining and maintaining certain movements of its own without the intervention of its supreme centre.'[2] And the whole physiological theory of ecstasy is simply this: That, owing to reflex action or inhibition, the supreme nervous centre (the hemispheres or grey matter) gets thrown out of gear. Sensory impressions reach the lower nervous centres, and are either acted on blindly, as when a hypnotic patient imitates everything that is done before him, or obeys any command addressed to him, retaining no remembrance when awake; or when the subject does conscious-like things unconsciously, as when a man in deep thought walks along a crowded street colliding with nobody, and yet consciously seeing no one. The impression coming along the optic nerve reaches the sensory apparatus, or the part of the brain which serves as the centre for the fusion of impressions coming from the eyes. That this sensory apparatus is active, is evident from the fact that balance is preserved. But, while the sensations so transmitted are at once acted on, there is no transmission of the impression to the hemispheres, and there is therefore no memory of the fact.

For this reason, a person in an ecstatic state may do and say things which to a bystander appear perfectly rational, and he will yet preserve absolutely no memory of them. When we consider how wonderful this is, and what extraordinary things have been done in those states, we cannot be surprised that the subject should have been supposed to have been filled with the Spirit of God, or possessed by a devil, as the case might be. The individual's own soul seems to be absent, because he remembers nothing of his doings; and yet his actions are dictated by some apparently conscious and overwhelming power. For the ecstatic subjects do things in this condition which are supernatural in the sense of being impossible for them in the normal waking condition. In the winter of 1858 a girl living in an Alpine hamlet was sent a message to a neighbouring village. As she did not return at nightfall, search was made for her. One mountaineer said that he had heard, during the afternoon, a call coming from the other side of the valley, and, on looking with his field-glass, had seen the girl, with her wooden shoes, running with the greatest swiftness and sureness of foot along slopes which even the chamois hunter would not think of attempting. Similar accounts came from other valleys, and at last after three days on the mountains the girl reappeared. During that time she had eaten nothing, and had traversed immense stretches of the most dangerous mountain slopes. She thought that she was being led all the time by three men who were accompanied by a dog; and she had some recollection of the steep places, because the dog, she said, had sometimes to make a roundabout course.[3] This remarkable case of hallucination might easily be paralleled from other literatures. The girl was in

[1] Maudsley, *Physiology of Mind*, p. 98 note.

[2] Maudsley, p. 109.

[3] Sprenger, *op. cit.* i. 217–220.

a state of trance. The things which she saw were realities to her for the time being, and caused her to perform feats which in the normal condition would have been impossible. Had she been in possession of all her faculties, she would have fallen, because she would have 'lost her head' as we say. But the sensory apparatus alone was in action. The higher part of the brain, in which the conception of fear is generated, was out of gear. And so, because there was no nervousness, she could accomplish mountaineering feats which far more experienced climbers could not have attempted.

Many are familiar with the very remarkable case of trance which Coleridge has put on record, where a servant girl in high fever was found to be repeating sentences of Hebrew, mostly Rabbinic, and of Greek. It was discovered that at an early age she had been taken to live in the house of a Protestant pastor who was a great Hebrew scholar, and who was in the habit of walking up and down a passage of his house into which the kitchen opened, reading aloud from his books. In her normal condition the girl would have been unable to repeat a word of what she had thus heard in her childhood. It was outside the sphere of her consciousness. But, in the delirium of fever, the balance of the brain was upset, and those impressions made unconsciously upon the cerebrum were reproduced.[1]

Ecstasy, then, physiologically speaking, is a state in which the subject is possessed not by the higher nature but by the lower. Its phenomena, in the West at all events, are very varied, and range from rigid catalepsy to mere eccentricity. But, in the Old Testament, its manifestations present a remarkable uniformity, and occur with great frequency, although we might have expected that the bracing air of the desert would not have favoured abnormal conditions of this nature. In the desert, says Burton, 'The mind is influenced through the body. Though your mouth glows and your skin is parched, yet you feel no languor, the effect of humid heat; your lungs are lightened, your sight brightens, your memory recovers its tone, and your spirits become exuberant; your fancy and imagination are powerfully aroused, and the wildness and sublimity of the scenes around you stir up all the energies of your soul—whether for exertion, danger, or strife. . . . Your senses are quickened; they require no stimulants but air and exercise; in the desert, spirituous liquors excite only disgust.'[2]

It is, however, the very exaltation of the desert air which aids in producing the ecstasy. The senses, the faculties, are heightened, and yet there is nothing in the landscape to fill their activity. The bare staring rocks give their echo; a glimpse is caught of the marauder stealing along beside the caravan route amidst the sand-hills, and waiting for darkness or the straggler to make his dash. Hence the imagination of the Arab dwells on these things; voices are always whispering to him; shadowy figures are always accompanying him. Not only has he general words for visions and dreams, but in his vocabulary he has separate words for the particular ways in which the *ginn* manifests himself. The voice that is heard only by the initiated ear is called *Hâtif*. The Arabs of Africa call those ambushed phantoms *Ragl* (from *ragul*, 'a man').[3]

The whole earth, both for the Semites in general and for the Israelites in particular, was full of those genii. Robertson Smith, in the *Religion of the Semites*, has shown that the peculiar sanctity attached to trees and springs and stones was due to the belief that the spirit actually dwelt in those things. The stone was itself the בֵּית־אֵל; it was carefully anointed with oil, and stroked to win the favour of the god that dwelt within it, just as the garments or beard of a powerful man were touched in supplication; and from this custom we have the phrase חִלָּה אֶת־פְּנֵי־יהוה (1 S 13[12]).[4] Trees, with their recurring evidences of life, with the movements of their leaves and the elasticity of their branches, were regarded not only as being the abodes of the *ginn* but as being themselves alive. On them were hung, on feast days, fine clothes and women's ornaments. Sick men slept under them, to receive counsel in dreams for the restoration of health.[5] Springs also were among the oldest objects of reverence among the Semites; and any one who has heard in that land, after days of wellnigh arid travelling, the lapping of a spring, will know why the Hebrews should have called it 'living water,' and why they should have believed that 'the water itself is the living organism of a demonic life, not a mere dead

[1] Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, ed. 1847, vol. i. p. 117.

[2] Burton, *Meccah and Medinah*, p. 104.

[3] Sprenger, *op. cit.* i. 216.

[4] W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Semites*[2], p. 205.

[5] *Ib.* p. 186.

organ.'[1] Each spot, in short, was thought of by the ancient Semite as having its own Baal, or husband; and a nation that moved out of its own country, or a tribe that fought beyond its own bounds, thought that in so doing it had forfeited the support of its god. The Syrians ascribed their defeat by Ahab to the fact that they had been warring against a people whose gods were gods of the hills. 'Their gods are gods of the hills; therefore they were stronger than we; but let us fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they' (1 K 20^{23}).[2]

The Arabs have now modified this belief, though it still persists in essence. The *ginns* now have their principal abode in Káf, the chain of green chrysolite mountains which is supposed to surround the earth and to impart the blue colour to the sky.[3] But they are great rovers. They inhabit both air and earth. The charms that Arabs and even Copts constantly carry with them and fix to their horses' heads against the evil eye are proof of the one, and the expression that is always used before water is spilled on the ground or before a bucket is lowered into a well, '*Destoor*,' or 'Permission,' is evidence of the other.[4]

Now it is quite clear that in all this belief in spiritual presences there lay much opportunity for the Spirit of the true God. There was here a belief in divine power that was a very different thing from the patronage that the Greek extended to his god. The god of the Greek was simply a glorified human being, not better, morally speaking, than the rest of mankind, but only more powerful, and with all human impulses, lust, anger, revenge, remorse, in an exaggerated degree. But the Semite, though he rose only under the revelation given by God to Israel to the idea of the one true God, still never fashioned his Divinity after his own likeness. The Semite *ginn* was incomprehensible, unseen, manifesting himself only through natural objects, or in dimly-seen shapes or secret whisperings. So far from ever coming to make his God after his own image, the Semite felt that to see God meant death.[5] But if he did not see his God he had intercourse with Him. And it may very possibly be that the capacity which the Hebrews had for converse with God was due in no small measure to the familiar though immaterial communion supposed to exist between the individual and his *ginn*. There was here, at all events, a potentiality of better things; and this the Lord used, for His own ends, in revelation.

But a cause of ecstasy even more potent than the uniformity and ghostliness of the scene is the hardness of the life that the Arab is compelled to live. 'The true Bedawi is an abstemious man, capable of living for six months on ten ounces of food *per diem*: the milk of a single camel, and a handful of dates, dry, or fried in clarified butter, suffice for his wants. He despises the obese and all who require regular and plentiful meals, sleeps on a mat, and knows neither luxury nor comfort, freezing during one quarter and frying during three quarters of the year.'[6]

Under such a treatment the body becomes reduced, while the nervous system is heightened. There is no rest, no absence from discomfort. The nomadic life, too, is of necessity solitary. The half-starved Arab is a prey to his own imagination, alone in the wilderness with the wild beasts of his own creation. As Doughty remarked of one of his desert friends: 'He was a little broken-headed, and so is every third man in the desert life.'[7]

This undeniable place that familiar sights and modes of thought have in the phenomena of ecstasy has a most important bearing upon the question whether there is ever any new revelation made to persons in the ecstatic state. Is the eye of the future opened to them, or are they simply reproducing in dramatic and intense form things which have been previously heard or witnessed? Certainly, in hysteria the ravings contain no new element. When hysteria takes the form of the simulation of a disease, it is always some disease prevalent in the locality. A hysterical person will never, when in the hysterical state, exhibit symptoms of a disease which he has never seen or heard of. Mohammed, who unquestionably suffered from hysteria, imagined that he was a victim of intermittent fever, which was the prevalent disease in Medinah.[8]

And when the hysteria takes the form of seeing

[1] W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Semites*[2], p. 136.
[2] Von Baudissin, *Studien zur Sem. Religionsgesch.* ii. 236.
[3] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. x.; *Arabian Nights*, i. 20.
[4] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. x.
[5] Ex 24^{11}, Jg 13^{22}.
[6] Burton, *Meccah and Medinah*, p. 376.
[7] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, ii. 288.
[8] Sprenger, *op. cit.* i. 208.

visions, the same fact applies. The basis of the vision is to be found in the circumstances in which the ecstatic has been placed. As Renan observed long ago, the saints of the Middle Ages were even in their visions the representatives of their century and nation.[1] The Dancing Mania of the Middle Ages, for instance, was true contagious ecstasy. When dancing, the subjects neither saw nor heard; they were insensible to external religious impressions. And yet their visions were the ordinary stock-in-trade of the religious beliefs of the time. Some stated that they had to leap so high to escape the overwhelming streams of blood. Others saw the heavens opened and the Saviour enthroned with the Virgin Mary. But there was never any fresh revelation of truth—never so much as a fresh statement of truth already known. In all that ecstasy there was nothing to help the soul's life.[2] Santa Teresa saw devils and smelt brimstone with a vividness due to a particular eschatological conception.[3] It is to be noticed, too, that all the tongues in Regent Square Church never revealed anything that was in advance of what people already knew.

This fact, that the spiritual impressions in ecstasy are always on the line of something that has already been seen or known, comes to be of the utmost importance in connexion with the question whether in the visions of the prophets there was any element that was absolutely new. And the evidence goes to show that those visions were striking presentations of truths already present to the prophet's mind, or pictorial statements of an already existing political situation. They were conditioned by the known, even in the case of so great a prophet as Amos. This fact we find brought out very distinctly in the history of Balaam. When Balaam was brought to the top of Pisgah to curse the hosts of Israel, instead of cursing he blessed. He was impressed by the multitudes of tents spread out before him. 'How shall I curse, whom God hath not cursed? . . . Who can count the dust of Jacob, and the number of the fourth part of Israel?'[4] Balak at once sees that Balaam's oracle is conditioned by the splendid spectacle of the forces of Israel, and says, 'Come, I pray thee, with me unto another place, from whence . . . thou shalt see but the utmost part of them, and shalt not see them all: and curse me them from thence.' But even from this next station Balaam saw the tribes, and as he looked 'the Spirit of God came upon him,' and he foretold yet more distinctly the magnificent future of Israel.

There was, then, a relation between what was seen by the ecstatic and the content of his utterance; but there was also a relation between the character of the prophet and the genuineness and validity of his prophecy. What the prophet's message was, depended upon what he himself was. The prophet was not merely repeating words that God had put into his mouth. The Divine element might be there according as the prophecy was true or false; the human element was sure to be there. But in the false prophet the determining factor was the desire to speak smooth things and pleasant things, as well as to secure his own comfort. In the true prophet the moral element predominated, and he spoke what he felt to be right, regardless of comfort or consequences. It is not necessary to suppose that the false prophet was intentionally false. But his character was not sufficiently strong to bear the strain the prophetic calling put upon it. Ezekiel goes so far as to say that the Lord Himself has deceived that prophet;[5] the meaning being that if a prophet allows himself to be enticed and enters into the purposes of the people, saying 'Amen' to their plans, the Lord leaves that man alone in his foolishness that both the prophet and the people he had deluded may perish together.[6] This fact, that the character of the man affected by the ecstasy determined the nature and moral value of the vision he saw, was also noticed by the Arabs of the time of Mohammed. As they expressed it, a weak man had a bad *ginn*, while a strong healthy man had a good *ginn*.[7]

(*To be concluded.*)

[1] Renan, *Études d'Hist. Relig.* 1858, p. 307.
[2] Carpenter, *Mental Physiology*, p. 313.
[3] Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*, ii. 161.
[4] Nu $23^{8.\ 10}$.
[5] Ezk 14^{9}.
[6] A. B. Davidson, *Ezekiel*, Introduction, p. xxxv; Schultz, *O.T. Theol.* i. 262; Smend, *Alttest. Relig.*[1], 244.
[7] Sprenger, *op. cit.* i. 222.

The Twofold Use of 'Jerusalem' in the Lucan Writings.

By J. Vernon Bartlet, M.A., Mansfield College, Oxford.

To begin with the phenomena in Luke's Gospel, as the simpler, we find that out of 31 instances Jerusalem occurs in the Hebraic form (Ἱερουσαλήμ) in 27, and in the Hellenic (Ἱεροσόλυμα) only in 4, namely 2^{22} 13^{22} 19^{28} 23^{7}. When we analyze them, these four cases seem due to the final author of this Gospel. Thus 2^{22}, 'they brought Him (the infant Jesus) up to Jerusalem, to present Him to the Lord,' is the first reference to the Jewish capital in the work, and so it naturally appears in the form familiar to Gentile readers. In marked contrast to this, the five remaining cases of the name in the chapter present Jerusalem under the Hebraic form ($2^{25.\ 38.\ 41.\ 43.\ 45.}$; see below). The next case, 13^{22}, is a purely objective topographical note, touching Jesus' progress as He 'journeyed on towards Jerusalem'; similarly 19^{28}, 'and when He had thus spoken, He went on before, going up to Jerusalem'—a verse which simply reminds the reader of the course already indicated more than once (and may be suggested by Mk 11^{1}). The last instance, 23^{7}, is the verse which states that Pilate, 'when he knew that He was of Herod's jurisdiction, sent Him unto Herod, who himself also was at Jerusalem in these days.' *Ierosolŭma*, then, seems so far to be Luke's own word when writing freely for his readers as Gentiles. And when we pass to Acts the same holds good. Thus it is this form which first meets us in the preface linking Acts to the Gospel, in the words, 'He charged them not to depart from Jerusalem' (1^{4}); whereas the next 11 occurrences of the name (1^{8}–7 *fin.*) exhibit the Hebraic form.

But, granting that the Hellenic form is that which Luke naturally uses when telling a plain tale to his Gentile readers (without regard to the original 'atmosphere' of the actors), what causes can be suggested for the frequent emergence of the Hebraic form? This happens in the Gospel 27 times out of a total of 31, and in Acts 36 times out of some 59. As regards the Gospel, the fact is the more noticeable in that the Hebraic form never occurs in any other Gospel save in the solitary case of Mt 23^{37}—the sad apostrophe: 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets' (= Lk 13^{34}). Here there is an emotional reason for the persistence of the more Hebraic form, the city being addressed as the hearth of Hebrew religion; that is, it is regarded strictly from the Jewish or theocratic standpoint. Speaking broadly, then, we may say that the habitual occurrence of this form in Luke's Gospel is due to the strong tradition (oral or written in parts), charged with Hebrew sentiment, into which Luke felt himself to have entered in telling the Gospel story, and which controls his style even in certain objective topographical notices where the context is full of Hebraic feeling (see *e.g.* 17^{11} $24^{13.\ 52.}$). This probably explains the habitual use of the Hebraic form in Lk 2–3 (after 2^{22}), as explained above. A special case is the phrase, 'Judæa and Jerusalem,' always found in the Hebraic form (5^{17} 6^{17}).

The like holds good in Acts, though the proportions of the two uses are greatly modified by the change in the narrative, and by the author's freer hand in telling his story. Thus in the long section, 1^{8}–7 *fin.*, dealing with the early history of the Jerusalem Church, the Hebraic form alone appears, and that in cases where there is almost certainly no question of a written source (*e.g.* 1^{19} 2^{5} 6^{7}, cf. $9^{26.\ 28}$). Here what one seems to recognize is the instinctive adjustment of the writer's language to the spirit of the situation—a feature in our author which becomes plainest in his self-identification with the standpoint of his speakers and their audiences. This psychological or sympathetic cause of our author's departure from his own usage, and that the one most familiar to his readers, alone explains many cases in speeches by Jews and to Jewish hearers, where the Hebraic form occurs apart from any probable use of a written source. Among such cases I would reckon $9^{13.\ 21}$ and 22^{17} (in contrast to $26^{4.\ 10.\ 20}$) in particular. But these cases of direct speech do not seem to exhaust the material. There are virtual quotations or statements of motive which

naturally suggest the use of the Hebraic form. To the former variety may belong 9^2 15^2 (in contrast to 15^4) 22^5; to the latter, 8^{28} (though it may be a case of assimilation to the quotation of angelic words in 8^{26}).

If now we include the possibility of written sources as a factor, such a variety of possible explanations of the Hebraic form leaves a certain number of cases on the border between two, *e.g.* 1^{12} $2^{5.\,14}$ $11^{2.\,22}$ 12^{25} (which is textually suspected). But, even though it clearly has the effect of making more doubtful the actual use of written sources in some cases, it has a most important bearing on authorship. For the Greeks who fell so instinctively into the standpoint and spirit of the Jews whose words and motives he reproduces, can hardly have been other than a man who had mingled in the life of those whose experiences and feelings he thus sympathetically reflects. On the other hand, he must have been a man of wonderfully fine literary and historical sense, as regards his imaginative realization of what he relates. For the shades of distinction which we seem to have found to lie behind Luke's twofold use of 'Jerusalem' are totally absent from the Gospel of Mark, and are hinted at only in one passage in our Matthew, and that a Logian passage of deep patriotic pathos—Christ's lament over the city of the Promises (23^{37}). Elsewhere the evangelists, including the fourth, are content to use the Gentile form in a plain, matter-of-fact way, in addressing their Greek or at least Hellenistic[1] readers.

[1] It is interesting to note that in a Hellenistic (Christian) interpolation in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* we get the Hebraic form and not the pure Hellenic one: *Test. Dan*, 5, καὶ οὐκέτι ὑπομένει Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐρήμωσιν, οὐδὲ αἰχμαλωτίζεται Ἰσραήλ (cf. *Levi*, *passim*). Here the city is used, not in a geographical but in a quasi-personal or collective human sense—a sense analogous to one of the Pauline uses, that in Gal $4^{25\,f.}$; cf. IIe 12^{22}, Rev 3^{12} $21^{2.\,10}$, and *Test. Dan*, 5, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς νέας Ἰερουσαλὴμ εὐφρανθήσονται δίκαιοι. On the dual Pauline usage, analogous to the Lucan, see Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 316 n. The religious use of the name persists in 1 Clem. xli. 2, sacrifice being ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ μόνῃ.

At the Literary Table.

THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

I.

BIBLE-CLASS PRIMERS: BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA. By Ross G. Murison, M.A., B.D. (*T. & T. Clark.* 12mo, pp. 116. 6d.)

Here is a scholar's estimate of the place of Assyria and Babylonia in history, and it is written in language of schoolbook simplicity. Mr. Murison has studied his subject as if for a work of exhaustive magnitude. He gives a selection of authorities, without parade, but instructive. Nowhere can the beginner begin better than here.

HANDBOOKS FOR BIBLE CLASSES: THE PASTORAL EPISTLES. By the Rev. J. P. Lilley, M.A. (*T. & T. Clark.* Crown 8vo, pp. 261. 2s. 6d.)

It is highly instructive to compare this Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles with the one by Dr. Horton, recently published. How two men can travel the same road and never see one another is instructive to observe. Mr. Lilley is so serious, Dr. Horton is so gay. Not a point will Mr. Lilley pass, the more difficult the more determination; Dr. Horton trips from grammar to Church government, and has not his mind made up on this, and does not think that worth half the dust it raises. In the end it is hard to say which gives us the best commentary. We only know which we should consult when perplexed and which we should read when downhearted.

ST. PAUL AND THE ROMAN LAW. By W. E. Ball, LL.D. (*T. & T. Clark.* Crown 8vo, pp. 228. 4s. 6d.)

Dr. Ball has two rare gifts. He is a discoverer and a writer. Only a few men have been both: Livingstone in nature and Ramsay in literature occur as notable. Dr. Ball discovered the place that Roman law and custom have in the Epistles of St. Paul. And when he first came forward with his discovery in the pages of the *Contemporary Review* he caught the ear of every reader

of the New Testament. His book before us has other discoveries besides that, and every discovery is made known by the same unconscious skill—the touch of nature, in literature as in life, that makes the whole world kin. For example, what is less likely to catch the ordinary reader's interest than the 'New Testament quotation of uncanonical Scripture'? Yet surprise that there is such a thing in the New Testament leads to surprise that it is there so fully, and to further surprise that it rules the writer's thought so mightily. At last we feel that it is hopeless to understand the New Testament Scriptures without this key.

GOD'S GENTLEMEN. By the Rev. R. E. Welsh, M.A. (*Allenson*. Crown 8vo, Second Edition, pp. 264. 3s. 6d.)

The Essayist is understood to be out of date. It is the gentle art in literature that is supposed to have been lost. Its flavour is held to be as undiscoverable as the pigments of the ancient illuminators. And there is truth enough in the complaint to make a volume of essays, even though their motive is so unmistakably religious, if they have somewhat of the ancient manner, highly delicious faring. The title comes from the third of the essays. It is not the author's choice. Had he been left to his own taste, he would surely have chosen the second essay both to introduce and to name his book. Its title is 'A Medicated Memory.' For the book treats of the issues of life, not its rippled surfaces, and in its treatment never passes beyond the suggested outline, which stirs far more deeply than the filled-in and blackened picture.

A HISTORIC VIEW OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Percy Gardner, Litt.D. (*A. & C. Black*. Crown 8vo, pp. 274. 6s.)

This is the latest and frankest presentation of unmiraculous Christianity. Dr. Percy Gardner is far beyond the place of those who tolerate Christ. He is the nearest possible to those who worship Him. He cannot worship Him because of the Conservation of Energy. There is no room for miracle in this world, and therefore there is no room for God manifest in the flesh. Yet he labours earnestly to preserve the beauty and even the integrity of the character of Jesus. How marvellous a fact this is: that a man who has to take all the supernatural out of the New Testament can yet feel the unrivalled, almost divine, attractiveness of the Jesus that is left. 'I, if I be lifted up from the earth,' He said (or is said to have said), 'will draw all men unto Me'; and is it not true? The book, which is the third series of the Jowett Lectures, is a popular résumé of Dr. Gardner's volume, *Exploratio Evangelica*. Its simplicity and sweet reasonableness will draw readers to the bigger, stiffer book.

Dr. J. H. Lupton, the editor of More's *Utopia*, has discovered an anonymous but very aged English translation of Erasmus's *Concio de Puero Jesu*, and has reprinted it with introduction and notes (Bell, 2s. 6d.). The copy from which Dr. Lupton made his transcript is unique, and has since gone astray (through no fault of his). But besides that interest of rarity, the translation is a quaint bit of sixteenth-century English. The notes are an English scholar's finest work.

Under the auspices of the Church Service Society, Dr. Leishman has published a new edition of *The Westminster Directory* (Blackwood, 4s. net). He tells the story of its origin in sympathetic fulness, and he prints its title-page as it appeared in the first English edition. Let us print it after him—

A
DIRECTORY
FOR
THE PUBLIQUE WORSHIP OF GOD
Throughout the Three
Kingdoms
OF
ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND
Together with an Ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of Common-Prayer
AND
For establishing and observing of this present Directory throughout the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales.
Die Jovis, 13 *Martii* 1644.
Ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, That this Ordinance and Directory bee forthwith Printed and Published:
Joh: Brown, *Cleric.* H. Elsinge, *Cler. Parliamentorum.* *Parl. D. Com.*
LONDON:
Printed for *Evan Tyler*, *Alexander Fifield*, *Ralph Smith*, and *John Field:* And are to be sold at the Sign of the Bible in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange. 1644.

THE BOOK OF PSALMS: BOOKS IV. AND V. By A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D. (Cambridge: *At the University Press.* Fcap. 8vo, pp. cxii, 547–847. 2s. net.)

The first thing to observe is the new arrangement of prices of the 'Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.' They are all net prices now, and much less than before. This thick volume at 2s. is marvellous. The Commentary follows the manner and the spirit of the two volumes which preceded it. Professor Kirkpatrick works on conservative principles, and yet he is keenly alive to the spirit as well as aware of the results of modern critical scholarship. Now that it is finished, it is our most convenient, complete Commentary on the Book of Psalms.

THE ANNOTATORS OF CODEX BEZÆ. By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., D.Litt., LL.D. (Cambridge: *At the University Press.* 8vo, pp. 184, with Two Plates.)

The Western Text is still the chief topic of interest among New Testament textual critics. And so Codex Bezæ, its greatest representative, is still the most studied of all the uncials. We have seen Dr. Rendel Harris's delightful *Study of Codex Bezæ.* We are not less charmed with his new book, a study not of the text of the Codex, but of its annotations and annotators. He finds that there was a whole series of annotators, who worked on the MS. from the ninth century to the twelfth, and he thinks it probable that, while they worked, the MS. lay in some S. Italian Church or monastery. In the course of his investigation he comes upon the matter of Sacred Lots, and digresses thereon in most instructive and entertaining fashion.

An old well-thumbed favourite is *The Child's Bible*, with its clear, large type, and its hundred full-page illustrations. Messrs. Cassell have reissued it, more handsomely than ever. The twelve coloured plates are highly attractive. But the whole book is an artistic success (crown 4to, pp. 620, 10s. 6d.).

THE MESSAGES OF THE PROPHETIC AND PRIESTLY HISTORIANS. By John Edgar M'Fadyen, M.A. (*Clarke.* Fcap. 8vo, pp. 382. 3s. 6d.)

Professor M'Fadyen of Knox College, Toronto, may be proud to have a hand in the series called 'The Messages of the Bible,' but the editor of the series was as proud to receive this volume from his hand. He has worked through the historical writings in the Old Testament from Genesis to Esther, and made them read as modern history. This is literally to treat the Bible as any other book, and the Bible does not suffer from the treatment. Here is a specimen of Mr. M'Fadyen's translations: it is the song of Isaiah in 2 K 19^{21-28}—the taunt-song, as Mr. M'Fadyen calls it, uttered against Sennacherib; he translates its substance only—

> With scornful laughter Zion's daughter greets thee,
> Thee who hast blasphemed Israel's holy God.
> Proudly thou boastest no land can resist thee:
> Though all the while thou art but Jahweh's tool,
> Working His ancient purpose on the nations.
> Yea, all thy doings are before mine eyes,
> And for thy rage and insolence I'll tame thee—
> Hook in thy nose and bridle in thy lips—
> And bring thee back the very way thou camest.

EXODUS. Edited by A. R. S. Kennedy. (*Dent.* 12mo. 2s.)

The second volume of *The Temple Bible* is edited by Professor Kennedy. It flatly contradicts the first volume, which was edited by Professor Sayce. And that not merely in repudiating the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, but in regarding it as having come into being through a wholly different set of causes, and as expressing a wholly different idea of God's Providence. The difference between the first two volumes of this beautiful edition of the Bible may fairly be counted a gain, and not a loss, at least by those who do not consider the problem of the authorship of the Pentateuch quite settled yet. Dr. Kennedy's notes are the terse expression of the most accurate scholarship.

MARY RICH, COUNTESS OF WARWICK. By Mary E. Palgrave. (*Dent.* Crown 8vo, pp. 330, with Portraits. 4s. 6d. net.)

'April 7.—Being Easter-day I got up very early, when I had first blessed God as soon as I awoke: when drest, I retired, and when I had read in the Word, I meditated for a great time upon the sufferings of my Saviour; and when I had warmed my heart by the consideration of His love I went to prayer. I did earnestly beg of God to seal unto me, in the sacrament, the assurance of my everlasting condition; then went to church, where

I heard Mr. Ken preach; his text was 1 John iii. 3: "And every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as He is pure." I was very attentive at the sermon, and moved by it; when sermon was done, I found my heart exceedingly to long after the blessed feast: my heart was much carried out to bless God, and I had there such sweet communion with Him that I could say it was good to be there.'

That is Lady Warwick with her own soul. Let us look at her relations with others—her husband will do best of all: 'After supper my lord, being passionate, provoked me to a dispute with him, wherein though I was by God's mercy kept from saying anything unfit to say to him, yet he was very bitter, and I was affected and troubled at his unkindness and wept much, yet did not come to any quarrel with him, but was troubled both at my folly in entering into a dispute with him, though I was in the right, and at my shedding tears, which I thought nothing deserved so much to have them shed for as my sins.'

The story of this life was surely worth telling. It has been told most pleasantly. No effort is made at description. The life is left to tell itself, especially as revealed in the Diary. The Diary is found in many manuscript volumes in the British Museum. The service that has been rendered by this book to literature and to devotion is most real and thankworthy.

The yearly volumes that issue from Drummond's Tract Depôt in Stirling are *The British Messenger* (1s. and 1s. 6d.), *The Gospel Trumpet* (6d. and 1s.), and *Good News* (4d. and 5d.).

Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode have published the second edition of *The Student's Handbook to the Psalms* (crown 8vo, pp. 470, 6s.), with a memoir of the author, the late Dr. John Sharpe, written by Dr. Sinker. It tells us all that was known and understood about the Psalter before the criticism of the Old Testament began, arranging its information clearly, and not forgetting that the real use of the Psalter is its religious use.

Of the many ways of studying the Epistles of St. Paul, the one most pleasing to the apostle himself is no doubt that which is followed by Dr. E. W. Bullinger in *The Church Epistles* (Eyre & Spottiswoode). For he seeks to reach Christ through them, Christ in all His fulness of grace and truth, and refuses to wait or waste his time over matters of date or distance. The 'Church Epistles' are Romans to Thessalonians. Their relation to one another is made out, but chiefly their relation to Christ.

SAMUEL AND HIS AGE. By G. C. M. Douglas, D.D. (*Eyre & Spottiswoode.* Crown 8vo, pp. 300. 6s.)

It is perfectly well known that Dr. Douglas, the Principal of the Glasgow United Free College, is not a Higher Critic. It is perfectly well known that he distrusts and dislikes the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament with all his heart. Nevertheless, he is an accomplished and most courteous opponent. When he publishes, he publishes what will never make him ashamed, though the Higher Criticism should triumph to-morrow. His sympathy, in spite of his scholarship, is with the unlearned reader of the Bible. Under the new methods so much seems lost, and all seems topsy-turvy. He believes that the traditional order is the best for science. But for religion it seems the only order that escapes confusion. So in this volume he reads the story of Samuel as our fathers read it, and he finds it good for instruction and for edification to our fathers' children.

THE AGE OF FAITH. By Amory H. Bradford, D.D. (*Gay & Bird.* Crown 8vo, pp. 306.)

In this quite impressive volume of theological papers Dr. Amory Bradford recognizes that the age of authority has given way to the age of faith. There are those who say that the age of authority has been succeeded by the age of unbelief (which often is called science). It is not so. Faith never was more general or more intense. When a man knows, as most men know now, that he must believe for himself, facing the Unseen without intervention, he finds faith easy. It is then not how little may I get on with, but how much can I receive out of the Divine fulness? This is the age of faith, and it will be so more and more as books so reasonable yet so religious as this are read. Take the chapter on Sin. It is not a subject for theological philosophy, it is a state of personal loss and enmity and unrest.

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By R. B. Drummond, B.A. (*Green.* 1s. net.)

The five discourses which make up this little book are described as expository; and correctly so. It might even be said that the volume just contains the exposition of a certain number of Christological texts. Their exposition is able, thorough, and fair. It is true that, after all the pros and cons are balanced, the scale falls regularly on the Unitarian side. A Trinitarian would find it fall the other way. Whence it follows that it is not by texts but by good works that the doctrine of the Trinity is proved.

LETTERS ON LIFE. By Claudius Clear. (*Hodder & Stoughton.* Crown 8vo, pp. 277. 3s. 6d.)

What is it that lifts these out of the mass of newspaper articles and makes them worth republishing? They seem to be all of the hour; they seem to handle matters of passing moment—not of occurrence perhaps, but of thought. Is it their expression? It is partly that. For the expression is somewhat singular. Not that it is old-fashioned or odd, as if it sought to introduce a Quaker to our streets in coat of leather and shoe-buckles. Its singularity is in its weight of feeling. The words are alive, they breathe, they sometimes heave with pressure of emotion. The expression has something to do with it. But the expression is not all. These letters, which touch mere matters of the passing hour, touch them from beneath. The passing hour is part of eternity. The moment's interest is undying. They seem sometimes superficial things; it is only because they are on the surface, and it is the surface of a great deep that surges with issues in which all men are involved.

SIX SAINTS OF THE COVENANT. By Patrick Walker. Edited by D. Hay Fleming. (*Hodder & Stoughton.* 8vo, Two Vols., pp. 407, 264. 25s. net.)

Who was Patrick Walker? Mr. Crockett says he was a pedlar; Mr. Hay Fleming says he was not. Mr. Crockett calls him 'the pedlar' throughout, as if peddling were his only undisputed occupation; Mr. Hay Fleming believes that the whole foundation for his being a pedlar is the metaphor about 'a pack to pin' in this sentence of his opponent, Andrew Harley: 'As long as we had a pack to pin we were not troubled with him, but when his means went from him he became a vagrant person, without a calling, and wandered through the country gathering old stories.' Now as Mr. Crockett writes the Foreword to this edition of Patrick Walker's *Six Saints*, and as Mr. Hay Fleming writes the Introduction and edits the volume, what is the unlettered and ignorant reader to do?

Why should we read Patrick Walker? Because of his style, say both Mr. Crockett and Mr. Hay Fleming. And they both give reasons, and even examples. This is Mr. Crockett's example: 'After a certain Mr. Barclay has defected from the particular section of the Covenantmen to whom this fiery-tender pedlar and ex-prisoner of the Lord pertained, Patrick Walker thus lays him out for decent burial: "After that expedition was over, Mr. Barclay said he had some business at Edinburgh, but would shortly return and take part with them; but when he came to the witty lown-warm air of Edinburgh, the heat of the summer of 1685 being over, the tables better covered, the chambers warmer, and the beds softer than the cold hills and dens of Carrick and Galloway, or the watery mosses and bogs of cold Calder Muir, he forgot to fulfil his promise, and suffered them to shift for themselves." If,' says Mr. Crockett, 'to do such things easily and naturally be not style, I do not know what style is.'

But why should we read him? Not surely because, as Mr. Hay Fleming tells us, 'his pages are always racy' and 'his epistles pithy'; not surely because, as Mr. Crockett tells us, 'according to his subject, Patrick laments in the language of Jeremiah the Prophet; he denounces like the Book of the Revelation; he is bitter as the Rutherford of *Lex Rex*; tender and sweet as the Rutherford of *Joshua Redivivus*, that mysteriously named collection of familiar letters.' No. Style is good, but truth is better. We read Patrick Walker because he wrote the lives of six Saints of the Covenant, and, in spite of all his detractors, seems to have laboured to get hold of the truth.

It may be that much of what Patrick Walker writes does not look like truth. And that condemns it at once in the eye of the modern critic and historian. All that is ancient must now be tested by verisimilitude. The question ever asked is, Is it likely? As if the unlikely never did happen by any chance or wonder in this world. The very Gospels are tested so. Is it likely that Jesus said, 'I and the Father are One'? Is it likely

that Jesus cried, 'Lazarus, come forth'? And then, because it is not likely, the critic forthwith pronounces that Jesus *certainly* never did say or do such things. Patrick Walker has suffered in good society. Mr. Hay Fleming says that wherever Patrick Walker's statements are due to his own observation, they may be taken as absolutely truthful; that his dates are, 'on the whole, amazingly correct,' and even his quotations fairly accurate.

It was an excellent service to render us, therefore, to print and publish Patrick Walker's *Six Saints*; and that it was done so handsomely makes the obligation deeper.

Messrs. Longmans have published an anonymous (unless 'A. B. B.' is Bishop Barry) selection of comments on the *Songs of Degrees* from Neale and Littledale's Commentary (1s. net).

Messrs. Longmans have also published a revised edition (being the eighth) of Mr. Balfour's *Foundations of Belief* (6s.). Besides new matter throughout (which is always distinguished by square brackets), it contains an introduction of thirty pages and a summary of twenty pages. Both are useful. In the introduction Mr. Balfour explains his object in writing his book. For he has found it often misapprehended. He says, for example: 'A well-known theologian (who, by the way, has himself completely failed to catch my general drift) observed in a review, which he has since republished, that the book is redeemed by its digressions.' A footnote tells us that the theologian is Principal Fairbairn. The notes also correct misapprehensions, sometimes with refreshing vigour. Mr. Frederic Harrison described a certain sentence in the book as a 'coagulated clot of confusions and misstatements.' Mr. Balfour is astonished no less at Mr. Harrison's 'wrath' and 'ill-humour' than at his 'elegant language,' and does not withdraw the sentence.

Messrs. Macmillan have undertaken the publication of a new edition of Thackeray, and *Vanity Fair* (3s. 6d.) is out. The great novel is found in one quite convenient volume, with all the author's illustrations, for the paper is just thin enough not to be transparent, the printing is a good fair size and very clear, the binding is original and most successful. It is an edition to do credit even to this publishing house, and not likely to be surpassed until they surpass it with a cheaper and better themselves.

THE CLEMENTINE RECOGNITIONS. By F. J. A. Hort, D.D. (*Macmillan.* Crown 8vo, pp. 173. 4s. 6d.)

Few men published less than Dr. Hort when he lived; few men have had more of their works published after death. But we will buy and study every word that is published of Dr. Hort's, and never cease to thank Mr. J. O. F. Murray for his diligence. This volume contains a short course of lectures. It therefore belongs to the class of Dr. Hort's writings that are perfectly lucid and popular. It gives us all we need to know about the 'Recognitions' before we read them, and much and further information regarding the Clementine literature in general. Mr. Murray has added some valuable notes, partly due to new discoveries.

THE CONFERENCE BETWEEN WILLIAM LAUD AND MR. FISHER THE JESUIT. Edited for 'The English Theological Library' by C. H. Simpkinson, M.A. (*Macmillan.* 8vo, pp. 508. 10s. 6d.)

Mr. Relton, who edits 'The English Theological Library,' has passed his numerous rival editors of old English theology in selecting writers that are really of paramount value, and deserve all the labour bestowed upon them. It is not what is popular and will sell, not what others edit, that he has selected and got edited; it is what has purpose and value for to-day, what has in it the exposition of everlasting truth, the exposure of perpetual error. Then the special editors are so carefully chosen that thus far there has not been a miss or a mishap; every volume is a classic, and every volume has been edited so as to make it as fit as possible for our use. In all respects this volume maintains the reputation acquired by its predecessors. This series will more and more be recognized as distinct from all others in workmanship and worth.

LECTURES AND ESSAYS. By the late W. K. Clifford, F.R.S. Edited by Leslie Stephen and Sir Frederick Pollock. (*Macmillan.* Globe 8vo, Two Vols. 10s.)

Professor Clifford's *Lectures and Essays* are published in the 'Eversley' Series, which will induce even those who do not know Professor

Clifford or do not believe in his thoughts to buy them. We do not believe in his thoughts when they pass the bounds of physical science. It is true that beyond the bounds of physical science he had no thoughts, he did not believe that there was anything to think about. But he said that no one else had any thoughts, and it is there that we do not agree with him. But in these volumes Professor Clifford is mostly within the sphere of the physical. And what a mastery of simple exposition he had when he found a sympathetic audience, and had his favourite 'Atoms' or the like in hand! A mastery he had of the English tongue, or at least that part of it that has to do with the things of the earth; and a great catching enthusiasm. As a teacher, who could excel him? And, now that the voice is still, these beautiful volumes will bring delight to a far larger audience than ever was reached by the living voice.

In the first volume the essays or lectures are on: (1) Some of the Conditions of Mental Development; (2) Theories of the Physical Forces; (3) The Aims and Instruments of Scientific Thought; (4) Atoms; (5) The First and the Last Catastrophe; (6) The Unseen Universe; (7) The Philosophy of the Pure Sciences. It is introduced by a biography and a selection from his letters. The second volume is more debatable and even doubtful: Body and Mind; On the Nature of Things in Themselves; On the Scientific Basis of Morals; Right and Wrong, the Scientific Ground of their Distinction; The Ethics of Belief; The Ethics of Religion; The Influence on Morality of a Decline in Religious Belief; Cosmic Emotion; and Virchow on the Teaching of Science.

HANDBOOK TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Frederic G. Kenyon. (*Macmillan*. 8vo, pp. 321. 10s. net.)

Quite recently we had Dr. Nestle's *Introduction*, much the same in size as this volume. But this is no repetition or superfluity. Rather is it surprising how completely Nestle and Kenyon have worked on separate lines, not intending to do so, but because their studies have lain apart. Nestle deals with the text itself, discussing many passages with minuteness; Kenyon deals with the conveyance of the text, giving rich and luminous information regarding the manuscripts and the versions. Thus both are needed, for both are masters in their special way and able to say the final word at any moment. We do not mean that they never cross; we do mean that they are so surprisingly separate that no student of the New Testament can take the one and say it will do for the other.

Perhaps the most interesting part of Dr. Kenyon's book is, after all, the part wherein it approaches Dr. Nestle's book most nearly. It is the eighth chapter; its subject, 'The Textual Problem.' It is a wonderfully clear account of all the types of text and the reasons why Westcott and Hort's have won the day. Its examination (and rejection) of Professor Blass's theory, in particular, is so masterly that it covers the whole ground within a page or two, never loses a point, and leaves a most distinct impression. Altogether, the science of textual criticism is immensely enriched by the publication of this volume, which has succeeded in appealing with equal effect to the beginner and to the scholar. The sixteen plates increase its usefulness, especially with the beginner, for whom the book is really written. Let the beginner begin with it rather than with a smaller, drier book.

A STUDENT'S HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. By Arthur Kenyon Rogers, Ph.D. (*Macmillan*. 8vo, pp. 526.)

Professor Rogers of Butler College is already known to literature by his *Brief Introduction to Modern Philosophy*. In a preface to the present work he frankly and modestly explains his purpose. He writes for the ordinary student taking his college course, who wishes to get up as much philosophy as he can in that time, and if possible understand what he gets up. So he writes untechnically,—as untechnically as the subject allows,—emphasizes the most influential philosophers, and, wherever it is possible, lets every writer give his own ideas in his own words. Of Socrates he says: 'In spite of his insistence upon his own ignorance, no one can be more thoroughly convinced that there is absolute truth, and that this truth is attainable by man. It is moral truth, however, not scientific or metaphysical. "This is the point in which, as I think, I am superior to men in general, and in which I might, perhaps, fancy myself wiser than other men—that whereas I know but little of the world below, I do not suppose that I know. But I *do* know"—and this

suggests the positive side—"that injustice and disobedience to a better, whether God or man, is evil and dishonourable, and I will never fear nor avoid a possible good rather than a certain evil." The moral scepticism of the sophists is entirely foreign to him.'

Professor Rogers has more interest than some philosophers in theology. His account of the 'Religious Period' of philosophy is useful, in spite of its brevity, and at any rate it is not misleading. Wisely, however, he has given his strength to the modern period, and by that he has made his book indispensable, at least to the student who is in a hurry.

WHAT IS HEAVEN? By F. E. Marsh. (*Marshall Brothers.* 9d.)

What is Heaven? The best recent answer is Christina Rossetti's—

How know I that it looms lovely, that land I have never seen,
With morning-glories and heartsease and unexampled green,
With neither heat nor cold in the balm-redolent air?
Some of this, not all, I know; but this is so—
Christ is there.

That is Mr. Marsh's answer also.

Under the title of *Looking unto Jesus* the Rev. W. Milne, M.A., of Montreux, has written about some aspects of our Lord's life and work (Marshall Brothers, 2s. 6d.).

Sunshine ought to succeed. Its name should be its fortune. But it is more than a name; it is a cleverly edited magazine for boys and girls, published by Messrs. Marshall Brothers.

THE SOUL'S ASCENT. By the Rev. F. B. Meyer, B.A. (*Horace Marshall.* Crown 8vo, pp. 334, with Portrait. 3s. 6d.)

This is the manual for the mission worker. It contains twenty-two mission addresses, arranged in order. That is to say, they begin with man just where the gospel begins with him—in the fearful pit and the miry clay. They carry him upward and onward step by step. They leave him when he is bearing much fruit. And every address is in the simple telling manner of this preacher, who has so often found men so, and left them so, as he has passed on his mission journeys.

THE TRINITY. By R. F. Horton, M.A., D.D. (*Horace Marshall.* Crown 8vo, pp. 302, with Portrait. 3s. 6d.)

The Trinity is a bold title for a volume of ethical sermons. It is the bolder, too, that it is the title and professed subject of only one of the sixteen. Nevertheless, it is no haphazard and no foolhardy title. For Dr. Horton has worked these sermons on a plan. Ethical as they are, bearing directly on the daily life of men here below, they all have their roots in doctrine, and the doctrine from which they all derive is the doctrine of the Trinity. When Charles Kingsley discovered the doctrine of the Trinity, he wondered how he could ever have lived without it; it seemed to enter so far into every region of his religious life. So seems it with Dr. Horton. Unless these strong sermons are all in the air, it is puzzling to know how any man can live a rich religious life without the doctrine of the Trinity.

THE FOUNDATION OF BRITISH EAST AFRICA. By J. W. Gregory, D.Sc. (*Horace Marshall.* Crown 8vo, pp. 293, with Maps and Illustrations. 6s. net.)

No novel can compete with a plain history of fact when the historian has the love of truth, the patience to attain it, and the power to express it. Professor Gregory has all that. Then it does not need a great subject—though this is great enough surely, great in extent of territory and in reach of interest involved: it will be treated as a branch of human history, and be of interest to man and boy. We have rarely been so unexpectedly caught in the meshes of a book. Its matter-of-fact manner seemed to promise too much information and too little emotion. But in Professor Gregory of the University of Melbourne is found a writer who can handle statistics so as to move to tears; and here he has men of the highest type of heroism to deal with—General Lugard one of them. Let your boy read this book, and then keep him back from Uganda and heroism if you can.

THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY NEW TESTAMENT. (*Horace Marshall.* Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.)

Two parts of this anonymous translation of the New Testament into modern English have already been received and noticed. The third part, containing the Pastoral and General Epistles, has now been issued (at 1s.), and the whole work published as above.

It is a translation direct from the Greek, Westcott and Hort being the text followed. It is done, we understand, by several hands, but the authorship is not made public. The aim is to present the most trustworthy text in the literary language of to-day. It is no revision, therefore; it is a new translation. Nor is it a word-for-word translation. While nothing is omitted, a word or a phrase is often inserted to make the meaning clearer. But an example (taken from the new part), the fairly difficult first verses of 1 John, will explain—

'Our subject is that which was in existence at the Beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen, that which we watched and touched—it treats of the Word who is the Life. That Life was actually made visible, and we have seen, and now bear our testimony to, and tell you of, that enduring Life, which was with the Father, and was then made visible to us. It is, we repeat, of what we have seen and heard that we have to tell you.'

IN LEPER-LAND. By John Jackson. (*Marshall Brothers*. Crown 8vo, pp. 282. 3s. 6d.)

Leper-land is India. Mr. Jackson went seven thousand miles among lepers in that land. He wrote down his impressions, experiences, and even conversations. He took photographs. All is reproduced in this handsome and painfully interesting volume.

The most interesting part of the volume is Mr. Jackson's account of his visit to Miss Mary Reed, the leper-missionary to lepers. That part is actually attractive, so beautiful is the personal character, so Christ-like the devotion, of this great missionary. For 'the tone and spirit of Miss Reed's life,' leper though she is, 'are the very reverse of melancholy. Her intervals of depression are few and brief. The general tenor of her life for these ten years past is expressed in a sentence from one of her letters: "I find so much help and blessing in song, and from day to day I prove that *faith*, *hope*, *love*, *work*, and *song* cause sorrow to depart."' Mr. Jackson is almost as great an enthusiast in the leper cause as its own missionaries. Such a work needs a historian, and that is his choice—less heroic, perhaps, but profitable for our instruction. His vivid narrative never loses the impression of the strictest accuracy.

LIGHT FROM THE HOLY HILLS. By K. Moody-Stuart, M.A. (*Morgan & Scott*. Crown 8vo, pp. 124. 2s. 6d.)

Fourteen great mountains—great in the history of religion—each one familiar in our mouths as household words, are here turned to religious uses, their names, their appearance, their history, all being made to read us spiritual lessons and declare the glory of God.

THE REFORMATION. By the Rev. J. A. Babington, M.A. (*Murray*. 8vo, pp. 372. 12s. net.)

If the chief merit of a historian is found in his style, this will not be called a brilliant history. It is written after the manner of Mr. Freeman, not after the manner of Mr. Froude. And no doubt style, if it is distinctive, even if it is affected, does arrest the ordinary mind, and makes a book a popular success. But there are greater gifts than even style. The gift of impartiality is greater, the love of the truth is greater. Mr. Babington has not written without reflection. He has studied the whole course of the Reformation in Europe, and some parts of it with evident minuteness. He has put himself successfully beside the Reformers, and beside those who needed reform. He has moved throughout the movement as an impartial but sincerely religious spectator—an Erasmus with all the advantage of history behind him. And when he writes, he writes with perfect simplicity of thought and orderly arrangement. If his book does not move to tears, it is because Mr. Babington has counted it his business to draw a full and faithful picture rather than excite emotion by strong partial colouring. He has, at the same time, the deepest sympathy with the Reformers and the Reformation. That it was a blessing, and how great a blessing it was, we see far more clearly in his truly historical pages than in any advocate's special pleading.

Should the Authorized Version continue to be used in the Public Services of the Church?[1]

By the Rev. S. R. Driver, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford.

Phil. iii. 20, 21 (A.V.): 'For our conversation is in heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ: who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself.'

The verses which I have just read, and which form part of the Epistle of to-day, afford two examples of the obscurity and error which have been introduced into the Authorized Version by changes which have passed over the English language since the date, now nearly three centuries ago, at which it was made. We all know what 'conversation' is; but some perhaps even in this cathedral, and certainly many of the numbers who in different churches of our land have heard this Epistle read to-day, do not know that it means here something completely different —something which, without a knowledge of the original Greek, the most intelligent and painstaking reader would be powerless to divine. 'Conversation,' wherever it occurs in the Bible, never means what it means now, *discourse*; it means usually *manner of life*, *behaviour*, being a Latin representative of ἀναστροφή (as in the words of Wesley's familiar anthem, 'So be ye holy in all manner of conversation'); and similarly in the O.T., where it stands for a word meaning 'way,' as in the Psalm which we have just heard: 'To him that ordereth his conversation right will I show the salvation of God.' In the text, however, it does not even correspond to ἀναστροφή, but to another Greek word altogether, πολίτευμα, and its meaning is either *citizenship* or, better, *constitution*,—so that the apostle's meaning is, the constitution or commonwealth to which we belong is a heavenly one; heaven is the true country of which we are citizens. As it happens, the corresponding verb in the Greek occurs in an earlier part of the same Epistle (1^{27}), in the passage which in the Authorized Version reads, 'Only let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel of Christ,' but in the Revised Version, 'Only let your manner of life be worthy of the gospel of Christ,' with the correct explanatory margin, '*behave as citizens* worthily of the gospel of Christ.' It is again the same very suggestive metaphor of a heavenly citizenship which the apostle uses, but which, in the only version which our Church in its official capacity places in the hands of its members,—and at least in the Prayer-Book alone permits to be used, —is, except by a specially trained and educated minority, totally undiscoverable.

The other word, the meaning of which has been changed by time, is the word *vile*,—'our vile body.' There are many places in the Bible in which *vile* is not meant to convey the idea which it now possesses of what is physically and morally detestable, but has simply the force of the Latin *vilis*, properly *cheap*, and then *common*, *lightly esteemed*, or at most *looked down upon*;[2] and this, no doubt, is the sense which the Translators of 1611 intended to express here; for the Greek is ταπείνωσις, *lowliness*, *low estate*—as it is rendered in the *Magnificat*, 'the lowliness, or low estate, of his handmaiden'; and the contrast is simply between the lowly earthly body which we at present bear, and the future glorified body which has been made like unto the risen body of Christ.

The two examples which my text has afforded are but specimens which might be almost indefinitely multiplied, of cases in which—partly through the imperfect scholarship of the seventeenth century, partly through the changes which many English words have passed through since—the Authorized Version entirely fails to convey to the reader of the present day the meaning of the original; or even, where the word employed is not actually obsolete, does what is perhaps worse—suggests a wrong meaning altogether. Some of the commonest words in our language, such as

[1] The opening paragraphs of a sermon preached in the Cathedral, Oxford, on the Twenty-third Sunday after Trinity, 1901.

[2] See Dt 25^{3} (the same Hebrew word is in 1 S 18^{23} rendered *lightly esteemed*); Job 40^{4} (R.V. *am of small account*); Jer 15^{19} (=*common*); Lam 1^{11}.

health, and *wealth*, and *strange*, and *tempt*, mean now something quite different from what they did in 1611, and wherever they occur must, to most readers, suggest inevitably a false meaning. And there are other passages, probably still more numerous, and certainly including many important ones, the true meaning of which is never heard in our public services, on account of their being incorrectly rendered in the Authorized Version. A well-known but seriously mistranslated text occurred only two Sundays ago in the first lesson of the morning service (Dn 3^{25}).[1] Instances of mistranslation are most frequent and glaring in the Epistles of the N.T. and in the poetical and prophetical books of the O.T., but they occur also often besides. Nor do they relate to points of merely antiquarian or philological interest; they relate often to important points of Christian doctrine, and they frequently have the effect of obscuring an argument, and of blunting, or even destroying altogether, the force, and life, and expressiveness of the word or figure employed by the biblical writer. Surely the time has come for these things to be changed. It surely needs no argument to show that the Bible and Prayer-Book, which our Church places in the hands of its members, ought to be written throughout in a language 'understanded of the people,' in a language which ordinary lay readers can follow and comprehend without difficulty. And the Bible, and not less the extracts from the Bible contained in the Prayer-Book, should also be placed in their hands in a translation which is accurate and trustworthy. We live in a city in which there are many teachers and tutors; and it may be safely said that there is not a single teacher here who, if it were necessary for his pupils to read a work written in some foreign language, would recommend to them a translation which he knew to abound in inaccuracies and obscurities; he would, we may be sure, if the work were an important one, take steps to provide a trustworthy translation himself. Our Church, strange to say, seems to be less careful, less anxious, in making provision for an accurate knowledge of the Bible than any teacher of a secular subject would be. Else how comes it that it persists in withholding from the laity renderings which are confessedly the correct ones, and which in any commentary taken at random are without hesitation recognized as such? It is surely a duty of the Church to take care that in all its public services the Bible should be read in the best translation which the scholarship of the day can provide, in a translation free from the defects which, arising from the causes that I have briefly indicated, so constantly make the Authorized Version, in spite of its inimitable literary excellences, obscure, inaccurate, and misleading. Is it too much to ask of the authorities of the Church that they should either sanction and encourage the public use of the Revised Version, or, if in their opinion this is not sufficiently good, that they should lose no time in taking measures to provide a version which is better?[2]

[1] The *Speaker's Commentary*, published now twenty-five years ago, makes here the required correction.

[2] The Bishops, it is right to say, have sanctioned the public use of the Revised Version, though hitherto, it is to be feared, with little effect; and the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, which in 1870 nominated the original Revision Companies, has taken no action in the matter.

Recent Foreign Theology.

Arabia before Islam.[1]

This pamphlet (35 pages long) forms part of a series of sketches published by the Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft with the title 'The Ancient East.' The author summarizes the history of the collection and deciphering of the S. Arabian inscriptions, and endeavours to put in an intelligible form the chief results of Sabæan studies. His style is lucid and easy; he is thoroughly familiar with his subject, for which he has had access to sources of information that are not yet open to the public. It is well known that the *animi cælestes* engaged on the study of S. Arabian antiquities are not free from the *iræ* which Virgil thought incongruous in such cases. In Glaser's numerous and valuable

[1] *Arabien vor dem Islam.* Von Dr. Otto Weber. Williams & Norgate.

works many hard words are to be found about Dr. H. Müller, whom many regard as the first of Sabæan scholars; and, from the fact that Dr. Weber does not mention Müller in his list of authorities, the reader could immediately guess what side the author takes in the dispute between these eminent authorities. He is to be thanked for having rendered the nature of Glaser's services clearer than previous statements have made them; and for attempting to rouse public interest in the collection of materials for the early history of Arabia which are still unprinted, and so to remove the obstacles (whatever they may be) which stand in the way of their publication.

Readers of the first part of Glaser's *History of Arabia* and of Winckler's *History of Israel* will be familiar with much of the matter that is summarized in this work; the statements which it contains have therefore ordinarily the authority of other investigators besides the writer, but it would be premature to say that they had universal assent. There is something unsatisfactory about conclusions of importance which are based on inaccessible documents, and the sooner all the sources of information are made public the sooner will the main points of disagreement between Sabæan scholars be settled. Meanwhile it is to be hoped that this pamphlet may be the means of encouraging many to start the study of the S. Arabian inscriptions.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

Oxford.

The Sources for the History of Jesus' Childhood.[1]

THE substance of this learned but obscurely written and unpleasantly printed book is in brief as follows. It is argued that the first two chapters of Matthew, with the exception of the genealogy, the journey to Egypt, the return, and the settlement in Nazareth; and the first two chapters of Luke, with the exception of the preface, the Magnificat, and the story of the boy Jesus in the temple, are based on a common written source. Both evangelists handled this source with freedom, omitting, adding, and manipulating according to need; Luke, however, going far beyond Matthew, with whose writing he was acquainted; whilst Matthew epitomized and copied Luke to a considerable extent transformed. They both agreed in rejecting the Docetic teaching of the source, and both endeavoured to adapt a narrative which was in the first instance heretical to the use of the orthodox Church. This source, which Resch has attempted to reconstruct in Hebrew and Greek out of the canonical Gospels and extra-canonical parallels, is found by Conrady in the apocryphon which is generally known as the Protevangelium of James. Its author was an Egyptian, very probably an Alexandrian, who was in the first instance a heathen, then a proselyte, and last of all a Christian of the Docetic type. As a Christian he still took deep interest in his earliest faith, and strove to effect a fusion of some of its elements with Christianity. In concert with the priests of Isis and Serapis, who are said (by our author) to have had holy places at Jerusalem and Bethlehem, he aided with his inventive pen the appropriation of these sacred sites by the Church. A form of the Isis-legend supplied him with much of his material. The leading actors in his narrative represent divine figures more or less associated with that part of the Egyptian Pantheon. Joachim and Anna, the parents of Mary, stand respectively for the earth-god Teb and the heaven-goddess Nut. Their child, Mary, is Isis. The aged Joseph is Thoth, 'the eldest who was at the beginning.' Zacharias is Sokari or Osiris. Elizabeth, perhaps, represents the seven-horned Hathor, and her name, which might signify (according to our author) 'my goddess is seven,' might glance at the seven horns. Elizabeth's spinning scarlet reminds us of the description of Hathor as 'the mistress of the red veil.' Jesus, the child of Isis-Mary, is Hor-pi-chrud, Horus, or the sun. The birth of Jesus in the Protevangelium has for its basis a description of the sunrise. A person must be blind, we are told, not to see this. The Magi are really the solar baboons who greet the new-born sun. Now these baboons are represented as coming from the eastern region of Punt, the land of spices. So the Magi are said to have come from the East with offerings of frankincense and myrrh. The star which led them is the morning-star. The cruel Herod is the spiteful brother of Osiris, Set or Typho. It is true that Set was not known to the Egyptians as a child-

[1] *Die Quelle der kanonischen Kindheitgeschichte Jesus.* Ein wissenschaftlicher Versuch. Von Ludwig Conrad. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900.

murderer, but that little difficulty is brushed aside by a reference to the pseudo-evangelist's fancy. This, it may be remarked by the way, is an expedient repeatedly adopted by our author. When no analogy, however far-fetched, can be discovered for an incident or an expression, it is said to have been invented. Simeon, that is 'hearing,' is Serapis, whom 'men at every time call helper.' The time at which the book was composed cannot be exactly fixed, but it may be assigned with confidence to the reign of Hadrian. About 120 A.D. is suggested as probable. It was soon translated into Greek, very probably in Alexandria, by a countryman of the author, who had, like him, passed from heathenism through Judaism into the Christian Church. As the book in its Greek form speedily attracted great attention, it was soon utilized for the Catholic Church by the writers of the First and Third Gospels, which therefore cannot have been written until about or a little after the end of the first quarter of the second century.

This extraordinary theory is supported by a great array of quotations and by a multitude of ingenious suggestions and bold hypotheses, but the reader's patience is severely taxed throughout the greater part of the volume by forced interpretations and fanciful conjectures and combinations.

The first and second sections, which treat successively of the existence of a source and of the relation of the canonical reports to the source said to have been discovered, abound in passages which shake the reader's confidence. The following are a few out of many which might be adduced. Apropos of the words of the angel, 'Thou shalt call His name Jesus' and the following quotation from Isaiah (Mt 1^{21-23}), it is suggested that Matthew, although acquainted with Hebrew, did not identify the name Ἰησοῦς as used by the angel with the יְהוֹשֻׁעַ or יֵשׁוּעַ of the O.T., but regarded it as a synonym of Ἐμμανουήλ. Is this in the least probable? One acquainted, as Matthew must have been, with both the Hebrew text and the Septuagint, could not fail to identify Ἰησοῦς with יֵשׁוּעַ, and would therefore not for a moment connect it with Ἐμμανουήλ. The prophecy containing the latter name is no doubt cited as referring to the divine origin of the child to be born, not to the name given by the angel. The words in the same context, 'He shall save His people from their sins,' are thought to represent a mistranslation. The original Hebrew is supposed to have been מחטאיהם, which meant, in the writer's intention, not 'from their sins' but 'from sinners' or 'the sinners against them.' Comment is needless. The attempt to find a common source for Matthew and Luke has led to the identification of the star-gazing Magi with the shepherds tending their flock by night. The star which led the Magi was metamorphosed by the ingenious Luke into the angel who addressed the shepherds, and the other stars supplied the angelic host. It is hard to understand how this could be seriously propounded. On p. 25 a remark of Strauss is approved, that the more wonderful a report the safer is the assumption that it was taken from a source. On p. 27 the piling up of wonders is said to be always a sign of a second hand. How can these positions be reconciled? If the latter is accepted the secondary character of the Protevangelium cannot be questioned for a moment, and the theory of Conrady collapses. Were there nothing else in this part of the book open to criticism, this uncertainty on a point of the first importance in this department of research would justify want of confidence in the author's capacity to guide safely through so difficult a region.

Of many points in the following portions which provoke dissent only three can be briefly discussed. That the original of the Protevangelium was written in Hebrew is improbable, at any rate on our author's theory. It may be allowed that a Palestinian Jew of the time of Christ writing for Jews might select Hebrew, but is it conceivable that an Alexandrian of the second century, of heathen origin and with strong heathen sympathies, would make use of that language when writing for Christians who were in the habit of using Greek or Aramaic?

Again, the early date assigned to the Protevangelium is not by any means proved. The Ignatian Epistles, which are said to betray acquaintance with the apocryphon, were not improbably written before it. Harnack suggests as possible dates for them, 110–117 or 117–125 A.D. If the Protevangelium was written, as Conrady suggests, about 120 A.D., or a little later in the reign of Hadrian, the probability of the use of a Greek version of it by Ignatius is exceedingly slender.

And, even if he had known it, would he have made use of such a suspicious document representing, according to our author, a form of teaching of which he strongly disapproved? The acquaintance of Justin also with the Protevangelium is not demonstrated, although its possibility may be admitted. The reference to the cave is certainly not conclusive. The Palestinian Justin could easily obtain information of that kind from local tradition. In the present state of the evidence there seems to be no actual proof of the existence of any part of the Protevangel before the end of the second century. The reference of Origen to a *βίβλος Ἰακώβου*, which is not quite accurately reproduced by Conrady on p. 220, is most naturally interpreted as an allusion to the Protevangel. In that case, as Origen elsewhere exhibits no acquaintance with the story of the death of Zacharias contained in our present text, Harnack's suggestion that he knew only chaps. 1–17, and that therefore the book as we have it was not compiled until after his time, seems highly probable.

The date for the composition of Matthew and Luke, which follows from the theory, reminds the reader of some of the results of the now discredited Tübingen school. We are asked to believe that Matthew and Luke did not compose their Gospels until the beginning of the second quarter of the first century, or at the earliest at the end of the first quarter, and that they had no source for the greater part of their narratives concerning the birth of Jesus and the events which preceded it but the Protevangelium, written a few years previously. This view hardly needs refutation. It is entirely incompatible with the place taken by these Gospels in the latter part of the second century.

Whilst, however, 'the scientific essay' must be pronounced a failure as to its main purpose, it is a valuable contribution to the study of an interesting apocryphon which has hitherto hardly received due attention from scholars, and contains much useful matter about the origin of Christian asceticism and some developments of Christian ritual. The collection of references to the birth and infancy of Jesus in the writings of Justin Martyr, which is much fuller than that in the Antilegomena of Preuschen, also deserves grateful mention.

W. Taylor Smith.

Sevenoaks.

Ritschl's Message for the Plain Man.[1]

This brief lecture is an eminently reasonable and sympathetic account of Ritschl's theology and its message for the plain man. Vischer undertakes to answer the question: What did Ritschl mean by evangelical Christianity? For one thing, he fought all his life against the idea that saving faith is submission to a number of dogmas or the acceptance of a series of historical facts. In this he was not singular; but he *was* singular, Vischer holds, in the decisiveness with which he set forth the historical fact of Christ's Person as the indispensable, but sufficient, revelation of God. Our idea of God must start from Christ, not from nature. In Christ a life was realized and put within the reach of believers, which overcomes this hostile and refractory world, by making all our experiences subservient to a spiritual faith and spiritual ends. A good deal of attention is given also to Ritschl's quarrel with Pietism. His three grounds of complaint against that movement as a a whole were its negative and deficient conception of our active life and vocation in the world, its tendency to foster a lack of personal assurance, and its mystical familiarity with Christ. Vischer admits that Ritschl went too far in his aversion to Pietism, and in this verdict most people will agree. So brief a pamphlet could not well bring new material to the discussion of its theme; nor can it be said in any substantial degree to relieve the difficulties which friendly outsiders find in the Ritschlian system, especially, perhaps, in its Christology. But Vischer writes with a quiet earnestness and conviction, which will leave their mark on the candid reader.

Schleiermacher's Conception of Religion.[2]

Huber's book is the kind of work which Germans do to perfection. He goes steadily through all

[1] *Albrecht Ritschls Anschauung von evangelischem Glauben und Leben.* Von Eberhard Vischer, Privatdozenten der Theologie in Basel. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. London: Williams & Norgate. Price 9d. net.

[2] *Die Entwicklung des Religionsbegriffs bei Schleiermacher.* Von Eugen Huber. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. London: Williams & Norgate. 1901.

Schleiermacher's extant writings, printed or in manuscript, and exhibits in all its fulness the development which is to be found in his conception of religion. As he keeps strictly to the subject of his inquiry, which has only to do with a particular theory of *religion in general*, we hear disappointingly little of the great thinker's interpretation of Christianity. But his Moravian training left its influence deep upon his thought, and it was thoroughly in accordance with the impression he received at Niesky and Barby, that *feeling*—a word which is like a red rag to some theologians—should always have been the most important term in his vocabulary. So exclusively, indeed, was he interested in the subjective side of religion, that, to quote Huber, 'we can state Schleiermacher's definition of religion almost without using the word God.' To the very end, philosophical theory made it difficult for him to accept the idea of the divine personality; in fact, it is impossible not to perceive that he never was entirely successful in translating into explicit theory the whole depth and richness of his religious experience.

The questions upon which he is here made to speak for himself are such as the relation between religion and knowledge, the seat of religion among the faculties of the soul, the connexion of piety with dogma, science, and action, and the necessity inherent in religion of expressing itself in a common fellowship. A specially difficult and intricate chapter in the exposition is that dealing with his psychology, and Huber's pages show at great length the vacillating and indeterminate character of his conclusions on this subject. Schleiermacher's theories were often strangely abstract, and had only a secondary relation to experience and history. But one constant aim united all his varying modes of statement—the resolve to vindicate for religion an independent and impregnable place in the inward life of man.

Huber has done his work so admirably that many years must elapse ere it will have to be done again. He writes with all possible clearness and precision, and not infrequently by a happy paraphrase brings much-needed light into the obscurities of his author. He is thoroughly aware of the greatness of the man whose thoughts he is expounding. Indeed, perhaps the most memorable pages in his book are those in which he draws a vivid and convincing parallel between Schleiermacher and Luther. Both men were Reformers, and both reformations were religious. But the earlier was shaped more by ethical, the later more by intellectual, conditions. It was Schleiermacher's task to show 'that we can possess the truth without belonging to the learned, and be religious without becoming unscientific.'

H. R. Mackintosh.

Aberdeen.

Holzinger's 'Joshua.'[1]

Mutatis mutandis, the general remarks made on Holzinger's *Exodus* in The Expository Times for January 1901 might be repeated here. The two volumes are constructed on identical lines: the same close attention is paid to textual criticism and the analysis of the book into its component elements; there is the same brevity in the Commentary proper. We cannot attempt to discuss the many interesting points raised by the investigation of the sources, nor would anything be gained by a cursory review. Holzinger's arguments must be read in his own words if justice is to be done them. He does not differ from his predecessors, Driver, G. A. Smith, Bennett, Steuernagel, and the rest, for the mere sake of opposition. He has shown the untenableness of Steuernagel's theory that the compiler of Joshua made use of J and E separately rather than in the combined document JE, and in many passages he has set in a clear light the distinction between P^g and P^s. As an example of the way in which he treats the critical problems of Joshua we select the analysis of chap. 20, because the reader who is not familiar with Hebrew can easily satisfy himself that the chapter is composite: 'The cities of refuge are next appointed, no account being taken of Dt 4^{41-43} $19^{1ff.}$, where Moses appoints three such cities in the east, and, in accordance with Nu 35^{9-15}, leaves three others to be appointed in the west. There is nothing to prevent this law being ascribed to P^g: we may therefore expect to be told of its being carried into effect. But the chapter as now extant did not originate wholly from P^g; vv.$^{4-6}$, excepting $^{6a\beta}$, is a late expansion. The discrepancy betwixt the limits fixed in $^{6a\beta}$ and $^{6a\gamma\delta}$ respectively involves a real difficulty both in point of grammar and of fact, and tells against Dillmann's suggestion that

[1] *Das Buch Josua.* Erklärt von Dr. H. Holzinger. Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. Mohr. 1901.

the text was abbreviated by the LXX. Moreover, $^{6a\beta}$—which the LXX, even A and Luc, attaches to v.^{3}—is meaningless in its present position, for the action prescribed in v.$^{4b.\,5}$ presupposes a judicial procedure which is also expressly ordered in ^{4a}. Vv.$^{4.\,5.\,6a\alpha\gamma\delta b}$ are therefore a late gloss, which, save for the fragment $^{6a\beta}$, has driven out the original conclusion (cf. v.^{3}, LXX, resembling Nu 35^{12}, but not identical, and consequently not corrected, as Steuernagel thinks, to bring the two into harmony). The fragment $^{6a\beta}$ was probably retained from a wish to distinguish between the proceedings before the elders, v.^{4}, and the final action before the congregation required in v.^{9}. The title *high priest*, used in the gloss at $^{6a\gamma\delta}$, also points to P^{s}. We cannot here enter into the results which follow with reference to Nu 35$^{15ff.}$ V.^{3} furnishes a proof that vv.$^{4.\,5.\,6a\alpha\gamma\delta b}$ are a gloss; בִּבְלִי דַעַת is an addition to בִּשְׁגָגָה (which stands alone in v.^{9}), taken from v.^{5}, and not implied by the text of LXXA, which in other respects is assimilated to the M.T. Here again we find P^{s} using D's vocabulary: Dt 4^{42} 19^{4} has בִּבְלִי דַעַת, instead of בִּשְׁגָגָה; cf. also $^{6a\delta}$ with Dt 17^{9}, and $^{4a\alpha}$ with Dt 4^{42} 19^{5}, and $^{4a\beta}$ with Jos 8^{29}; at $^{4a\beta}$ we have וְקָנֵי הָעִיר, as at Dt 19^{12} 21$^{3ff.}$ 22^{15} 25^{8}; at ^{4b} אָסַף, as in Dt 22^{2}. Compare ^{5a} with Dt 19$^{6.\,12b}$ and ^{5b} with Dt 19^{4}, and D's influence is at once evident. The gloss יְרִיחוֹ מִזְרָחָה, v.^{8}, is free from any tendency. But there are other traces of expansion in $^{7ff.}$: P^{g} knew nothing about a settlement of half the tribe of Manasseh in the east (cf. 13$^{29ff.}$ 14$^{1ff.}$ 17$^{1ff.}$). The expressions employed are also striking: in v.^{2}, when the command is given, we have תְּנוּ; in v.^{7}, when it is carried out, we find וַיַּקְדִּישׁוּ, which, as the notes on the text show, is probably a copyist's mistake for וַיִּקְרוּ or וַיַּבְדִּילוּ, occasioned by the קֹדֶשׁ in the verse; v.^{8} resumes with נָתְנוּ; in v.^{7} we are struck by בַּגָּלִיל, a word not found in P^{g} and superfluous alongside בְּהַר נַפְתָּלִי; in v.^{9} by the *hap. leg.* עָרֵי הַמּוּעָדָה; in the same verse we may accept Dillmann's view that הָיוּ—not implied by the LXX—is an interpolation which takes account of the post-exilic situation. The simple conclusion, $^{9b\beta}$, shows that we here have portions of a text of P^{g}; the cities of refuge ensure a temporary abode until the matter has been cleared up by a legal process. Everything indicates that vv.$^{7-9}$ were brought by R into harmony either (as Dillmann, 569, thinks) with a narrative by JED of the carrying into execution of Dt 19$^{1ff.}$, or, more probably, with the position maintained in Dt 4$^{41ff.}$. That is a piece of close and careful reasoning, worthy of being pondered in every particular.

The second half of Joshua contains an immense number of geographical puzzles. In many instances it is impossible to retrace satisfactorily the boundaries which are so vaguely described, or to identify the towns, which were never distinguished by a historical association. The notes of interrogation appended to a large number of names in Dr. Smith's recently published Map bear witness to the uncertainty which still remains. Holzinger's note on 11^{5} is enough to prove that the Rev. J. A. Selbie[1] was justified in expressing the wish that queries had been appended in one or two additional examples: 'The identification of מֵי מֵרוֹם with the Lake of Huleh is altogether arbitrary, and is inconsistent with the description of the fight in v.^{8} The Northern Canaanites would not have suffered their foes to march direct through their territory, nor would the Israelites themselves have left so many unconquered cities in their rear. Excepting in 1 Mac 11^{67} (ὕδωρ Γεννεσαρ) כִּים does not mean "sea" (יָם). The older tradition does not make them equivalent. Jos., *Ant.* v. 1. 8, relegates the fight to the neighbourhood of a city called Βηρωθη (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 20. 6, and *Vita*, 37, Μηρωθ) near Kadesh. In the *Onom.*, 278. 99, the Waters of Merran (Μερραν, cf. LXX, Pesh.) are placed in the district of Dothan, twelve miles north of Sebaste; this situation suits admirably; the confederates move south and offer battle in the plain, Sahl Arrābeh. The Map of Western Palestine has a ruin el-Māruneh in the south-east of the plain: we must leave open the question whether מֵי מֵרוֹם means a spring or the *Wady es-Salhab* which runs through the plain.' Until the old arguments here recapitulated have been more satisfactorily refuted, and the fresh ones advanced have been set aside, it will be advisable to hold, at least, that the identification of Huleh and the Waters of Merom is not established.

JOHN TAYLOR.

Winchcombe.

[1] THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, xii. 556.

The Servant of the Lord.

By the Rev. R. M. Moffat, M.A., Frome.

III.

The Suffering Servant (Isa. lii. 13, liii.).

We are now to study a passage which is perhaps dearer to believers than any other in the Old Testament. Some of the phrases which occur in it are peculiarly appropriate to Jesus Christ, and we love to apply them to Him. We speak of them as finding their fulfilment in Him. The fact of real importance is, that it is from Himself that we have learned to do this (Lk 22^{37} 24^{25}). But for Him it is doubtful if we should have come to do so, seeing that no Jewish disciple of His would have dreamed of identifying the Messiah with the suffering servant of the Lord, until taught by Jesus to do so. The chief question, therefore, which we have to answer is: What do we mean when we say that this prophecy of II Isaiah was fulfilled in Jesus Christ?

The prophet himself, as we have seen, was not thinking of an individual at all when he spoke of the servant; and we shall accordingly have to draw a very careful distinction between the meaning of the prophet and the further meaning of the Holy Spirit who inspired him. This distinction has been illustrated by the difference between the understanding a workman has of the part he is doing in the construction of a great building, and the understanding of the same piece of work by the architect of the whole building. 'While the workman may have perfect comprehension of the piece of work he is engaged upon, and be full of enthusiasm in the execution of it, he may not be able to see the place it will hold in the completed fabric, or the great meaning which may accrue to it from the whole. This can be perceived only when the fabric is reared.'[1] In the same way, what the prophet meant can be fully determined by considering his words in the light of the events of his own day. 'The question as to what the Holy Spirit meant can be answered only from the point of view of a completed revelation.' As we see the prophecy unquestionably fulfilled, we are able to say how much more was in the mind of the Spirit than in the mind of the prophet.

[1] Riehm's *Messianic Prophecy*, p. xiii.

Let us begin, then, by interpreting as accurately as we can just what was in the mind of the prophet when he uttered this noble prophecy. Only when we have done that shall we be able to proceed intelligently to the fascinating and all-important question of how his words were fulfilled. The description of the servant before us is introduced in exactly the same way as the one we studied in chapter 49, that is to say, just after a great appeal to the people to come forth from Babylon. It would be altogether idle to question the identity of the servant in chapter 53 with the servant in chapters 49 and 50, unless some new feature appeared which should make it difficult to reconcile the two descriptions. No such difficulty presents itself; and, after our careful inquiry as to who the servant is, it would be mere waste of time to labour the point that he is not an individual, but the God-fearing heart of the nation. In chapter 50 the servant was depicted as a martyr—a martyr because of his determination to witness faithfully for God. In chapter 53 we are told the purpose of his sufferings, and are shown that they are in order to his people's salvation.

The subject of this passage is, then, the humiliation and the exaltation of the servant, and the reasons for them. The topic was briefly treated in chapter 49, where we read, 'Thus saith the Lord . . . to him whom man despiseth, to him whom the nation abhorreth, to a servant of rulers; kings shall see and arise; princes, and they shall worship; because of the Lord that is faithful, even the Holy One of Israel, who hath chosen thee.' This subject is now developed and explained. The passage we are to consider is divided in the Hebrew into five strophes, and these are represented in the R.V. by five paragraphs of three verses each. I shall give a somewhat modified translation as we proceed—a translation partly suggested by the marginal readings in the R.V. Some of the phrases in the ordinary rendering are far from plain, and I wish to bring out the meaning as clearly as possible.

1. In the first strophe (52^{13-15}) we have the statement of the theme. The words are put into the mouth of the Lord, and they tell us that the servant shall succeed in his undertaking and be exalted; and that, when he is really known and understood, he shall be received with homage by kings.

'Behold, my servant shall prosper, he shall be exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high. Like as many were astonied at thee (his visage was marred from that of man, his form from that of the sons of men), so shall he startle many nations; kings shall shut their mouths before him: for that which had not been told them shall they see; and that which they had not heard shall they consider.'

The verb in the first line is rendered "deal wisely" in the text, and "prosper" in the margin. It really means, deal wisely in such a way as to prosper. The sufferings of the servant are sure to succeed: they will not be thrown away. God has a purpose in them, God who holds his hand. Therefore in the long-run there will be a recognition of his work of faith, and labour of love, and patience of hope, and he will be exalted.

> Truth for ever on the scaffold,
> Wrong for ever on the throne;
> Yet that scaffold sways the future;
> And behind the dim unknown
> Standeth God within the shadow
> Keeping watch above His own.

Keeping watch, and seeing to it that His servant's labour is not in vain in the Lord.

Many who look on at the time do not understand the mighty power of suffering for righteousness' sake. The conception is too high for them: they cannot attain unto it; but later on they, or their descendants, build the sepulchres of the prophets they slew, and so acknowledge the folly and the crime. The greatest instance in history is, of course, the death of Christ. Did those who slew Him really suppose that that stupid cross was going to prevent the setting up of a Kingdom not of this world? They actually hastened by mistake the coming of the Kingdom; and now it must stand and grow for ever till all the nations own Christ's sway.

Ever since the black deed on Calvary there have been those who have 'considered' that to which they had previously shut their eyes; and their remorse has drawn from them the confession—

> O the bitter shame and sorrow
> That a time could ever be
> When I let my Saviour's pity
> Pass me by, and proudly answered,
> All of self and none of Thee.

Or here is another illustration. When the Reformers of the sixteenth century rose as the servant of the Lord to purify His Church of scandalous abuses, many within the Church shook their heads and questioned the wisdom of the step, many opposed themselves; and the Council of Trent made matters no better, but merely asserted that Roman Catholicism would never be reconciled to Protestantism. Persecution and martyrdom followed for all heretics upon whom the Church could lay her hands, and many precious lives were, from one point of view, uselessly sacrificed. But mark the result in the long-run.

'Everywhere in Catholic countries as in Protestant, the practices have been abandoned which the laity rose then to protest against. The principles on which the laity insisted have become the rule of the modern world. Popes no longer depose princes, dispense with oaths, or absolve subjects from their allegiance. Appeals are not any more carried to Rome from the national tribunals, nor justice sold there to the highest bidder. The clergy have ceased to pass laws which bind the laity, and to enforce them with spiritual censures. Felonious priests suffer for their crimes like unconsecrated mortals. Too zealous prelates cannot call poor creatures before them *ex officio*, cross-question them on their beliefs, fine, imprison, or burn them at the stake. Excommunications are kept in bounds by the law of libel. Itinerant pardon-venders no longer hawk through Europe their unprofitable wares. . . . These scandals against which the laity cried so loudly are gone, and the devoutest Romanists would not wish to revive them.' So says Mr. Froude.

The whole world, Catholic as well as Protestant, has cause to thank God for the Reformation, and a man can deny that statement only by approving of the evils which the Reformation did away with. The Reformers were servants of the Lord, who dealt wisely and prospered in the thing whereto God sent them. Wherefore also God hath exalted them; and kings who are true kings are silent in the presence of these, who are greater than kings.

2. After the words of the Lord in chapter 52, chapter 53 appropriately begins with the confession of the conscience-stricken people. The Lord has spoken of the servant as one who shall startle many nations, and before whom many heathen kings shall shut their mouths. After this reference to the heathen, the prophet represents the people as saying penitently, 'But among us Jews, who hath believed what we have heard? And to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed? For he grew up before Him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground. He hath no form or comeliness that we should look upon him; nor beauty that we should desire him. He was despised and rejected of men, a man of pains and acquainted with sickness; and as one from whom men hide their face he was despised, and we esteemed him not.' The beginning of the last clause might also be rendered, 'He hid as it were his face from us'; the reference in either case being clearly to one afflicted with leprosy. We are reminded of the regulation in Leviticus: 'The leper shall cover his upper lip, and shall cry, Unclean, unclean' (13^{45}). The servant, then, is here described as a leper, hideous with a fearful disease, unsightly and despised. As we read three verses before, 'His visage was marred from that of man, and his form from that of the sons of men,'—he was only just recognizable as human.

3. And the people go on in the next strophe: 'Surely he hath borne our sicknesses, and carried our pains: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God and degraded. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement that brought us peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep went astray: we turned every one to his own way; and the Lord made to light upon him the iniquity of us all.'

Here, then, we have the reason of His humiliation. At first the people thought that the servant was suffering for his own sins: among primitive men that is always the first conclusion. The more a man suffers, the worse he must be, the more abhorrent to God. But reflection shows that this is absolutely false to the facts of life. The people could not help seeing at length that the servant was not suffering for his own sins; and as they were forced to seek a moral reason for his sufferings, they had to ask themselves the question: Whose sins, then, is he suffering for? And conscience gave the answer: *Theirs*. The sufferings of the servant were vicarious; they were redemptive, in order that his fellows might have peace with God.

4. In the next strophe it seems to be the prophet himself who speaks. He tells how the servant bore undeserved treatment with patience and endurance. None of his contemporaries understood the real nature of his sufferings, and even after his death they pursued him with ignominy, burying him with extortioners. 'He was oppressed, yet he humbled himself and opened not his mouth; as a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb; yea, he opened not his mouth. By oppressive judgment he was taken away; and as for his generation, who among them considered that he was cut off out of the land of the living? For the transgression of my people was he stricken. And they made his grave with the wicked, and with extortioners after he was dead; although he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth.' These verses tell us how he was judged to be a malefactor, owing to the usual judgment of those days upon the afflicted. We shall at once remember how the Book of Job combats this cruelty and lack of sympathy towards suffering.

5. In verse ^{10} the prophet passes from what the people thought of the servant to what God thought of him; and we are shown in the last strophe the great reward to the servant for all that he had to bear, as described in verse ^{6}. 'Yet the Lord had purposed to bruise him; he laid sickness on him; if his life were to make an offering for sin, he should see a seed, he should prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord should prosper in his hands.' In the last two verses the Lord Himself speaks: 'Out of the travail of his soul he shall see, and shall be satisfied by his knowledge (*i.e.* knowledge of Jehovah). My righteous servant makes many righteous, and bears their iniquities. Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he poured out his soul unto death, and was numbered with the transgressors; yet he bare the sins of many, and interposed for the transgressors.'

Now let us try to get at the heart of this utterance, so stately, so full of pathos. We need not pause to speculate whether the prophet had a

particular sufferer in view when he spoke of the servant as a leper, and as treated as a felon. His words are too vague for that to be likely. Leprosy and perverted justice are mentioned because these are two of the worst and two of the commonest misfortunes in the East. Besides, the prophet speaks as if he were sometimes referring to the past, sometimes to the future; and the more we examine his words, the more we feel that he is not thinking so much of a definite event as of an ideal. As the spokesman of God, as one who tarries in the secret place of the Most High, whose ear the Lord wakeneth morning by morning, and to whom the Lord hath given the tongue of the learner, the prophet comes forth and declares in the name of God what must happen some day. Because God is love He will assuredly redeem His people, and save them from their sins; and this is a magnificent prophetic anticipation of the method of redemption. The prophet could not know that 550 years after his day God would become man, and suffer for the sins of men. It was not possible for him to make this truth known. What he actually did was a far grander thing—he proclaimed to his generation a permanent moral and spiritual truth. He did not know that God would ever suffer on earth for men, but he stated the highest that he knew: that God-fearing, God-like men would suffer, do suffer, for sins not their own; and he ventured to believe that their sufferings would be redemptive as well as vicarious. It is a permanent truth that righteous men suffer vicariously; but since the days of II Isaiah the prophet's words have had a greater fulfilment than he would have dared to anticipate, and we know that the sufferings which are redemptive are the sufferings of God.

And, now that we have tried to show that the prophet describes a moral situation rather than a historical event, the way is clear for us to see how his words apply to Jesus Christ. In a literal sense, some of them do not apply in the least. Christ was not a leper, nor have we any reason to believe that He was outwardly marred. Though virtue went out of Him when He bare men's sicknesses, He did not transfer them to Himself. And, of course, neither did He make His grave with the wicked or extortioners. It is not so much in outward circumstances as in the moral and spiritual sphere that we must look for the resemblance between Jesus Christ and the servant of the Lord; for that is precisely what Jesus Himself did. 'As He read the Scriptures, He was always looking for the spiritual situation and its peculiarities. He thus interpreted His own surroundings and the situation in His own time by the light He obtained from Scripture. He argued from the unchangeableness of God and the constancy of His methods to the way in which God would act'[1] in similar circumstances in the future. And so, with unerring prophetic insight, He made the application to His own time, of permanent spiritual truth. As soon as He knew, after His baptism, of His mission as Messiah, He applied to Himself the Old Testament statements about deliverers of Israel, and thought out in anticipation what His destiny or fate would be. 'He searched the Old Testament to form a spiritual history of His own future.'[1] He chose parts out of psalms and prophets which otherwise would hardly be reckoned appropriate to Him, perceiving that the words found a spiritual fulfilment in Him. 'He was all unconscious of arbitrariness; for He felt Himself vindicated spiritually.'[1] In particular, with regard to the condition of the Jews, and their need to be redeemed from sin, He saw that the spiritual situation of the time of II Isaiah 'had repeated itself, and even more emphatically.' But most remarkable of all is the way in which He conceived the Messiah and the suffering servant as one and the same, and proceeded to regard His career as destined to fulfil the prophecies concerning both, at least as regards the spiritual aspects of what was written of them. The Messiah of Jewish expectation was a king on whom the sevenfold Spirit of the Lord should rest—a king who should judge with righteousness, and with the breath of his lips slay the wicked (Is 11). The Messiah was always conceived of as a victor, never as a victim. How abhorrent the idea of the Messiah suffering was to the Jew may be gathered from Peter's words, after he had acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah, and Jesus spoke of His approaching sufferings. 'Peter began to rebuke Him, saying, Be it far from Thee, Lord: this shall never be unto Thee.' But Jesus, with matchless insight, had perceived that it was a greater thing for the Messiah to be a persecuted prophet than even a righteous and victorious king—greater to stoop and bear men's sins than to reign and exact their service. And so, to the spiritually lesser office

[1] Adamson's *Studies of the Mind in Christ*, 119–121, 123.

He added the spiritually greater, and chose to reign over men through their hearts, having first won their love by bearing their sin. 'I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me,' He said. The cross was to be His throne; and through it He has reigned ever since. 'Wherefore also God highly exalted Him, and gave unto Him the name which is above every name.' He who was called Jesus because he should save His people from their sins, bears in a unique sense the name of Redeemer of mankind. Yet such is His grace that He calls believers to be fellow-workers with Him in the work of redemption. The apostle who most of all, perhaps, had the mind of Christ, ventures to speak of 'filling up on my part that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for His body's sake, which is the Church' (Col 1^{24}). So though there has been only one who actually bore men's sins, only one who has made men righteous, yet it is a permanent truth that God-fearing men in all ages constitute a servant of the Lord, through whose sufferings mankind is brought to own and to love the sway of God.

Recent Biblical Archaeology.

By A. H. Sayce, LL.D., D.D., Professor of Assyriology, Oxford.

The City of Enoch.

In The Expository Times for May 1899 I have shown that a close connexion exists between the antediluvian patriarchs of Genesis and the antediluvian kings of Babylonia—so close, indeed, as to make it clear that the biblical account is as much dependent on Babylonian traditions as is the story of the Flood. As has long been recognized, moreover, the genealogy of the Cainites is but a variant form of that of the Sethites, though the reason of the variation in the order of the names does not seem to have been explained. Whereas in the Sethite line the order is Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, and Methuselah, it is reversed in the Cainite line, where we have Enoch, Irad, Mehujael, and Methusael. The fact is that the source, or sources, from which the writer of Genesis derived his materials did not indicate the links of relationship between the several names, which must have followed one another without any explanation, as is sometimes the case in the First Book of Chronicles (*e.g.* 2^{47} 4^{3}). They were taken from lists similar to those with which the cuneiform tablets have made us familiar, in which groups of words or names are arranged one under the other without comment, and it is left to the reader to supply the links of relationship that exist between them. Where the names stand in genealogical order, it is open to him to regard them as denoting either father and son or son and father. Hence Mahalaleel-Jared might mean either that Jared was the son of Mahalaleel, or that Mahalaleel was the son of Jared. The two-fold view that is taken of the relationship in the Book of Genesis points to a cuneiform tablet with its vertical columns as the source from which the names are derived.

Why Enoch heads the list in the Cainite genealogy is clear. Cain, 'the smith,' represents the civilized inhabitant of the Babylonian city, and must therefore have been the builder of a city in the country east of Eden,—or Edin, the 'Plain' of Babylonia,—to which he had migrated. Here was a district which figured a good deal in early Babylonian history, and usually bore the name of Khana. The proper names contained in a contract from the land of Khana published by M. Thureau-Dangin, show that it was inhabited by a Hebraic or West Semitic population similar to that to which the Israelites belonged (see my note in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, January 1899).

Now we learn from the inscriptions recently discovered by M. de Morgan at Susa, that in the early days of Babylonian history the Sumerian suffix KI, 'place,' was often pronounced by the Semites at the end of the geographical name to which it was attached, and which was consequently made to terminate in a guttural. Thus on the obelisk of Manistusu we have Zimana-k, Kharkhamuna-kki, Kazura-kki, Nana-kki, and in a text of

Meli-sipak (p. 99) we read of the city Tama-kku. In the same way Khana-KI would have been known as Khana-k.

Here, then, we have the name of the city of Enoch, which, like Khanak, lay on the east side of Babylonia, and was inhabited by members of the same West-Semitic family as Ur of the Kasdim where Abraham was born. Indeed, the Khana contract which I have already mentioned was drawn up in 'the city of the country of Kasdaim.'

If the city of Enoch is Khanak, the form of the name has been assimilated to the Semitic personal name, which meant a 'dedicated priest.' Those who will, however, may see in the Phrygian Annakos, or Kannakos, a survival of its original pronunciation, though for my own part I am more inclined to believe that these two variants of the name of the Phrygian Enoch have been conformed to the Asianic Nannakos.

Tarshish.

Tarshish has been so long identified with Tartessos, that in spite of the difficulties, both phonetic and historical, that lie in the way of the identification, the old supposition that it represented the classical Tarsos has been almost forgotten. But a closer examination of the tenth chapter of Genesis has now led me to believe that, after all, the old supposition was correct.

In Gn 10^{2-4} we are told that the sons of Japhet were Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan and Tubal and Meshech and Tiras, and that the sons of Javan were Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Rodanim. The Tel el-Amarna tablets have informed us what Elishah means. It is the cuneiform Alasia, the Al(a)sa of the hieroglyphs, where it is first met with in the list of the conquests of Thothmes III. in the extreme north of Syria. The name belongs to the epoch of the eighteenth and nineteenth Egyptian dynasties, and disappears from the geography of the post-Davidic age—a fact which deserves to be noticed in connexion with the date of the ethnographical table of Genesis. I have already identified it in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, xii. p. 29, with the Alêian plain of Greek geography, where Homer describes the Lycian hero Bellerophon as wandering. The Greek name implies an earlier Alâsion; and the Egyptian Government, in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, states that the Lukki or Lycian pirates, who had made a descent on the coast of the Delta, were under the jurisdiction of the king of Alasia. In fact, Cilicia adjoined Lykaonia, which preserved the name of the Lycians, and Strabo makes the Alêian plain occupy that part of Cilicia which extended from Tarsus to Mallos and included the Saros, or Royal river, on which the city of Adana stood. Iapetos, the brother of Adanos, and son of heaven and earth, was one of the seven great gods of Cilicia, according to Stephanus Byzantinus, and in Iapetos it is impossible not to recognize Japhet.

Elishah is associated with Tarshish as a son of Javan; Tarshish accordingly must have been in Cilicia, adjoining Alasia, and have contained an Ionian population. As a matter of fact, the foundation of both Tarsus and Mallos was ascribed to Mykenæan Argos. Kittim and Rodanim, Cyprus and Rhodes, were also occupied by Greeks at an early period, and the 'Ionian' district of the tenth chapter of Genesis would thus have embraced the coast of Cilicia along with Cyprus and Rhodes. It was in Cilicia, however, that its chief centre was to be found. This results from v.[2], where Javan is associated with Tubal and Meshech, the Tabalâ and Muskâ of the Assyrian inscriptions, as well as with Tiras, which seems to be the Tursha of the Egyptian texts.[1]

The fact has an important bearing on the language of the representatives of the Mykenæan age of culture. It looks as if some of them at least really spoke an early form of Greek. We should thus have an explanation of borrowed Greek words like *lappîd*, λαμπάς, in the Hebrew of the age of the Judges, to which I have drawn attention in my *Higher Criticism*, p. 495. At all events, the form Tarshish seems to be derived from the Greek Tarsos (cf. also the Lykaonian Tarasis), since the native name is probably more correctly reproduced in the Tarzi and T-r-z of the Assyrian monuments and the Aramaic coins.

That a particular class of ships should be known in Canaan as 'ships of Tarshish' is not surprising when we remember the maritime fame of the Cilicians in the ancient world. The silver mines of the Bulgar Dagh provided the silver and lead

[1] I am tempted to read Tiras in Ezk 27^{10} in place of the corrupt 'Persia.' We should then have 'Tiras (perhaps the Taurus), Lydia, and Phut,' which is called 'Phut of the Ionians' by Nebuchadrezzar.

with which Tarshish traded, according to Ezk 27^{12}; perhaps also the iron and tin mentioned by the prophet came from the same locality.

The name of Elishah, as I have already said, takes us back to the age of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. I have hitherto regarded the three names which precede that of Javan as later additions to the table; Gomer being the Gimirrâ, or Kimmerians, who did not appear on the scene of Asiatic history till the seventh century B.C. But I may have been mistaken, since in a letter written to his father by Sennacherib while he was still crown-prince, and therefore at least thirty years before Esar-haddon defeated Teuspa, the Kimmerian leader, in Khubusna, on the northern frontier of Cilicia, Gamir is given as the name of a part of Cappadocia. This is plainly the Gamir of Armenian tradition, while the vowel of the first syllable seems to indicate that it has nothing to do with the Gimirrâ. The names of the three sons of Gomer, moreover, belong rather to an early than to a later age, for the discovery that Gamir is Cappadocia disposes of the suggestion first put forward by myself that Ashkenaz is the monumental Asguza to the north-east of Assyria. We must fall back on the old theory which connected it with the Phrygian Ascanius, Askênos, etc. As for Magog, no light has been as yet thrown on the name by the monuments of any age, whether late or early. Madai, it is true, would naturally be the Medes of Matiana, but M. Th. Reinach has pointed out in the *Actes du dixième Congrès international des Orientalistes*, iv. pp. 13–28, that there was another Matiênê in Cappadocia, referred to by Herodotus (i. 72), in the land of the Halys, where the ruins of the Hittite city now called Boghaz Keui are situated. This is the Matiênê which is said in one of the fragments (188) of Hecatæus to adjoin the territory of the Moschi, the Meshech of the Old Testament.

To return once more to Alasia, the final syllable of which, it will be noticed, is a Greek suffix.[1] The river Saros, it will be remembered, flowed through the centre of the Alêian plain. We are told that the name of the river meant 'ruler,' and consequently must be the Assyrian *sarru*, 'king.' This raises the presumption that Adana also, which stood upon it, is the Assyrian Adin (as in Bit-Adini). How Assyrian names should have been introduced into the country has been explained by the Cappadocian cuneiform tablets, which have shown that Assyrian or Babylonian colonies were established there at a very early period. The fact throws light on the connexion with Babylonia implied in certain Asianic myths and divine names (like Nana, Nineps, and Nineis), and it also suggests the mode in which the Cilician Iapetos came to be identified with a son of the biblical Noah.

[1] If the name is Greek, or at any rate related to Greek, it would represent an adjective Ala-s-ya, 'belonging to the (land of) Ala.' Ala signified 'horse' in Karian, and entered into the composition of several geographical names, Ala-banda, Hali-karnassus (?), Alinda, etc. The Tel el-Amarna tablets give, as the name of a native of Alasia, Pastumme, the termination of which may be compared with that of Tarku-dimme (Tarkondêmos) and Inda-limma. Bellerophon's wanderings in the Alêian plain were the result of his attempt to penetrate into heaven on the back of the winged horse Pegasos, and his fall from the horse seems like an echo of the Babylonian legend of Etana, which may have made its way to Cilicia through Cappadocia. The winged horse appears upon a Hittite seal first published by Lajard and reproduced in Wright's *Empire of the Hittites*. Another seal with a winged horse and Hittite inscription belongs to M. Le Clercq.

At the Literary Table.

THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

II.

THE MISSIONARY SPEAKER'S MANUAL. By A. R. Buckland, M.A., and J. D. Mullins, M.A. (*Nisbet*. Crown 8vo, pp. 368. 6s.)

This volume is described as 'A handbook for deputations and workers.' It is further said to 'comprise hints for chairmen, preachers, and speakers; outlines for missionary sermons and addresses; missionary facts, figures, illustrative anecdotes, and independent testimonies, a missionary calendar, a conspectus of British mission-

ary societies, etc.' This programme is not so miscellaneous as it seems. The book has a distinct character throughout, the impress of a distinct and (let us say it without offence) distinctly *official* mind. The statistics are the best part of it, the anecdotes the worst. There are some excellent anecdotes, but they might easily have been more and better. They are taken almost entirely from periodicals and reports.

NEWMAN. By Alexander Whyte, D.D. (*Oliphant.* Crown 8vo, pp. 262. 3s. 6d.)

Dr. Whyte has the proper notion of an anthology. He makes extracts, he makes extracts pure and simple, not a word of explanation, not a thread of connexion, and they fill the bulk of the volume. But then he *introduces* them. And as you read his introduction you rattle your chain to be at the extracts, and all the while you hug the chain itself, so delightful is the introduction.

FAMOUS SCOTS: HENRY DRUMMOND. By James Y. Simpson. (*Oliphant.* Crown 8vo, pp. 164. 1s. 6d. net.)

This is the third independent life of Henry Drummond, and yet it comes to us with the freshness of a new sensation. Some of the freshness is due to new fact, but far more to its setting, or rather to the spirit and vigour with which the facts are set forth. It is a charming book, showing Drummond as charming as the few favoured ones knew him. And not outwardly only, not in manners alone, inwardly, in humanity of heart and patience of love—the Drummond we would now have with us always. So let no more lives be written after this.

CONSTANTINOPLE AND ITS PROBLEMS. By Henry Otis Dwight, LL.D. (*Oliphant.* Crown 8vo, pp. 298. 6s.)

It is the Constantinople of to-day. Dr. Dwight touches its brilliant past, but in a few pages he reaches its present, and stays. For he knows Constantinople of to-day. His narrative is of that which he has seen with his eyes and his hands have handled. And if it is an exposure, that is not his fault; it is the fault of Mohammedanism mainly, and is due immediately to Dr. Dwight's merciless insistence upon morality as a changeless thing in East or West. It is an exposure of Mohammedan rottenness of heart. With its magnificent position, this city might rule the world of commerce and lead the world in virtue. Its impotence, its iniquity, make the Turkish race and the Turkish religion a byword and a hissing. And it will not do to say that this American has too evident sympathy with American missionaries to be impartial. American and other missionaries are the salt of the earth there: give them time and scope and they will salt the whole lump. And it is just in the light of their American Christianity that the degradation of the city is so buried. Measuring themselves by themselves, the Turks do not blush. When they see themselves as they are seen by the ambassadors of Christ, even the Turks abhor their history and their habits.

THE LORE OF CATHAY. By W. A. P. Martin, D.D., LL.D. (*Oliphant.* 8vo, pp. 472. 10s. 6d.)

The President of the Chinese Imperial University recently published *A Cycle of Cathay*, and the book was found instructive beyond most. He has now issued its companion. From the title we are to understand that it describes the intellectual interests and accomplishments of the Chinese. It is divided into five Books. The first Book deals with China's Contribution to Arts and Sciences; the second with Chinese Literature; the third with the Religion and Philosophy of the Chinese; the fourth with Education in China; and the fifth contains some special but related Studies in Chinese History. The subjects of these several books have often been handled before, sometimes more fully than in this volume. Thus Dr. Gibson of Swatow lately described the religious and ethical characteristics of the Chinese with more minuteness than Dr. Martin in his third Book, and we think with greater impressiveness. But nowhere else is the whole field so competently covered. Dr. Martin writes with the confidence of abundant experience, and he is not afraid to express his contempt for some of John Chinaman's weaknesses. He gives us a vivid sense of the potentiality of this empire and of the complexity of its social problems. His book is well illustrated and most attractive.

Mrs. Spurgeon is the author of *A Basket of Summer Fruit* (Passmore & Alabaster, 1s. 6d.). In spite of its title it is a Christmas gift, to be laid when received beside *A Carillon of Bells*, and *A Cluster of Camphire*.

JOY IN THE DIVINE GOVERNMENT. By L. A. Gotwald, D.D. (*Revell*. Crown 8vo, pp. 320.)

These sermons are the fruit of a high sense of the preacher's calling, a sense that he must do his best with the form of his sermon as well as with its matter. They are all textual sermons. The text is expounded and never departed from. It is made clear and telling, made to enter into every part of the life of to-day, by most painstaking work in the study. Dr. Gotwald was a Lutheran, and his sermons on Luther and on the Reformation show us how sincere a Lutheran he was.

THE SOUL IN THE UNSEEN WORLD. By R. E. Hutton. (*Rivingtons*. Crown 8vo, pp. 432. 6s. net.)

From the general findings of this book on the doctrine of the intermediate state few who have dispassionately studied the subject will dissent. The preposterous positions of the Romish Church are temperately, and so the more mercilessly, expressed and exposed. The Anglican teaching is explained and embraced. Just one consideration seems to have escaped Mr. Hutton—just one; but it is a great one. Character is essential to heaven, and spotless character; but He who is able to present us spotless before the presence of His glory with exceeding joy, is surely able to cleanse the character without the interference of suffering or even time—'to-day shalt *thou* be with Me in Paradise.'

STUDIES IN HOLY SCRIPTURE. By the Rev. A. G. Mortimer, D.D. (*Rivingtons*. Crown 8vo, pp. 312. 5s. net.)

Is it not a somewhat invidious title for a volume of sermons? Are not the sermons of all of us studies in Holy Scripture? It is somewhat inappropriate also. For Dr. Mortimer has clearly much less interest in Scripture than in human character and destiny. The sermon on 'Balaam,' for example, is simply a study in conscience; the sermon on the 'Seed among Thorns' is a study of environment. The title of the twelfth sermon is 'Character and Circumstances.' That would have formed a truly descriptive title for the volume. We believe that no sermons are so fruitful as those that are studies in Scripture; after that, however, we should place studies in character and circumstance, and this volume might even head the list.

THE CHURCH IN THE FORT. By D. J. Burrell, D.D. (Manchester: *Robinson*. Crown 8vo, pp. 316. 3s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Burrell bids fair to take a front place among the American preachers whose sermons appeal to us. The place is, unhappily, but little occupied at present. He does not overcome us as a flood like Phillips Brooks, but he has something of the fresh mental stimulus of Newman Smyth. He even occasionally recalls the deep things of Horace Bushnell. But beyond those three—since he is less in their special excellence—Dr. Burrell is determined on seeing good works done here and now. 'If ye know these things,' he seems to say in every sermon, 'happy are ye if ye *do* them.'

The monthly parts of the *Monthly Visitor* for 1901 have been stitched together and published by Mr. R. Henderson Smith, at the office of the Scottish Monthly Visitor Tract Society, Edinburgh. It contains tracts by Dr. Cunningham, of Edinburgh; the Rev. Henry Montgomery, of Belfast; the Rev. Robert Shindler and Mr. William Luff, of London; the Rev. D. M. M'Intyre, Miss A. B. Church, and Dr. Wells, of Glasgow; Mrs. J. S. Reaney, of Greenwich; and the Rev. Thomas Dunlop, of Bootle. Do not these names guarantee their literary worth as well as their evangelical fervour?

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has published the following Gift and Reward Books:—

1. *Ching the Chinaman, and his Middy Friends*. By G. Manville Fenn. 5s.
2. *From Playground to Battlefield*. By Frederick Harrison, M.A. 3s. 6d.
3. *In the Days of S. Anselm*. By Gertrude Hollis. 2s. 6d.
4. *Mafeking Day*. By Phœbe Allen. 2s.
5. *Golden-Hearted*. By M. Bramston. 1s. 6d.
6. *The Old Mill House at Alvermede*. 1s. 6d.
7. *Little John Cope*. By L. L. Weldon. 1s.

They have all the S.P.C.K. colours and the S.P.C.K. lightness. They are boys' and girls' books, not adults' condensed. They are also unimpeachable in morals and manners. Ching the Chinaman is meant to show us how even a pigtail may become beloved by an unformed half-grown

Englishman. Ching is a fine brotherly fellow; and many a lad who reads his lively conversation will hope to see him when they first set foot in China.

Mr. Frederick Harrison, who writes of the lad who passed from Mr. Timson's Academy to the wars with Napoleon, many many years ago, spells his name with a *k* to distinguish himself from the great Positivist.

S. Anselm is a hero to Miss Hollis, and so well does she make him play his fictitious part that we should be prejudiced indeed if he did not become a hero also to us.

Mafeking Day is further described as 'A Snapshot from Real Life.' The Day is here in vivid colours, and also the tragedy. Yet it is said, and we almost seem to see it true, that one *must* be absent, left behind in Africa, never to return, in order that Mafeking Day may be glorious.

The Old Mill House was deserted foolishly by a growing girl whose novel-reading became a snare. The novels she read were of course quite different from *The Old Mill House.*

Golden-Hearted is for the older girls—a love-tale. But *Little John Cope* is a capital boy's story of the '45.

Mr. Elliot Stock has published a cheaper (2s. 6d.) edition of Mr. Garnier's *Sin and Redemption.*

Did Moses write the Pentateuch, after all? This book has been republished with a new preface. The preface, however, does not contain anything new, and the book stands as it was. Mr. Spencer's complaint against the Higher Criticism is that it is too subjective. His answer to it is also subjective. And the difficulty of subjective criticism is seen in the plausibility of his arguments, for in spite of their plausibility there is not one of them that has not been considered and answered (Stock, crown 8vo, pp. 329).

MOMENTA OF LIFE. By James Lindsay, D.D. (*Stock.* Crown 8vo, pp. 146. 5s.)

Dr. Lindsay's hand is seen in many periodicals, always on the relation between philosophy and theology, and always with effect. Editors have discovered that he has a mind made up, that he has something to say and can say it, so that he is one of the first to be read. Seven magazine articles are gathered into this volume, of which the first is 'The Development of Ethical Philosophy,' and the last 'Mysticism—True and False.' The last is a sketch, with points to catch and arrest our thinking; the first is a clever, painstaking historical study. The language, occasionally finely 'biblical,' is always direct and finished.

The Rev. J. H. Burn, B.D., has undertaken to edit a new theological series, and Mr. Stock has undertaken to publish it. It is to be known as 'The Church's Outlook for the Twentieth Century.' The first volume has appeared under the all-embracing title of *Theology, Old and New* (2s. 6d. net). Its author is Dr. W. F. Cobb. Now Dr. Cobb is a scholar, and a liberal one. If he goes over all the great doctrines of Christianity —and he does so here—we may expect the full flood of the modern methods of study let in upon us. Thus in the Atonement it is emphatically stated that 'the Christian consciousness, when set free from the perverse bias of theological prepossessions, answers confidently that God remains the same, and that it is man who needs to be changed.' It takes much learning, says Dr. Cobb, to miss this truth.

The Morning Watch for Soldiers of the King is the title of a thick volume of devotional meditations for every day of the year. The readings are selected from modern writers like Pearse, Parker, and Dale, with just an occasional flavour from an older author like Jeremy Taylor. The editor is the Rev. G. Coates, and the publisher Mr. A. H. Stockwell (5s.).

The Rev. G. P. Thomas, M.A., Ph.D., had a dream, and in the dream he journeyed with an angel from heaven to earth, heard with the angel's ears, saw with the angel's eyes, and wrote down all he heard and saw. He calls the record *An Angel's Visit to the British Empire at the Close of the Nineteenth Century* (Stockwell, 3s. 6d.). He visits the Church, the State, Commerce, and Society, and in each he finds many things to astonish and disgust him,—in the Anglican Church its schism; in the State its House of Lords, and much else.

PICTORIAL SERMONS IN INDUSTRIES. By George Menzies. (*Stockwell.* Crown 8vo, pp. 179. 3s. 6d.)

The adjective 'pictorial' in the title simply seems to tells us that there are pictures in the book. It was worth telling so prominently, for they are well chosen and taken from the life. The sermons are intended for the British working-man. There is a sermon to gardeners, a sermon to seamen, a sermon to bootmakers, a sermon to bleachers, and many more. Mr. Menzies seems to know all about these trades, as if he had been apprentice to each of them in turn; but he knows most of all about the gospel, and turns them to account in impressively preaching it.

THOROUGHBRED PATRIOTS. By the Rev. A. T. Palmer. (*Stockwell.* Crown 8vo, pp. 114. 2s.)

The first chapter—the chapter which gives the book its name—is an eloquent plea for the education of the young in patriotism. If the line could be drawn between patriotism and politics, the line so hard to draw, it would be worth all that Mr. Palmer claims for it. Was Mr. Gladstone the better patriot when he forgave Majuba, or Lord Roberts when he avenged it? It is the application that makes the perplexity.

There were two books on the same subject published at one time by one publisher. Both were the work of scholars, and both scholars could write. Yet one succeeded, the other failed. The reason was that the one was called *Pseudepigrapha*, the other *Books which influenced our Lord.* Profiting by that example, the Rev. Joseph Farquhar, M.A., has published, through Mr. Stockwell, a small volume entitled *The Schools and Schoolmasters of Christ.* In a simple, popular way it recalls the surroundings of our Lord's earthly life, touching also on His pedigree and on His life beyond the grave.

MEMORIALS OF A MINISTRY. By the Rev. B. Hackett. (*Stockwell.* Crown 8vo, pp. 163. 2s. 6d. net.)

There is nothing new in the matter of the sermons which this volume contains. They are all the better for that. There is nothing new now in the gospel, except when it touches the soul into life, and then all things become new. So is it with these sermons. They are old and stale till they kindle the spark of life; but they have that in them. And this is the way of it—

> God came to me as Truth. I saw Him not.
> He came to me as Love, and my heart broke,
> And from its inmost depths there came a cry,
> 'My Father! oh, my Father, smile on me!'
> And the Great Father smiled.

At the office of the Sunday School Union is issued *The Golden Rule*, of which the numbers for 1901 lie handsomely bound before us. It is the second volume of the new series, and at least in illustration is clearly making progress.

NOTES ON THE SCRIPTURE LESSONS FOR 1902. (*S. S. Union.* 8vo, pp. 376. 2s. 6d. net.)

The Notes are on the 'International' Lessons. They are anonymous, as usual, but their author or authors need not be ashamed to own them, for they combine instruction with unction. The books of reference test the learning of these writers, and they stand the test. The illustrations are not many, but really illustrative.

What a Young Wife ought to Know is one of the 'Self and Sex Series,' published by the Vir Publishing Company. Its author is Mrs. Emma F. Angell Drake, M.D. (4s. net).

Messrs. Williams & Norgate have published four (1s.) volumes by the Rev. George Henslow, M.A., F.L.S., F.G.S. Their titles are: (1) *Christ no Product of Evolution*; (2) *The Argument of Adaptation*; (3) *The At-one-ment*; and (4) *Spiritual Teachings of Bible Plants.*

MONASTICISM AND THE CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. By Adolf Harnack. (*Williams & Norgate.* Fcap. 8vo, pp. 171. 4s.)

Those two popular lectures have been well translated by E. E. Kellett, M.A., and F. H. Marseille, Ph.D., M.A. They are as brilliant in their reach of vision, as confident in their sweep of conclusion, as anything Professor Harnack has written. They look into the very heart of their two momentous subjects, or seem to do so; and they spoil none of their impressions by hesitating to praise or blame. The risk to the reader is that he lets himself be carried away, his thought stifled rather than stimulated. But it is his own fault. As for Harnack, he writes so that, ever after, his writings must be reckoned with.

'The Man Christ Jesus.'[1]

When *Ecce Homo* was published the criticism most immediately uttered upon it was that its author seemed to know no Jesus but the earthly, and replies with the title *Ecce Deus* were speedily written. Mr. Dawson challenges that recollection with his title *The Man Christ Jesus.* But, unlike Professor Seeley, he at once puts doubt aside by his preface. He confesses that he chose the title in order to express his purpose by writing a life of Christ upon the earth—'the human life of Jesus as it appeared to his contemporaries.' He confesses that 'it did at one time seem possible to write a life of Christ from the sole point of view of its human grace and efficiency.' But it could not be. As the life unfolded itself before his mind, 'it produced a conviction, at once profound, gradual, and irresistible, that in the very nature of the story itself, and therefore in the nature of Christ, were elements entirely incommensurate with the limits of the human.' So the attempt was abandoned, and this book also was written, 'that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through His name.'

And yet the mind which first conceived the abandoned idea showed its inclination thereby. Jesus is the Son of God, but (to use the phrase popularly though illegitimately) He is mostly the Son of Man. The thought of the 'contemporaries' has never been altogether absent. All matters that touch the theology or the philosophy of the life of Christ are set aside. If the divine would not be ignored, it comes in as naturally as the human; it comes into and gets absorbed by the human, so that it is still the Christ who became flesh and dwelt among us. What Mr. Dawson set out to do he has actually accomplished, though he has accomplished more than that. His life of Christ is a life of Jesus the Son of God as He appeared upon the earth.

There is ability and much originality manifested as the book proceeds. Neither exegesis nor estimate is ever conventional. Sometimes one hesitates, sometimes one dissents at once. Two matters are touched on elsewhere, others may follow. But the great result is the picture of Jesus. That is worthy of its subject; and how rarely is it possible to say so much.

The eight reproductions of famous pictures are very fine, a feature in keeping with the contents of the book.

[1] *The Man Christ Jesus: A Life of Christ.* By W. J. Dawson. Grant Richards. 8vo, pp. 470. 10s. 6d.

'Old Testament History.'

Under this simple title there has been published by Messrs. Methuen in crown 8vo, at the price of six shillings, a new history of the Israelites under the Old Covenant. The author is the Rev. G. Woosung Wade, D.D., of St. David's College, Lampeter, who is perhaps remembered by his recent Commentary on Genesis. Dr. Wade is a critic—for that is the first matter we must refer to—occupying very nearly the position of Piepenbring, or, let us say, of Driver and Ryle in England. It is the position towards which even Continental scholarship is settling.

From that standpoint Dr. Wade surveys the whole of the Old Testament history with a minuteness that is surprising for a volume of so convenient a size as this. He gains space, however, by frequently throwing subordinate matter into small type. In spite of all that has been written upon it of late, the part that most needs minute description is the earliest period of all,—the prehistoric and patriarchal period,—and it is with extreme pleasure that we find Dr. Wade giving that period his closest scrutiny and care. The spirit with which these delightful but difficult early narratives are handled is most commendable, and the desire to get at the narrator's thought is an evident sign of a truly scientific mind. Some historians pass all this by as unhistorical; we see here how greatly they miss the purpose of true history in doing so.

Dr. Wade has not written for schools or colleges as Mr. Ottley did. He has written rather for preachers and for those who desire to learn the truth according to the modern scholar, whether they have to preach it to others or not. His book is a history to be read, not a class-book to be conned. If it gets recognized,—and we think it will get recognized,—there is much probability that it will commend the moderate criticism of the Old Testament as few books have yet been able to do.

'The Life of the Master.'[1]

It will not be claimed that Dr. Watson's life of Christ compares with Dr. Edersheim's in learning, or with Dr. Farrar's in picturesqueness. But it is his own. It has the stamp of his own special genius. It cannot pass unnoticed.

As befitting the subject, he has given himself to his task with a serious purpose, that he may get beyond momentary effects, may even rise out of the region of that humour which was the charm of his earlier writings, but which depended for its very existence upon human frailty. He has sought earnestly to dwell apart with his great theme; he has spent some days upon the mountain and seen the glory.

But yet he returns to the earth to tell what he has seen and heard. His interest is among men, among men of to-day, and, unconsciously perhaps, his Christ is not the Christ of Galilee, but of London and Liverpool and Edinburgh. He speaks of the Samaritans. They are not the Samaritans of our Lord's day. Them he somewhat misapprehends, and the Jewish attitude towards them. They are the heretics of our time. 'When a Jew desired to express his dislike to any man with whose theology he did not agree, he called him a Samaritan—just as religious people of our day are apt to call any teacher a Unitarian who does not hold their theory of the Atonement.' This was not the way of the Jews with their heretics, it is the way of the Church now. Jesus lives and moves among us now, the human Jesus, and His surroundings have the spirit, and sometimes all things but the name, of our modern Western nations.

This gives the book its character. This is Ian Maclaren. And is it not the accomplishment—on a large scale, and with conspicuous ability—of that which every preacher tries to do in every sermon? What is our business but this, when we touch the incarnate Christ at all? To dress Him in the unseemly garments of a Jew of the first century—as Renan tried to do, till Renan's engraver unintentionally turned the attempt to ridicule—is to contradict the Gospels, not to reproduce them. Even the human Jesus wears no sandals. He condescends to human fashion, that He may be flesh of Abraham's flesh and mine.

The publishers have recognized the worth of this book. Its sixteen coloured plates are a challenge to the eye, through which they feed the mind gradually. All else is of generous quality. It is a gift beyond the reach of most, but by the receiver to be greatly cherished.

[1] *The Life of the Master*. By John Watson, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton. Imp. 8vo, pp. 311, with 16 illustrations in colour by C. K. Linson. 25s. net.

Contributions and Comments.

Qorḥah and Qir-ḥeres in the Moabite Stone.

In the current number of the *Revue Biblique* (October) Père Lagrange has written a full and searching article on the Moabite Stone. Like everything that comes from that accomplished scholar, this contribution is distinguished by equal learning and lucidity. But on two rather fundamental points it may be questioned whether his arguments will carry conviction. (1) There is the familiar difficulty: How comes it that Mesha' can say 'and I made this sanctuary (*bāmath*) to Kemosh in Qorḥah'[1] (Moab. St. l. 3), when, as a matter of fact, the Stone, which is thus associated with the sanctuary, was found at *Dibon*, in its original position, as is generally agreed? Various explanations of the difficulty have been suggested: *e.g.* Qorḥah was the citadel or acropolis of Dibon (Clermont-Ganneau)—this is inconsistent with the terms of l. 21 f.; or, Qorḥah was the name of a place *in the district of* Dibon (Nordlander, *Inschr. Kön. Mesa*, 1890)—this is inconsistent with the usage of the O.T., where Dibon is always the name of a city. Lagrange offers a new suggestion. He renders l. 3, 'and I made this sanctuary to Kemosh-of-Qorḥah,' *i.e.* Mesha' dedicated in his native town of Dibon an altar to the Kemosh of

[1] *I.e.* קִרְחָה; so Lagrange, chiefly on account of the LXX reading in Jer 48 (LXX 31)[31], see below. But the pronunciation is quite uncertain; perhaps it was קָרְחָה, like יָרְחוֹ, etc. (Driver).

another town, where, as we shall see, Lagrange supposes that he was marvellously delivered from a desperate situation. In support of his rendering, Lagrange quotes from a Phœnician inscription found in Sardinia the expression לבעשמם באינצם (*sic*), 'to Baʿal-shāmēm in the Isle of Hawks' (*C.I.S.* i. 139); we may add the similar expressions, לרשף מכל באדיל 'to Reshef of Mukl in Idalion' (*C.I.S.* i. 90), and שהר בנרב 'Sahar (the Moon-god) in Nērab' (from the Aramaic inscr. *Nērab* i. l. 2). This particular idiom is used to indicate that the cult of a foreign or distant deity has been transplanted from its native home to another place;[1] Baʿal-shāmēm had been introduced from the Phœnician mother-country into Sardinia, Apollo of Amyklæ (probably = רשף מכל) from Greece into Cyprus, the Moon-god (Sin) of Ḥarran into Northern Syria. But is there anything of this in לכמש בקרחה? The expression used by Lagrange to support his rendering is not to the point. And we may go further and say that the notion of Meshaʿ dedicating in Dibon a sanctuary to the Kemosh of another place is out of keeping with the religious ideas of the time, so far as we know them. Kemosh was the national god of Moab; the whole country worshipped him; he was at home in every town of it; and we can no more imagine a Moabite making such a dedication than we can imagine an Israelite of the period building, say at Bethel, an altar to the Yahveh of Jerusalem. Lagrange's suggestion has indeed the merit of getting rid of the difficulty noticed above; but it is safer, after all, to fall back upon Nordlander's view, that Qorḥah was the name of a place in Dibon. It is true, the O.T. is against treating Dibon otherwise than as the name of a town; but local usage in Moab itself may have been different, and certainly the language of l. 21 (cf. ll. 28, 29) is more applicable to a district than to a city.

(2) Qorḥah is identified by Lagrange with Qir-ḥares(eth) of the O.T., Is $16^{7.\ 11}$, Jer $48^{31.\ 36}$, 2 K 3^{25}. He regards קיר חרשת as a corrupted or misunderstood form of קיר חדשת, *i.e. New Town*, LXX Is 16^{7} Δεσεθ. ^{11}τεῖχος ἐνεκαίνισας,[2] and Qorḥah as its ancient name. The identification is based upon the following grounds: (*a*) Qir-ḥareseth was the capital of Moab, 2 K 3^{25}, and Qorḥah was the capital too, because Meshaʿ built a palace there, ll. 21 f., 24; (*b*) Meshaʿ was besieged in Qir-ḥareseth, and the measures which he took at Qorḥah suggest a siege; they resemble those taken by Hezekiah when Jerusalem was threatened by the Assyrian advance, 2 Ch $32^{2-4.\ 30}$; (*c*) Meshaʿ sacrificed his son at Qir-ḥareseth, thus obtaining the favour of Kemosh; hence he dedicates a sanctuary to the deity of the place where he was delivered. It may be doubted whether these arguments are conclusive. The mere fact that Qorḥah became the seat of Meshaʿ's palace hardly proves that it became the capital of the country, any more than Tirzah was the capital of Israel because Jeroboam and other kings resided there, 1 K 14^{17} $15^{21.\ 33}$ etc. (cf. Shechem, also a royal residence, 1 K 12^{25}). The second argument about the siege-works does not lead us very far. The impression one gains from the account of the fortifications and cisterns at Qorḥah (l. 21 ff.) is that they were made, not before or during a siege, but as precautions against possible dangers in the future. However, this is only an impression; we cannot be sure that the Stone follows any chronological order in the events which it commemorates. The third argument has been dealt with above (1).

There is one further point which has special importance for the proposed identification of the two places—the rendering of the LXX in Jer. 48 (LXX 31)[31] ἐπ' ἄνδρας κειράδας (κιδάρας, A) + αὐχμοῦ = על אנשי קיר חרש. This rendering seems to Lagrange to require an original אנשי קרחה 'men of Qorḥah,' which was misunderstood to mean 'men of baldness,' or 'of shaven heads' (Is. 15^{2} etc.). But surely κειράδας is merely a transliteration of קיר חדש, with ד for ר—a transliteration which was made to have some sense fairly suitable to the context. Aquila and Symmachus witness to the M.T. by their version, ἐπ' ἄνδρας τοίχου ὀστρακίνου. Qir-ḥares(eth) = Qir-Moab is generally identified with Kerak[3] (so Targ. on Is and Jer, *loci cit.*); but it must not be supposed that there is any etymological connexion between Kerak and Qorḥah. Nöldeke decided against such a view long ago (*Inschr. Kön. Mesa*, 8 f.).

G. A. Cooke.

[1] In a newly-discovered inscription from Carthage לעשתרת ולתנת בלבנן (Lizbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 24), in the Neo-punic inscription of Altiburos לאדן בעל חמן באלתבורש, and in the Nabatæan inscription *C.I.S.* ii. 182, די בצלחד . . . לאלת (218, לאערא די בבצרא is uncertain), this appears not to be the case; the native deities are residing in (ב) their native place.

[2] So Cheyne, *Ency. Bibl.* col. 2676.

[3] For a recent description of this and other sites in Moab, see Professor Gautier's delightful narrative, *Autour de la Mer Morte* (1901), 62 ff.

Christ and the Syro-Phoenician Woman.

I.

This story has great difficulties for faith. On its surface it is rich in suggestion; it can be turned to great symbolic use. But the central facts of the story are hard to understand. Why did Christ Jesus treat this woman as He did; and what exactly is the faith which triumphed in the end? That is the problem, felt keenly by many and too often ignored by the teacher.

Jesus was in the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. There a woman of the country, a pagan woman, came to Him beseeching Him to heal her daughter. Sorrowing love came to Him as naturally as birds to their nest. But the response of Jesus differed from all we read elsewhere. He answered her not a word. It was no failure in sympathy. The importunate crying of this heathen woman was the appeal of love; and never was Christ's heart deaf to that cry. His sympathy, amid His silence, was as keen as, when at home and among His kinsfolk of Israel, love made to Him its appeal of sorrow. Why, then, was He silent? It is usually answered that He meant to put her faith to the test. But of what moral value was her faith in Him? He was a stranger to her, a man of a different religion. The only faith in Himself which Christ Jesus could honour was surely a faith which came from hearing the truths He taught, or from marking the brotherliness of His perfect life. Faith is a moral and spiritual vision, a trust consequent on some intuition of goodness. And it is hard to see how any hope of help which this heathen woman might nourish within her heart could partake of such a faith. Besides, we cannot think that the all-gentle and all-loving Christ would ever play with an anguished heart. He was too simple ever to play a part. When Christ Jesus went on in silence, was it not because He felt it His duty so to do? Our hearts may bleed for another's sorrow, and yet our hands do nothing because they can do nothing. May it not well have been so with the Master then? We think of Him as vested with divine power to use at will; we fancy that all He needed to do was to say to this woman of Canaan, 'Thy daughter is whole.' So the disciples thought when they asked Him to grant her request and send her away. But that was not the thought of Jesus Himself. He was a man under authority—a phrase that knit His soul to the soul of the Roman centurion who used it. His power was a trust. It was not his to use as He pleased, even at the bidding of sympathy or love. He came from the Father to do a certain work, and this power of healing was part of His endowment for that work; it was the sword girded on His thigh by the Father when He sent Him forth, to be wielded only in that employ. When this woman cried unto Him and His heart went out with that perfect sympathy which made all human sorrows His own, He was being put to the trial as well as she. Though He was a Son, yet He learned obedience by the things He suffered. To the disciples urging Him to heal the sick daughter He said, 'I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel.' Was it not the answer He had given to His own heart when pity cried 'Grant her her request'? Christ Jesus had to school His own emotions of pity. And if to heal this woman's daughter by His word of divine power was not in the line of His mission, if it would not serve that purpose for which in the days of His humiliation He was yet thus royally girded, then even Jesus the Son of God had to deny Himself the luxury of helping this woman and drying her sorrow-laden eyes.

Christ's miracles were in place in His work among the lost sheep of Israel. Part of that work was to reveal God the Father to men. That revelation could only fitly be made in Palestine. For there God was already known; there for centuries the revealing word had travailed with the growing knowledge of God. There only could the crown be set upon that knowledge. The fitful and partial voices of the past which spelled out the name of God were completed when He who is the brightness of God's glory and the express image of His person, the very Word of God, uttered Himself. And all His works of power were parts of that completing revelation; they only had their meaning there. God was known in Palestine, though dimly. When Jesus healed the sick in Galilee, when all in trouble cried to Him and He delighted to help, it was one glorious trait to add to their thought of Jehovah, the trait of an infinite love yearning over all burdened and sorrowing ones. His miracles of mercy were part of His gospel of the Father's

love; they stamped with the divine seal His teaching of the Fatherhood of God. But they needed for their foundation all the knowledge of God's holiness and inflexible purity and justice which the chequered history of the past had made known to them. Only in the framework of Judaism had these works a living voice; only to those who knew Jehovah did they bring their message of eternal hope and joy.

It was different in the coasts of Sidon. Miracles there had no enfranchising light, rather the opposite. It was easy for this heathen woman, with her country's faith in magic and sorcery and witchcraft, to believe that this stranger could heal her daughter. And had Jesus simply healed her in pity, would He not have riveted that superstition more strongly on mind and heart? If so, was it not His duty to refrain? It seems to our unthinking hearts as if the tender soul of Jesus could not see a human grief without assuaging it. But God forbears every day and every hour. How many a mother from one end of the world to the other cries to heaven to succour a dying child, and yet nature goes along its law-appointed course! Surely God on high hears the cry, and yet the help Jesus gave in the towns of Galilee is not given; the child sickens more, and dies. We can only say that in the counsels of God it is known to be best not to give the prayed-for help, and the loving heart of the Father therefore forbears. When Jesus heard the cry of that stricken mother, His heart felt for her though she was not of His kinsfolk of Israel; but it was only within the shelter of the ancient revelation of God that His divine power was at the mercy of His love, and He was ever faithful to His trust. His heart was strong enough to deny His own sympathy its desire, if need be, and hold back the divine power that was His.

But yet her daughter was healed. How was the difficulty overcome? The woman would not take a denial. She came nearer and worshipped, saying, 'Lord, help me.' Then Jesus spoke to her. He turned upon her those eyes eloquent of fullest sympathy, and said, 'It is not meet to take the children's bread, and cast it to the little dogs.' And she answered, 'Yea, Lord: for these dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table.' And that answer brought her her desire; Jesus said, 'O woman, great is thy faith: be it unto thee even as thou wilt.'

What was this faith which enabled Christ Jesus to grant her request?

There was in her importunacy a confidence in that brotherly kindness which she read in Christ's look, a faith in His willingness to help a sorrowing fellow-creature which divined the hand held out behind the seeming rebuff. And there was a humility of love which made her ready to take the lower place which He showed. These brought her into the right position.

Doubtless she heard Him say that His mission was only to the lost sheep of Israel. And the teachable spirit of love, yearning after its need, showed her her position in the eyes of this Prophet. The children gather round the table, but the dogs of the household are there too; and the care that broods over the children embraces the dogs' needs also. Israel might be in a sense the children at God's table, the people brought nearest God; but other nations are fed from God's table too. Would not this Prophet of Israel, servant of Israel's God, own this and withhold not the crumbs of His loving care?

That vision unsealed the divine power of Jesus. It brought His work within the shadow of the ancient revelation and gave it the fulness of meaning which is a miracle's sanction. It was then no soothsayer's or magician's spell of might, but a work of Jehovah, God of Israel, a portion of God's feast of love going on there. And the woman knew it as such. The best of earth's blessings, she learned, were to be had at the table where Israel was fed. For that was the table of the living God. That knowledge might bring her in gratitude and thankfulness to inquire about the God of Israel and feed on the bread of life there broken for the children, a good to her own soul and to all her neighbours in that foreign land, who might learn from her the news of a Father in heaven.

RICHARD GLAISTER.

St. Cuthbert's Manse, Kirkcudbright.

II.

WHILE agreeing with the Rev. F. G. Cholmondeley in your last month's issue, that 'in considering this narrative of the woman of Canaan, sufficient attention has not been given to the fact of her addressing our Lord as "Son of David,"' I do not agree with his exposition of Christ's reply.

Briefly: the woman regards herself as an out-

sider, with no claim upon the 'Son of David.' She throws herself upon His 'mercy' (v.[22]), or pity. As 'Son of David,' He replies that He has only to do with 'Israel.' She can only fall at His feet—'Help me, Lord.' Then He gives her woman wit a chance of seizing a wider relationship, —the little household dogs have a place in the home,—and she promptly takes it. The bond is knit, He is more than 'Son of David' to her now; and to Him she, a woman of such keen spiritual discernment, has become one of His true Israelites (cf. 8[11]).

Had He granted her request at first, He would have remained for her the 'Son of David,' who 'passed by' one day and let a blessing fall; a wonder-worker from another land. Now He will henceforth be *her* Lord, and she will 'sit down in His Kingdom,' at home.

F. Warburton Lewis.

Bowdon.

Doubtful Hebrew Words.

Our soundest authority (*Hebr. English Lexicon*, Oxford) says that the actual meaning and etymology of אֶשְׁפָּר (2 S 6[19], 1 Ch 16[3]) are unknown. I should compare it with the Egyptian *seper*, 'a rib' (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 1201), with a prosthetic א; this seems to suit the context.

The puzzling כֵּן, כֵּנִם, or כִּנִּם (Ex 8[12] *al.*) one might perhaps refer to the Hausa كُوْنَا, كُنَا, *flea* (C. H. Robinson, *Hausa Dict.* pp. 128, 132).

The word סַרְפַּד (Is 55[13]), which the editors of the Oxford *Lexicon* (Part ix., 1900) have not been able to trace to any of the other Semitic languages, is found in an Egyptian inscription of the Ptolemaic period, where it stands as *srpd* in a list of plants. Brugsch identifies it with Pliny's *saripha*, an edible kind of papyrus (*Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, iii. p. 605).

The problematic טַחוֹת (Job 38[36]) G. Hoffmann (*Hiob*, 1891) has ingeniously explained as follows:—Pointing the word טָחוֹת, he equates it with the Egyptian *ḏḥuti*, Thoth; and as the Greeks and Romans identified this god with Hermes, Mercury, Hoffmann takes טחות to mean the planet Mercury. This hypothesis is, however, quite untenable, because in the Egyptian lists of the planets, of all the periods known at present, namely, the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties and the Ptolemaic and Roman, Mercury is never called *ḏḥuti*, but *Sebgu*, *Sebko* (Brugsch, *op. cit.* i. pp. 65–71).

N. Herz.

Hackney, N.E.

The Non-Biblical Literature of the Jews.

In notes contributed to this magazine and elsewhere I have made myself responsible for the assertion that the Jews had no written literature besides the Bible for a series of centuries ending well within the Mohammedan era. This proposition seems to me to be based on irrefragable evidence. (1) The assertion of Rashi (*ob.* 1105), on *B. Mezia*, 33a, that the writing of the Gemara was commenced in 'his own generations,' coupled with his statement on *Gittin*, 60a, that the Talmudists were allowed to write nothing of any sort. (2) The assertion of R. Ṣemach Gaon of Sora, about the year 880 A.D. (in Eldad Ha-Dani, ed. Epstein, p. 7, No. 16), that the Mishnah was not, like the Bible, fixed in writing, but was loose (מסותמת). (3) The assertion of R. Sherira Gaon, near the year 1000 A.D., in reply to the question how the Mishnah and Gemara were written, that they were not written at all, but handed down orally. This chain of witnesses, all men who thoroughly understood the business, makes it certain that Jewish non-biblical literature began to be written at the close of the ninth century A.D. And this result is confirmed in many ways. The Arabic writer Jāḥiẓ, who died in 868 A.D., declared that the Jews had no literature; but the author of the *Fihrist*, near the year 1000 A.D., is acquainted with a written Mishnah, while Al-Biruni, his contemporary, is acquainted with the *Seder Olam*. And the letter of R. Sherira, which in its original form (published by B. Goldberg, 1845) is quite consistent, was interpolated so as to make it appear that in this writer's opinion the Mishnah and Talmud were written by their compilers, though he expressly states that they were not. This deliberate falsification of evidence makes it clear that many had an interest in maintaining that the non-biblical literature had been committed to writing earlier than was really the case, and invalidates the testimony of such writers as the trans-

lator of the *Mafteach* of R. Nissim (of the eleventh century), who assert what the interpolated letter of Sherira asserts.

I have endeavoured to collect arguments which are advanced in favour of the supposition that this non-biblical literature is earlier (in its written form) than 880 A.D. Some of these are too weak to be worth consideration: as such we may brand one of Weiss in his preface to *Sifra*, based on the readings which the Midrash Rabbah says were to be found in R. Meir's copy of the Law. From these we cannot infer more than that some of the copies of the Law were corrupt. The Midrash (on Exodus, sec. 47) declares as plainly as possible that neither Mishnah, Halachah, nor Aggadah were given in writing.

A rather more interesting observation is that made by Epstein (*l.c.* p. xv), that Maimonides, *Hilcoth Malweh*, sec. 15, No. 2, states that he had found copies of part of the Gemara written on parchment as they used to write some 500 years before his time: this would be about 675 A.D. The question is whether Maimonides' palæographical knowledge was sufficient to secure him from making a mistake of some 250 years. He does not say that the copies were of the seventh century, but written in the style in use in the seventh century.

Another argument of some interest is urged in the work of Dr. Adolf Schwarz, *Der Hermeneutische Syllogismus in der Talmudischen Litteratur* (1901), pp. 46–48. Comparing a passage of *Sifra* with another of similar import in *B. Menachoth*, 5b, he argues that the words הא אם הישבתה must have been misunderstood by authorities of the third century A.D., and that this misunderstanding must have been due to a written copy, and could not have arisen in oral teaching. These words, he says, mean 'this argument is already refuted,' and were wrongly interpreted as a conditional sentence by the authorities cited in the Bab. Gemara. The word אם, which stands for 'a rebutter,' because such arguments were regularly introduced by that word, was wrongly understood as the conditional 'if.' This error, he thinks, could only have been committed if a written text were used.

I should wish to speak respectfully of the author of this work, from which I have learned much. But it seems improbable that his rendering of the words הא אם הושבתה will find general acceptance; the commentators on the Sifra seem to take the אם conditionally, as did the Talmudic authorities. And whether they mean 'you have refuted this rebutter' or 'supposing that you can refute this' makes little difference to the sense. Hence I do not think the Talmudic authorities can be justly accused of having mistaken the meaning of the words.

The doctrine, moreover, that the sense of words could not be lost in oral tradition is difficult to accept. Mistakes which can be attributed to script and not to oral tradition would seem to consist chiefly in cases where letters are alike in writing but not alike in sound. The differences of tradition recorded in the Talmud are ordinarily where letters are indistinguishable in sound but unlike in writing. Thus several traditions are variously recited with *eliph* and *'ayin*, in which the variety is due to certain reporters being unable to pronounce the latter sound. But, difficult as it is for us to reproduce in thought a time when large quantities of sayings were communicated orally for learning by heart, we are only following the guidance of the Gemara if we suppose that any number of errors can introduce themselves in the process.

A passage that seems at first sight to make for written Aggadahs is *B. Chullin*, 60b, where Rab Chesda is twice quoted as inviting R. Tachlifa to write down strange words in his Aggadah and explain them. Like most Talmudic passages, this collapses when one tries to build anything on it. Many authorities read 'in your letter' (איגיתך) for 'in your Aggadah' (אגדתך). The commentators think that letters and Aggadahs are both fit places for strange words; but it looks rather as if the reference were to a collection of *glosses*, or difficult words, which R. Tachlifa was making. What is remarkable is that the author of the Aruch (about 1070 A.D.), in dealing with this passage, lets us know that the oral tradition of the Talmud was still living: 'I heard from the mouth of R. Mosheh Ha-Darshan of Narbonne, יזיל כתוב אדנדקי בהנדה שלך,' *i.e.* a form of the tradition different from that which the ordinary texts have. If the oral tradition was not extinct in the latter half of the eleventh century, we may be sure that Rashi's date for the *commencement* of writing is not far out.

Among the passages adduced by Weiss, *l.c.*, is one from *Yebamoth*, 72b. R. Jochanan is informed by Rish Lakish that R. Eleazar B. Pedath has a Mishnah of his own on Leviticus. He (R. Jochanan or Rish Lakish) 'went out, learned it (תניה) in three days, and got to understand it (סברה) in three months.' If it was not in a book, asks Weiss, why are we not told of whom he learned it? The text implies that he learned it of R. Eleazar. We should rather ask why, if it was in a book, R. Jochanan learned it for three days before he understood it. This learning for three days must mean 'committed it to memory'; I have met many Indians who have learned books by heart before they understood any of their contents. Hence it seems clear that this passage implies the opposite of what Weiss supposed it to imply. For the above translation Lamperonti (*s.v.* נפק) and Levy (*s.v.* סבר) are responsible.

Another passage adduced by Weiss is in *Gittin*,

44a. 'Said R. Jeremiah to R. Zarika, "Go and study (עיין) in your Mechilta." He went out, examined carefully (דק), and found that there was a tradition,' etc. The question whether this contains an allusion to books must depend on the sense of the words rendered 'study' and 'examine carefully.' The former word, according to Levy, only means 'nachdenken,' to see with the *mental* eye; and Kohut, who thinks it can have the sense to see with the physical eye, quotes for this sense evidence which is quoted by Levy for the opposite purpose. Hence it is impossible to argue from this word that the Mechilta was written, and still less from the word meaning 'to examine carefully.' It looks rather as if the compiler of the passage had taken trouble to avoid words that could suggest a written book.

I do not think Rashi infallible, but on Talmudic matters he seems a first-rate authority, and therefore there is no probability of his words on *B. Mezia* being due to error or inadvertence. De Coucy (*circ.* 1240) in the preface to his Great Code places a whole epoch between the completion of the Talmud in the fifth century and its being written down. He agrees, therefore, with Rashi, though from the vagueness of his language it is hard to say how long he supposed the epoch to have been. Whether it follows (as was suggested in this magazine) that the division of the matter into Orders was also post-Mohammedan is not so certain; but a Responsum, assigned to Hai Gaon (Livorno collection, near the end), speaks of the six Orders of the Mishnah having been destroyed (אתגניזו) in the days of Hillel and Shammai, and (apparently) having just come to light. Should I come across any further arguments *against* Rashi's view, I shall communicate them to this magazine.

D. S. Margoliouth.

Oxford.

Entre Nous.

This is the month of the greatest literary output. More and more the publishing season gets contracted. November and March see half the books of the year issued.

The chief feature of the season in the biblical way is the issue of three 'Lives' of Christ. One is the result of a co-operative movement, the other two are highly individual and independent. But they are all characterized by their determination to be modern. Our Lord is not treated as an object of study; He has to do with life, with our life, and there does not seem to be any department of life that He is kept out of.

This is the season still for giving and receiving. Now if a book may be recommended that is artistic enough to please everybody, good enough to do good to everybody, young enough to be enjoyed by the young, fresh enough to instruct the old, the book is Abbé le Camus's *The Children of Nazareth* (4s). It reached and charmed us in its French edition, but Lady Herbert's translation is better for the purpose. And there is no doubt that the illustrations come out keener, because the paper is so smooth and good. They are very attractive and homely, scattered all over the page.

Abbé le Camus went to Nazareth to *see* the children before he began to describe them. Which recalls a story the *Literary World* tells. It is the story of a camel. Three men of different nations were told off to describe it. The Englishman went out to Egypt to observe its habits; the Frenchman went home and wrote charmingly of many things, among which the camel was mentioned near the end; the German entered a public library, gathered the authorities together, and is still working at the subject. But in the case before us it was the Frenchman that went to see his subject.

Abbé le Camus came in too late for the regular review, and so did the usual three books of the Church of England S.S. Institute. But they too must be mentioned this month, the next would be too late. They are: (1) the volume for 1901 of *The Church Worker*; the same of *The Boys' and Girls' Companion*, and Mr. Resker's course of illustrative lessons which he calls *Bible Scenes and Pictures*. There is also this year a small volume of elementary lessons on the Book of Common Prayer, by the Rev. John Dickenson, with the title of *The Child and the Prayer Book*.

The fourth volume of the *Dictionary of the Bible* is nearly ready, but it cannot be published till the spring. It will be found, we think, the finest of the four. There are great articles by Dr. Sanday, Dr. Driver, Dr. Davidson, and many others.

Printed by Morrison & Gibb Limited, Tanfield Works, and Published by T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, Edinburgh. It is requested that all literary communications be addressed to The Editor, St. Cyrus, N.B.

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

When St. Paul addressed the Athenians on Mars Hill, he said that God 'hath appointed a day, in the which He will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom He hath ordained.' Is it legitimate in reading that verse to emphasize the word *man*? We do not mean in order to distinguish it from God. We mean in order to distinguish it from the beasts.

Dr. Matheson does so. He sends us a Christmas message out of his retirement, calling it *The Sceptre without a Sword* (Clarke, 1s.). He finds it in the prophecies of the Book of Daniel. In the seventeenth chapter of that book there occur the words, 'I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like a son of man came with the clouds of heaven. . . . And there was given him a kingdom.' He understands these words to be a prophecy of the reign of man as opposed to the reign of the beast.

Hitherto, he says, the symbol of imperial power had been an animal. First a lion. The lion represents the earliest stage of the world's culture —'the stage when men roared in the forest and wrestled for the prey.' Next a bear. The bear is the tenacity of grasp upon the conquered object. It is the age of despotism, when an iron hand held the wills of men. Then the panther. The panther is the symbol of cunning, of subtlety, of selfish diplomacy. After that an unnamed beast. Why unnamed? Because its object is to stamp out all distinctions, to be itself the whole world. 'It is the reign of conventionalism, the rule of conformity, the crushing of the individual man. The masses alone have life; the unit is nowhere. There is room for the thousand, but not for the one. There is a place prepared for the nation, but not a place for Daniel, not a place for you.' At last there comes the man.

Now all these ages of the world have been. The lion has ruled, and the bear and the panther and the horned beast. But when Christmas morning dawned there came the Man. This, says Dr. Matheson, is the message of Christmas. And he says that this is also the meaning of St. Paul on Mars Hill. Do we think the 'day' of which St. Paul spoke was the Judgment Day? Dr. Matheson thinks it was Christmas Day. He says that St. Paul's message to the Athenians was not one of dread but one of hope. Hitherto, ye men of Athens, heroism has been measured by conformity to the beast. Has our hero, ye have said, the strength of the lion, the grasp of the bear, the cunning of the panther? The day is appointed which will change all that. The Man has been ordained, and henceforth *our* heroism will be tested by a different standard. We shall no longer ask, Am I living worthy of Cæsar or

Hannibal or Alexander; but, Am I living worthy of Jesus the Christ?

Dr. James H. Moulton of the Leys School, Cambridge, is at present contributing to the *Classical Review* some Notes from the Papyri in illustration of the grammar of New Testament (and similar) Greek. In one of his notes he confirms Deissmann's position regarding the use of the Greek preposition ἐν, with an instrumental dative.

Deissmann in his *Bible Studies* (pp. 118–120) holds that in original Greek ἐν is never used instrumentally. If there is the probability of translation from the Hebrew, as in the Gospels and the Apocalypse, the ἐν may be instrumental, because then it may be simply a rendering of the Hebrew ב. But in St. Paul's writings, for example, he will not admit an instance.

The instances usually quoted are Ro 15^6 and 1 Co 4^{21}. In the first, 'that ye may with one mouth (ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι) glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,' he considers that the ἐν simply stands for *in* as usual. The Romans, he understands, are to glorify God *in* the mouth, just as, according to popular psychology, thoughts dwell *in* the heart.

The example of 1 Co 4^{21} is more difficult. 'What will ye?' asks the apostle. 'Shall I come unto you with a rod (ἐν ῥάβδῳ), or in love (ἐν ἀγάπῃ)?' Deissmann concedes that the meaning is instrumental, but he believes that the construction with ἐν is used loosely in parallelism with the phrase (ἐν ἀγάπῃ) following, and cannot properly be brought under any grammatical rule.

With all this Dr. Moulton would probably agree. Or if the apparent examples of an instrumental ἐν with the dative cannot be thus individually explained, he would suggest that 'speakers of Greek were beginning to feel that they could not trust the dative out alone, and we can understand,' he says, 'the occasional employment of nursemaid ἐν in places where she would have been better left at home, or replaced by σύν.'

'Just as to the naturalist the shapings and shadings of a beetle's wing are not to be despised, so in Hebrew archæology even minutiæ, such as the exact spelling of a name or the precise date of a battle, are worth ascertaining if possible.' So says Dr. Gregory Smith in an article in the *Guardian* for 24th December on 'The Psalms and Christianity.' His argument is that the Psalms are unaffected by dates and names. Exactness and accuracy are things to be desired by all lovers of truth; *but* 'archæological details are irrelevant to the Christian faith.'

Even the intention of the Psalmist, Dr. Gregory Smith holds, has nothing to do with the Christian's application of the words to himself and his own surroundings. Moore's exquisite song, 'When he who adores thee has left but a name,' may be sung with personal feeling by those who have no affection for the 'Emerald Isle,' which is directly and passionately the poet's subject. And in like manner the beautiful words of the 110th Psalm (that Psalm 'so often and so hotly wrangled about'), 'He shall drink of the brook in the way, therefore shall he lift up the head,' may refer originally to some victorious army on its march, but to the believer in Christ they suggest the refreshing influence of the Holy Spirit bestowed on Christ and on His followers in the weary conflict with evil. The Pharaoh of the Psalter may be Rameses or any other—let the archæologists decide that,—to the Christian he stands for the enemy of the soul in the increasing conflict between good and evil.

The use of the 'cursing Psalms' is more difficult. Dr. Gregory Smith gets over the difficulty by accepting the principle of gradual revelation, which 'exculpates the original purport of the

Maledictions,' and then by taking the Psalmist as expressing his abhorrence not of any mortal foe, but of the spirits that tempt him from God. In that sense 'the execrations cannot be too fierce or too pitiless.'

Most difficult of all to a Christian is the Psalmist's occasional assumption of innocence. How can he sing the 17th Psalm, 'Thou hast proved mine heart; thou hast visited me in the night; thou hast tried me, and findest nothing'? Or how shall he sing the 18th, 'I was also perfect with him, and I kept myself from mine iniquity'? Dr. Gregory Smith has an easy answer: 'Through the marvellous condescension of the Son of God in the Incarnation a Christian is identified with the sinless Son of man, and in Him the believer is accepted.'

One of the archæological minutiæ which Dr. Gregory Smith somewhat depreciates will be found in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology for last month. There E. J. Pilcher describes a cylinder seal which through an ancient but unknown history has come into the possession of Mr. Joseph Offord. It is of hæmatite, and measures 23 mm. in length by 15 mm. in diameter. It is figured with two conventional scenes, the one Babylonian, the other Assyrian; and it originally bore a cuneiform inscription in three lines, which is now almost entirely obliterated.

About 400 B.C. the seal fell into the hands of a new owner. It was he that obliterated the cuneiform. Or if it was partly rubbed off already, he completed its obliteration by engraving his name in Aramæan across it. His name was Gehazi.

Never before has the name Gehazi been seen outside the Hebrew Scriptures. And even there it has been suspected, so un-Hebrew does it seem to be, so difficult etymologically, though it *may* mean 'Valley of Vision.' In its place has been suggested the simpler *Gihoni*. But here is Gehazi itself in the abbreviated form Gehaz (גחז=חזאל). And so 'this little cylinder is an important contribution to biblical onomatology.'

As we write, it is the season when men sing 'Glory to God in the highest, and peace on earth among men of good will.' Was there ever a time wherein we desired more earnestly to sing the angels' song and found it harder?

Dr. Matheson says we vex ourselves in vain. He says that when we find the angels' song so hard to sing, we do not understand its meaning; we do not know what we are trying to sing.

'I have always felt,' he says, in the little book already noticed, 'that these words had a very profound meaning—a meaning which our Authorized Version has failed to render.' For the Authorized Version — and for that matter all the versions and all the expositions we know—give the glory to God and promise the peace to man. Dr. Matheson also gives the glory to God. But he says that the peace is promised, not to man but to men. The angels' song, he says, does not promise peace to the earth, but peace to men of good will upon earth. It does not promise that nation will not still rise against nation. It promises that among men, individual men, Christian men, there shall be good will, even though they should be standing in opposite camps, even though they should be found amid the roar of battle. 'The heart of the *man* will beat within the breast of the soldier, and the kinship of soul for soul will not be extinguished by the kindling of hostile fires.'

In the timely little book which the Bishop of Gloucester has published, urging the use of the Revised Version in the service of the Church (*Addresses on the Revised Version*, S.P.C.K., 2s. 6d.), there occurs a reference to one of the rules by which the Revision Companies were guided, and an explanation is given which alters the aspect

of that rule as it has hitherto been publicly understood.

It is the first rule of all. It runs: 'To introduce as few alterations as possible in the text of the Authorized Version consistently with faithfulness.' That is the rule which the Revisers are charged with disobeying, and the charge is supposed to have settled the fate of the Revision. Well, they did disobey it. Dr. Ellicott admits that they disobeyed it, *in the sense in which it is popularly understood.* But he shows that the sense in which it is popularly understood is not its proper sense. And he seems to say that if it had been taken in the popular sense, he at least would have refused to work under it.

It is popularly understood that 'consistently with faithfulness' means 'faithfulness to the general sense and spirit of the original.' That is to say, if a word or phrase in the Authorized Version did not *misrepresent* the general sense and spirit of the Hebrew or the Greek, it was to be allowed to stand. If the Revisers had understood the rule in that way, it is certain that we should have had a very different revision. But the Revisers did not understand it in that way.

Dr. Ellicott admits that some of them did at first. He clearly remembers that at one of the early meetings of the New Testament Company, a discussion arose as to the meaning of this word 'faithfulness.' An alteration on the phraseology of the Authorized Version had been suggested. Some one objected to it on the ground that the language of the Authorized Version sufficiently represented the sense of the original. The discussion became general. Dr. Lightfoot took an earnest part in it. He said that such a Cŏmpany could not be called together again for many years to come. Their revision therefore must be thorough. If a rendering could be suggested that was more accurate and more true to the original than that of the Authorized Version, that rendering must be adopted. The Company agreed. Again and again a suggested rendering was set aside as unnecessary, but only on the ground that it did not represent the original more accurately. 'Faithfulness' was taken to mean, in Dr. Ellicott's language, 'faithfulness to the original in its plain grammatical meaning as elicited by accurate interpretation.'

'And they sing as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four living creatures and the elders.' So the prophets prophesied. For the Psalms are full of it. So it was from age to age in Jewry. For every new age found new wonder in God and the ways of God, and sang the new song. So must it be throughout the Christian ages also. For the new song of Christianity is not to be learned when we get to 'glory.' It is to be learned now and sung now. It is the song of the Redeemed, but the Redeemed are to sing it upon earth.

The Redeemed do sing the New Song upon earth. When 'they sang an hymn' that night on which He was betrayed, before they went out to the Mount of Olives, it was no doubt an old Jewish hymn they sang, though they had begun to put new meaning into it. But they will not be content with Jewish hymns always. Soon the New Song was made as well as sung.

And it is made, as it must be made, to be sung 'before the throne, and before the four living creatures and the elders.' Now the song that it has been found most difficult to compose and sing is the song before the elders.

It is Mr. Beeching who says that the difficulty in the singing of the New Song is to sing it before the elders. Mr. Beeching has published, through Messrs. Macmillan, a volume of sermons, calling it *Inns of Court Sermons* (4s. 6d.), because he preached the sermons in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn. The title of the first sermon is 'Religious Poetry,' and its text is this verse from the

Apocalypse. Mr. Beeching finds that it has been hard to sing the New Song—hard, he means, to compose and sing it—from the first day in which the Redeemed in Christ began to sing it until now. But he says it has been hardest to sing it before the elders.

For 'the purpose of all poetry is to illuminate our experience of the world; it is one method of interpreting life to us; and the means it employs are passion and imaginative thought.' Now it is comparatively easy for the Christian to express with passion and imaginative thought his delight in God—for that is what Mr. Beeching understands by singing the New Song before the throne. And it is comparatively easy to express his soul's delight in nature—for that is what Mr. Beeching understands by singing the New Song before the four living creatures. But when the Christian poet seeks to interpret anew to the Church the meaning of the life of man—for that is how Mr. Beeching understands the singing of the New Song before the elders—he finds it very difficult.

It is comparatively easy for the Christian poet to express his soul's delight in God. His feelings of admiration and hope and love and worship are then so simple, that there is little chance of conflict between his passion and his creed. He can even take the religious lyrics of the Jewish Church and sing them before the throne. The only alteration that he has to make upon them, and it is enough to make it in thought, is that now he sings them not only before the Father and the sevenfold Spirit, but also before the Lamb who is in the midst of the throne.

It is comparatively easy also to sing the New Song before the four living creatures. For the Christian creed is so broad that it takes in the beauty of nature. If only the beauty of nature is ascribed to God the Christian poet can sympathize both with Cowper, who lays the greater stress on God's transcendence, and also with Wordsworth, who lays the greater stress on His immanence. He can even sing the song of those poets who are not called religious, if they are only true to nature. Let them faithfully describe the glory that moves them to song—the light that most truly *is* on sea and land for those who have eyes to see it—the spirit in things—

> Be it love, light, harmony,
> Odour, or the soul of all
> Which from heaven like dew doth fall—

let them render this faithfully, and the religious man can join in the song and supply the interpretation that is lacking. For he knows that the love and light and harmony are due to the interpenetration of things by the Creator-Spirit of God.

But it is very difficult to sing the new song when its subject is the life of man. For a true song must have passion and imaginative thought. And to be a New Song, a Song of the Lamb, it must be both fresh felt in passion and fresh dipt in thought.

Passion—deep feeling—alone will not do. It is too often considered, says Mr. Beeching, that feeling alone is equipment enough for a sacred poet. And therefore our hymn-books are full of hymns that are not true songs, but only verses. They may be the fruit of true experience, they may gratefully acknowledge the facts of revealed religion; but they bring no fresh insight to recreate the experience, they bring no imagination to illuminate the facts. There are many emotional verses in our hymnals on our Lord's Atonement, but Mr. Beeching asks if any of them strike home so deeply or so freshly to our heart the old truth that 'God so loved the world,' as those lines of Shakespeare—

> Why, all the souls that were were forfeit once;
> And He that might the vantage best have took
> Found out the remedy.

Now it is not strange that it should be hardest to sing the New Song before the elders. There

are three reasons for it. The first reason is expressed by St. Paul when he says, 'That is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterwards that which is spiritual.' There is a natural explanation of man's life with its joy and sorrow, its sin and death, and there is a spiritual, and it is not the spiritual that comes first, it is the natural. Let it be death that has to be explained. When the poet, if he is a Christian poet, has time to think upon it, the Christian aspect of it occurs to him. 'But at first,' says Mr. Beeching, 'when the shock comes, it is not the reflective mind that is at work, recalling and reconsidering the traditional religious interpretation, and perhaps taking fire at that to a re-interpretation. It is the imagination that is at work, roused by deep feeling. The fact of death lies once more in its naked awfulness before the poet, as the world lay before Adam, compelling him to utter the dread name, and shudderingly he names it. It is the final loss that appals him. The lamp is shattered; the wine is spilt; the silver cord is loosed, the golden bowl is broken; the pitcher is broken at the fountain, the wheel is broken at the cistern.'

Those words of Ecclesiastes just quoted are poetry, but they are not religion. The verses 'wrung from the greatest poet of our own day by the death of his friend'—

> Break, break, break,
> At the foot of thy crags, O Sea!
> But the tender grace of a day that is dead
> Will never come back to me—

those verses also are poetry but they are not religion. These are the first thoughts about death, and that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and only afterward that which is spiritual. 'And the worst is,' says Mr. Beeching, 'that before this arrives, the impulse to sing has gone.'

Another reason is that 'the heyday of the blood in which the passion is strongest, and the imagination most active, is often a day of revolt against tradition, and especially against that traditional interpretation of the deepest facts of life which we call Christianity.' Mr. Beeching points to Shelley—'expelled for the waywardness of youth from this University [Mr. Beeching preached this sermon first before the University of Oxford], but whose sepulchre has lately been built in his own college with exceptional honour.'

And the third reason is that Christianity is essentially a religion of joy, but it is the sombre aspects of life which appeal to the poetical sensibility most keenly.

> The sweetest songs are those that tell
> of saddest thought.

No doubt the greatest poets, if they are Christians, soar above this pessimism or at least rise out of it. For the most part, however, says Mr. Beeching, they need large space to accomplish it. Milton accomplishes it perfectly 'within the sonnet's humble plot of ground' in the famous sonnet on his blindness, in which the line 'They also serve who only stand and wait' contains the new thought the poet wins for us, and yet has all the passion within it of that which has preceded—'the systole and diastole of the poet's heart pleading with his Maker.' But it is in the space of the epic, or in the drama with its slow development, its crisis, its catastrophe, that the vindication of the spiritual force of life is most successfully accomplished. In the Shakespearean drama, says Mr. Beeching, there is no fate—no fate, at least, of which man is not master—and no laws but the laws of the spirit.

Messrs. Longmans have published a paper which Professor Sanday read in October before the Tutors' Association in Oxford on Harnack's '*What is Christianity?*' (8vo, 1s. net). Professor Sanday did not read the Paper because there was a gap in their programme which the Tutors' Association desired to fill up. There are certain questions at issue in New Testament criticism

at present. Harnack's book makes them stand out with unwonted clearness. And Professor Sanday deliberately chose the book as an opportunity of 'taking our bearings' in regard to them.

Professor Sanday finds Harnack's book worthy of praise, and he does not grudge to praise it. He mentions at once 'its fresh and vivid descriptions, its breadth of view, and skilful selection of points, its frankness, its genuine enthusiasm, its persistent effort to get at the living realities of religion.' The nearest parallel he can recall in English is Matthew Arnold's theological writings: *St. Paul and Protestantism*, *Literature and Dogma*, *God and the Bible*. Harnack's theological training gives him an advantage over Matthew Arnold, and, curiously enough, his book is also a greater literary success than any of Matthew Arnold's, being so much more compact and well proportioned. Nor does Harnack ever commit himself to unfortunate definitions like Matthew Arnold's 'stream of tendency which makes for righteousness.' But, on the other hand, Professor Sanday doubts if he has anything quite so original as Matthew Arnold's account of the doctrine of *Necrosis* (*Die to live!*).

Professor Sanday has read not only Harnack's book, but also the criticisms that have been passed upon it. They range themselves on opposite sides, the Ritschlian organs praising, the Lutheran and orthodox condemning. Of the latter Dr. Lemme of Heidelberg is most uncompromising. To Lemme Harnack's book is simple Nihilism, a radical breach with all dogmatic and ecclesiastical Christianity. Lemme even challenges Harnack to say whether or not he denies the life after death.

Professor Sanday is less concerned with the Ritschlianism of the book than with its truth. If Ritschl and his school should lay stress on the tangible facts of present religious experience, he will not disapprove, for the Bible represents the eternal life as beginning here and now. He will rather accept that as an explanation of the little attention that Harnack gives in his book to the doctrine of immortality, and not blame him for denying what he only omits.

But does Harnack omit the doctrine of a future life? Professor Sanday does not think so. He quotes one passage. It is, as Dr. Sanday says, so unequivocal, and it is also so important, as uttered by Harnack, that we had better quote it also.

'Whatever may have happened at the grave and in the matter of the appearances, one thing is certain—this Grave was the birthplace of the indestructible belief that death is vanquished, that there is a life eternal. It is useless to cite Plato; it is useless to point to the Persian religion, and the ideas and the literature of later Judaism. All that would have perished and has perished; but the certainty of the resurrection and of a life eternal which is bound up with the grave in Joseph's garden, has not perished, and in the conviction that *Jesus lives* we still have those hopes of citizenship in an Eternal City which make our earthly life worth living and tolerable. "He delivered them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage," as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews confesses.'

If there are those who say they believe that *Jesus lives*, and mean that He lives merely in His influence on the world, they cannot run for shelter to Harnack. For, as Dr. Sanday points out, that statement is 'not a matter of words and phrases, the whole argument requires that the life after death should be real.'

But Professor Sanday is not come altogether to bless. He is somewhat disappointed with Harnack's book. He is disappointed in more ways than one. He is ready, as he always is ready, to emphasize the matters of agreement, and to emphasize them first. But he has matters of disagreement also. And he names the principal in a sentence. Harnack says that what he offers is a 'reduced' Christianity—a Christianity, that is to say, reduced from theological and ecclesiastical

Christianity. Dr. Sanday believes that it is unduly 'reduced.' He finds that in reality it consists of the teaching of Jesus and nothing more.

And even the teaching of Jesus is unduly 'reduced.' The Fourth Gospel is excluded. 'Our authorities,' says Harnack, 'for the message which Jesus Christ delivered are — apart from certain important statements made by Paul—the first three Gospels. Everything that we know, independently of these Gospels, about Jesus' history and His teaching, may be easily put on a small sheet of paper, so little does it come to. In particular, the Fourth Gospel, which does not emanate or profess to emanate from the Apostle John, cannot be taken as an historical authority in the ordinary meaning of the word.'

Dr. Sanday is disappointed with that. He has watched for some time 'a certain oscillation of opinion' regarding the Fourth Gospel. He had hoped for another outcome than this. To this he enters 'an emphatic protest.' Such an estimate as this, he says, has often been asserted, but has never been proved. The Fourth Gospel does not stand apart in this way. It simply develops features in the history and personality of Christ to which the other Gospels clearly point. 'On the basis of the Fourth Gospel,' says Dr. Sanday, 'St. Paul and the primitive Church are intelligible, but they are not intelligible otherwise.' He grants freedom in the handling—though the amount is often exaggerated—that very freedom showing that the writer 'must have been in a position of command, and very sure of his ground.' And this tells for, not against, the beloved disciple. After all, 'the indications of trustworthy character long ago alleged remain where they were.'* And the most real objection to the Fourth Gospel is an objection to the supernatural. But to remove the supernatural, says Professor Sanday, is to reduce *all* the Christian documents to a chaos.

Professor Harnack does not remove the supernatural. As a Ritschlian he does not make much of it. But his position is a distinct advance on the older Rationalism. He seems to recognize the presence of an exceptional and perhaps unique cause, producing exceptional and perhaps unique effects. He sees possibilities beyond the range of our common experience. And he leaves room for the substantial truth of the greater part of the narrative. Clearly his language regarding the Fourth Gospel is not only unjust to the Fourth Gospel, but unjust also to himself.

If, however, it were right to reduce Christianity to the teaching of Jesus, then Dr. Sanday could go along with Harnack most of the way. He is particularly pleased with Harnack's doctrine of the Kingdom. He quotes: 'The Kingdom of God comes by coming to the individual, by entering into his soul and laying hold of it. True, the Kingdom of God is the rule of God; but it is the rule of the holy God in the hearts of individuals; *it is God himself in his power.*' He quotes also Harnack's description of the triple meaning of the Kingdom: 'The Kingdom has a triple meaning. Firstly, it is something supernatural, a gift from above, not a product of ordinary life. Secondly, it is a purely religious blessing, the inner link with the living God. Thirdly, it is the most important experience that a man can name, that on which everything else depends; it permeates and dominates his whole existence, because sin is forgiven and misery banished.' And 'all that,' he says, 'I venture to think is exactly right.'

But it is not right, and it is not possible, to reduce Christianity to the teaching of Jesus. And when Harnack comes to deal with the Person of Christ, Professor Sanday decidedly parts company with him.

For, in the first place, Harnack wants to have a Christianity without a Christology. He would have the Christian life without any doctrine as to Christ's Person. He is impatient of dogma, and even of doctrine in any form. He says that

to put a 'Christological' creed in the forefront of the Gospel and say that men must first learn to think rightly about Christ, is to put the cart before the horse. And he even declares that the gospel (that is, the message of Jesus, not the Gospels) has to do with the Father only and not with the Son; he even asserts that Jesus desired no other belief in His Person and no other attachment to it than is contained in the keeping of His commandments.

Dr. Sanday shows that to deny its place to the Person of Christ is to disorganize the teaching. The teaching about the Kingdom involves the Messianic claim. For 'the Messiah is God's Vicegerent in that Kingdom, and it is through Him that it is accomplished.' And he further shows that Harnack's own language in other parts of his book demands a doctrine of the Person of Christ, which contradicts these negative assertions. Along with other passages, he quotes these words from p. 142: 'With the recognition of Jesus as the Messiah the closest possible connection was established for every devout Jew between Jesus' message and His Person; for it is in the Messiah's activity that God Himself comes to His people, and the Messiah who sits at the right hand of God in the clouds of heaven has a right to be worshipped.'

And, in the next place, Harnack cuts Jesus' teaching off from the testimony of the first generation of Christians. Not only does he reduce Christianity to the teaching of Jesus, he reduces it to his own mutilated version of that teaching.

At first, it is true, he makes a show of appealing to the interpretation of the earliest followers of Christ. He says that we must listen to what the first generation of His disciples tell us of the effect which He had upon their lives. He even proposes to go beyond the first generation. 'We shall follow,' he says, 'the leading changes which the Christian idea has undergone in the course of history, and try to recognize its chief types. What is common to all the forms which it has taken, corrected by reference to the Gospel, and, conversely, the chief features of the Gospel, corrected by reference to history, will, we may be allowed to hope, bring us to the kernel of the matter.'

But his appeal to history is a promise that is not kept. The moment the testimony of the early Christians conflicts with Harnack's own theories it is overruled. How otherwise could he get rid of Christology? St. Paul has a high Christological doctrine of the Person of Jesus, Harnack has not. He can only retain his own by rejecting that of St. Paul. And thus Harnack misses his grand opportunity. For the question of deepest interest at the present time is how far the remaining books of the New Testament rightly interpret the data contained in the Gospels. Harnack was called upon to answer it. He has said much on questions of less account. He has not answered that question.

The Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees.

By the Rev. James Moffatt, M.A., B.D., Dundonald.

The following four hymns are taken from the so-called Psalter of Solomon (3, 6, 5, 10), which represents the somewhat unskilful Greek version[1] of a Hebrew original composed a century or so earlier, *i.e.* 80–40 B.C. The greater part of this Psalter, as a whole, reflects the mood of the more pious Pharisaic circles in Palestine during the years that followed Pompey's siege and capture of Jerusalem[2] in 63 B.C., and the collection forms

[1] Probably made for use in the worship of Greek-speaking Jews throughout the Palestinian synagogues, though the liturgical traces are scanty and indistinct.

[2] The glory of the renovated earthly Jerusalem (Ps 17^{33-35}) is partly reproduced in Apoc $21^{23f.}$, as is the rule of the

a valuable supplement to the later and more external sketch of the crisis furnished by Josephus. The catastrophe of 63 was evidently viewed by the stricter Pharisees as a judgment upon the country for its offences, especially for the compromising and lax conduct of the Sadducees, their hereditary rivals. Naturally, with the fall of the Asmoneans, the Sadducees lost their paramount influence and position in the councils of the nation. Their ruin was hailed by the Pharisees with undisguised delight, and the outburst of indignant satisfaction which followed is loudly sounded in several of the Solomonic Psalms. Nor was this merely the animus of party spirit. We can still see, through the mist of denunciation, evidence enough to prove the moral corruption and irreligious methods by which the political crisis under Pompey had been heralded.

The Psalms also bear witness to the resigned 'quietism' which kept many people clear of fresh political intrigues, such as those fostered by the Zealots with heroic but fatal energy. From revolutionary ambitions in the years following 63 B.C., as in those preceding 69 A.D., the respectable and prudent Pharisees sought carefully to dissociate themselves. So long as the observance of the law was unhindered, heathen jurisdiction (they held) must be patiently borne as a providential dispensation. To this Pharisaic author and his circle, for example, the recent distress becomes a chastisement. Patience is the right attitude for God's people, patience accompanied by penitence and moral reformation. The really outstanding feature, so far as the outlook upon the future is concerned, consists in a remarkable development of the Messianic hope (Pss 17, 18), which assumes quite a fresh form of belief. Dr. Charles, however, conjectures that these two Psalms are due to a different author (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. 244, 245), and certainly they stand in some respects aside from the general current of the preceding hymns.

The main interest of the Psalms, however, lies in the type of genuine and attractive piety to which they give expression. 'Their beauty simply consists in their great simplicity and sincerity' (Ewald). They discover a state of feeling and a circle of ideas which contained much of what was morally and spiritually healthy in pre-Christian Judaism. For Judaism, and even Pharisaism, in the age of Jesus was full of contrasts. The righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees,[1] which the prophet of Nazareth pilloried as imperfect and misleading, did not cover all the characteristics and qualities of contemporary Pharisaism; there were evidently circles of quiet folk, who did not belong to the official or ecclesiastical class, untouched by the cruder and grosser forms of legalism, and largely out of sympathy with the externalism and pedantry of the more public Pharisees. It was the type represented by numerous unknown adherents of Jesus, possibly by men like Nikodemus, Nathanael, Paul,[2] and Symeon; the latter of whom has been actually taken[3] as the prototype of this Solomonic piety (Lk 2^{25}), which yearned for a satisfying δικαιοσύνη that was more than mere legal precision and performance (Mt 5^{6}).

These four hymns have been done into English to illustrate this element of pre-Christian Judaism; especially as a right estimate of it is necessary to any understanding of the Palestinian soil for Christianity and of the subsequent membership within the primitive communities of Jewish Christendom. More distinctly, perhaps, than the rest of the Psalms, these four express the cardinal feature of this Pharisaic piety; nor are they tinged with the colours of the immediate political situation

Messiah with His rod of iron (Ps 17^{26} = Apoc 12^{5} 19^{15}). The application of ὁ ἄνομος, ὁ ἁμαρτωλός, to Pompey (17^{13} 2^{1}) explains the similar usage in 2 Th $2^{3-4, 8}$; cf. also πυρὶ φλογός (Ps 12^{5} = 2 Th 1^{8}), and the spirit of deceit (Ps 8^{15} = 2 Th 2^{11}, also 1 Ti 4^{1}).

[1] There are frequent references in the Solomonic Psalms to a righteousness of deeds (Ps $9^{7, 9}$ 17^{21} 18^{9}), which especially point to an observance of the ceremonial law (3^{8-10} 5^{20}). But it is very doubtful if the majority of these allusions mean much more than a scrupulous regard for ethical correctness. Their strictness, after all, is not any more exceptional than the similar tone in the Epistle of James; and it is quite gratuitous to interpret the references to praise and prayer as mere liturgical injunctions.

[2] The evident reluctance of Paul to employ terms like βασιλεία or βασιλεύς for his conception of God's nature, may have been partly due to a reaction from their use in his older Pharisaic circle, where the motto had been, 'The Lord is king' (Ps Sol $5^{21, 22}$, &c.). On the other hand, he reproduces ideas such as: the neglect of God the source of ruin (Ps 2^{35} = Ro 1^{21}, 1 Co 1^{21}, &c.), the discriminating judgment of God (Ps 2^{37-40} = Ro 2^{3-9}), and πίστις as the divine faithfulness (Ps 8^{35} = Ro 3^{3}). Cf. also the quotations in Ps 9^{3} = Ro 3^{4}, and the patriotic wail in Ps 2^{15b} = Ro 9^{2}.

[3] *E.g.* by Ryle and James, *The Psalms of Solomon* (1891), p. lix, n.: 'He must have been a man in the prime of life when they were written.' On the resemblances between the Solomonic Psalms and the hymns preserved in Lk 1, 2, cf. *ibid.* pp. lx, lxii, xci-xcii; and Dr. F. H. Chase, *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, i. 3. pp. 147-151.

and its religious controversies. The first is occupied with the behaviour of the righteous man under the discipline of God's chastisement, in contrast to the conduct of the sinner. The second describes the nobler side of Pharisaic devotion; it is an attractive sketch of the Pharisee at prayer. Immediately occasioned by some drought or famine, the third rises into the spirit of pious contentment[1] with God's Providence; while the fourth is simply a eulogy upon affliction and the blessings to be derived therefrom.

The Greek text used for this version is that edited by Dr. Swete in the Cambridge manual edition of the LXX (iii. pp. 764–787), compared with Dr. Oscar von Gebhardt's collation in the *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1895, the text of Ryle and James, and Kittel's recent German translation in Kautzsch's *Apocryphen u. Pseudepigraphen des A.T.* (ii. pp. 127–148). One or two departures from Dr. Swete's text are noted at the foot of the page.

(*a*) Psalm iii.

1 Why sleep, my soul, nor bless the Lord?—
2 Sing ye a new[2] song to God, who is worthy of praise.
Sing, yea be wakeful for Him who is wakeful;
For God delighteth in song from a good heart.

3 The righteous make mention of the Lord continually,
Confessing the Lord's judgments to be just:
4 The righteous doth not despise the chastening of the Lord;
To the Lord he is continually well-pleasing.

5 When the righteous falleth, he acquitteth the Lord:
When he is thrown down, he considereth how God will deal with him;
6 Eagerly he watcheth from whence his salvation cometh.

7 From God their saviour cometh the integrity of the righteous:
Sin upon sin lodgeth not in the household of the righteous man.

8 Continually doth the righteous make search in his household,
To put away the iniquity of its transgression;
9 For unwitting error he atoneth with fasting and humbleth his soul;
10 So doth the Lord cleanse every holy man, together with his household.

11 When the sinner falleth, he curseth his life,
The day of his birth and the pangs of his mother.
12 He addeth sin to sin, the more he liveth;
13 When he is thrown down—right grievous is his downfall—he shall not rise again.

The destruction of the sinner is for ever,
14 Nor shall the Lord remember him when He visiteth the righteous.
15 This is the portion of sinners for ever;
16 But they that fear the Lord shall rise again to life eternal,
In the light of the Lord shall be their life, nor shall it ever fail.

(*b*) Psalm vi.

1 Blessed is the man who is ready in his heart to call on the name of the Lord;
2 When he maketh mention of the Lord's name, he shall be saved.
3 His ways are directed by the Lord,
And by the Lord his God are the works of his hands made secure.
4 By no ill visions shall he be troubled in his dreams,
5 Nor shall his soul be terrified as he passeth through rivers or amid the swelling of the seas.
6 When he riseth up from his sleep,
He blesseth the name of the Lord;
7 Stable in heart, he singeth praise to God's name,
And entreateth the Lord's favour for all his household.
8 And the Lord hearkeneth to everyone who prayeth in the fear of God,
Yea, every petition of a soul that hopeth in Him, the Lord fulfilleth.
9 Blessed be the Lord who showeth mercy unto those who love Him in sincerity!

(*c*) Psalm v.

1 Lord God, I will praise Thy name with rejoicing,
In the midst of those who know Thy righteous judgments;
2 For Thou[3] art gracious and merciful, the refuge of the poor;
3 Hold not Thy peace when I cry to Thee.
4 No spoil is got from a mighty man;
5 And, except Thou give it, who getteth aught of all that Thou hast made?
6 A man and his portion are determined before Thee;
He shall not add or increase more than Thou hast decreed, O God.

[1] The special position assigned to this virtue of *αὐτάρκεια*, as the outcome of faith, is noticeable in view of Paul's argument in Ph $4^{11\text{-}13}$ (cf. also 1 Ti $6^{6f.}$); and in a later Psalm (16^{12}) words occur which curiously remind one of Ph 4^{13} (*ἐν τῷ ἐνισχῦσαί σε τὴν ψυχήν μου ἀρκέσει μοι τὸ δοθέν. ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ σὺ ἐνισχύσῃς, τίς ὑφέξεται παιδείαν ἐν πενίᾳ = πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με*). But in these and other instances the resemblances in all probability prove simply that the N.T. language was largely drawn from the current religious vocabulary of the period; it is only now and then, as partly in the case of Paul, that we can infer the precise circle of thought and terminology which possibly influenced his style.

[2] Reading *καινὸν*.

[3] Reading *σὺ χρηστὸς*.

7 In our distress we will call for help;
And Thou wilt not reject our supplication,
For Thou art our God.
8 Lay not Thy hand upon us heavily,
That we be not driven to sin.
9 Yet even if Thou restore us not, we will not desist;
Nay, still we will come unto Thee.
10 For if I hunger, to Thee, O God, will I cry;
And Thou wilt give unto me.
11 Birds and fish Thou feedest,
Giving rain in the deserts for the grass to spring up;
Thou preparest food in the wilderness for every living thing;
12 So shall they lift their faces unto Thee, if they hunger.
13 Kings, rulers, and peoples Thou feedest, O God;
And who is the poor and needy's hope save Thee, O Lord?
14 Yea, Thou wilt hearken, for who is gracious and considerate, who but Thou?
Gladden the lowly soul, and open Thine hand in mercy.
15 Man's kindness is niggardly and done for a reward[1];
Yea, if it be repeated without grudging, 'tis a wonder.
16 But Thy giving is ample, kindly and bountiful;
Yea, whoso hopeth in Thee shall want for no gift.
17 Thy mercy spreads in kindness, Lord, o'er all the earth.
18 Blessed is the man whom God remembereth to content with a sufficiency:
19 If a man increase exceedingly, he falleth into sin.
20 Suffice it to live moderately and be righteous:
Yea, to be satisfied and to be righteous hath the blessing of the Lord.

21 They that fear the Lord delight in His goodness;
Yea, Thy kindness is upon Israel as Thou reignest.
22 Blessed be the glory of the Lord,
For He is our King.

(*d*) PSALM X.

1 Blessed is the man whom the Lord remembereth to correct;
Yea, scourgeth aside from the way of evil,
That he may be cleansed from sin—lest it increase.
2 He shall be cleansed, who prepareth his back for the scourge;
For the Lord is gracious unto those who endure chastening patiently.
3 The ways of the righteous He will make straight,
Nor pervert[2] them by His chastening.
4 Yea, the mercy of the Lord is upon those who love Him in sincerity,
And in mercy will the Lord remember His servants.
5 Witness the law of the eternal covenant!
Witness the Lord's oversight of the ways of men!

6 Righteous and holy in His judgments is our Lord for evermore;
And Israel shall praise the Lord's name joyfully.

7 The holy ones also shall give thanks in the congregation of the people;
Yea, God will have mercy on the poor, to Israel's joy,
8 For gracious and merciful is God evermore,
And the assemblies of Israel shall glorify the Lord's name.
9 The salvation of the Lord be upon the house of Israel, to its eternal joy![3]

The O.T. background of the Psalms is very patent. But they also help to illustrate several traits and usages in N.T. thought and diction. Besides features like some of those noted by Ryle and James (pp. lxvi, xc f.), *e.g.* the Davidic sonship of the Messiah, the metaphor of the mighty man (Ps 5^4 = Mk 3^{27}), the idea of divine and human kindness (Ps $5^{15.16}$ = Lk 11^5), and phrases compounded of ἐκλογή (= divine choice), ὑπόκρισις (only in LXX 2 Mac 6^{25}), and μαρτυρία (preferred as a rule, in Ps. Sol. and N.T., to μαρτύριον), etc., there are several others which throw light upon the N.T. language. The favourite Pharisaic antithesis of δίκαιοι and ἁμαρτωλοί recurs in Paul, where he speaks from the Jewish standpoint (Gal 2^{15} ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνων ἁμαρτωλοί), though ἁμ. is widened from the Sadducees to the Gentiles (on the relation of ἁμ. in the gospels to ἔθνικος, see Nestle's interesting discussion, *Philologica Sacra*, pp. 31 f.), This contrast, indeed, pervades the whole Psalter. It was a normal development of Pharisaic principles, accentuated of course at this epoch by the exigencies of the historical situation. God, also, is termed 'the saviour,' an idea which (apart from Lk 1^{47}) happens to recur only in the later books of the N.T. (especially 1 Ti); He is especially the protector and succour of the poor and lowly (Ps 5^{13-14} 10^{7-8}), as in the Epistle of James, which in tone and aim has certain affinities with the Solomonic Psalter.[4]

But the main interest of the Psalms lies naturally in their sketch of the religious ideal as conceived by the better class of Pharisees during the years immediately preceding the Christian era. The political situation obviously demanded the exercise of patience and endurance.[5] Hence the

[1] Reading with Kittel after Frankenberg וּכְמֹחַר as the original.

[2] Reading διαστρέψει.

[3] Reading εὐφροσύνην (for σωφροσύνην, MSS).

[4] Note, for example, the tongue as a fire in the forest (Ps 12^{2-3} = Jas 3^5), and the phrase ποιεῖν εἰρήνην (Ps 12^6 = Jas 3^{18}).

[5] Καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ ζυγόν σου τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ μάστιγα παιδείας σου (Ps 7^8), a proverbial comparison of the Jewish law to a yoke, which strikingly anticipates the N.T. usage. Cf. also 16^{11}, 'when I am afflicted, put far from me all murmuring and

primary quality of the righteous character is (*a*) reverent behaviour under the chastening of God (Ps $3^{4f.}$ $10^{1f.\ 6}$), acknowledgment of His justice (He is ὅσιος, as in Apoc 15^{4} 16^{5}), and a determination neither to blame nor to accuse Him. All this is quite in accord with the best traditions of O.T. piety. So is the spirit of reverent and willing submission, which is content to await God's help, and meanwhile, with unfailing praise (Ps 3^{2}),[1] to accept the divine end of chastening, namely, warning against sin (Ps $10^{1f.}$ 18^{4-5}). The whole mood is reproduced[2] in Heb $12^{4f.}$, though heightened by the Christian conception of God's Fatherhood. Even the two lines of evidence in the Psalter for the divine mercy as shown in affliction—the written law and the experience of Providence—are partially reflected in Heb 12^{5} and $11^{2f.}$. Along with this self-abasement goes (*b*) a sense of corporate responsibility. The truly righteous man, as conceived by this author and his circle, cares strictly and keenly for his household as well as for his personal life, in a manner which recalls the primitive ideal of intercession and authority sketched in Job 1^{4-5}. In some way he represents his household before God, considering himself bound and permitted to approach God on their behalf. This feeling of solidarity possibly throws light upon passages like 1 Co 7^{14}, Ac $16^{15.\ 33-34}$, etc., which indicate a sense of corporate religious responsibility such as is not infrequent throughout this Psalter ($3^{8f.}$ 6^{7-8} 9^{10}). The practice of prayer naturally involves (*c*) fasting, another point in which these Psalms (3^{9}) corroborate the later evidence of the N.T. Pharisaic fasting was notorious by the time of Jesus. It had grown from a natural custom, such as in the main it still is here, into a system of external asceticism, by means of which men believed they exerted pressure upon a reluctant God. Similarly, with the conception of (*d*) prayer itself. These Psalms (especially the 6th) present a simple and pious outline of Pharisaic supplication at its best, according to which the place and use of prayer affect (i) practical success in affairs of this life, (ii) freedom from superstition and terrifying dreams or visions,[3] and (iii) safety upon a journey. This early and uncorrupted type of piety is further exemplified in its demands for (*e*) sincerity (ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, 6^{9} 10^{4}: cf. Mt 22^{16}) especially in love to God, a trait reproduced in the story of the scribe (Mk 12^{32-34}) who answered Jesus so sympathetically upon the essence of the law (cf. Eph 6^{24}). This claim to sincerity, of course, meant that the rival party of the Sadducees was stamped as insincere and guilty of pretence, when these Psalms were written. The hostile side-reference is unmistakable.

The outstanding features[4] of this theology, which reappear in the N.T., are the ideas of Providence and of the Resurrection. The former was a cardinal tenet of the Pharisees (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14, *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 3, etc.), and in their ample and reverent recognition of God's moral order they represented an attitude with which, so far as it went, Jesus was thoroughly in sympathy (Ps 5^{4-6} = Mk 3^{27}, Mt 12^{29}, Lk 11^{21-22}): God over all, but man free and responsible. Upon the question of the Resurrection, however, it is less easy to determine what was the exact standpoint of the Psalms, if indeed they had any. The idea, in its popular and dogmatic form, was scarcely a century old within Judaism. It was opposed *in toto* by the Sadducees as a heretical development, and even within the circle of its Pharisaic (Ac 23^{6-9}, Mt 22^{23}) supporters differences of opinion still existed as to its scope and object. Thus the Solomonic Psalter, in common with a certain element in Judaism, rejects the conception of a

faintness of heart' (ὀλιγοψυχίαν), and 16^{15} (ἐν τῷ ὑπομεῖναί δίκαιον ἐν τούτοις ἐλεηθήσεται ὑπὸ Κυρίου) with Jas $5^{11f.}$.

[1] This metaphorical use of γρηγορεῖν is common in the N.T., but it is usually associated with prayer and moral effort, not as here with the call to praise. For the emphasis in these Psalms (especially in Ps 15) on praise, compare Heb 13^{15} with the words in Ps 15^{4-5} (ψαλμὸν καινὸν καρπὸν χειλέων, ἀπαρχὴν χειλέων ἀπὸ καρδίας ὁσίας καὶ δικαίας). In the same epistle it is interesting to read 11^{38} along with Ps 17^{19} (ἐπλανῶντο ἐν ἐρήμοις), and 12^{3} (τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν εἰς ἑαυτούς) with Ps 9^{9} (ὁ ποιῶν ἀδικίαν αὐτὸς αἴτιος τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν ἀπωλείᾳ).

[2] Two singular phrases of the Solomonic Psalter are paralleled in Hebrews: κληρονομέω τὰς ἐπαγγελίας (Ps 12^{8} = Heb 6^{12} 11^{9}) and αἰώνιος διαθήκη (Ps 10^{5} = Heb 13^{20}). Cf. also Ps 13^{8} νουθετήσει δίκαιον ὡς υἱὸν ἀγαπήσεως with Heb 12^{5-7}.

[3] A curious feature (6^{4}), which, like several others, goes back to the Book of Job (7^{14}); πτοεῖσθαι is used in the N.T. also, but only of rumours (Lk 21^{9}) and ghosts (24^{37}).

[4] The angelology is quite incidental; but, on the other hand, the Pharisaic tenet of retribution throbs throughout all the Psalms. The Messianic hope forms a topic by itself; but one may compare passages like Mt 13^{16}, Lk 10^{23} with Ps Sol 17^{50} (μακάριοι οἱ γενόμενοι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἰδεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν συναγωγῇ φυλῶν· ποιησαὶ ὁ Θεός), 18^{7}.

general resurrection brought forward in Daniel (12^{2-3}). Only the righteous rise, according to this author. The sinful die and are no more. The lot of the wicked seems to be nothing but annihilation (Ps 3^{13-16} 13^{10} 14^{6}); they die and are destroyed, as, apparently, in the teaching of Jesus and of Paul (1 Th 5^{3}, 2 Th $2^{3.10}$), where extinction (ἀπωλεια) is their end (also, *e.g.*, Ro 6^{21}, Ph 3^{19}). Upon the other hand, however, the fluidity of the conception betrays itself even within the N.T. literature, where, more than once (*e.g.* Ac 24^{15}, Jn 5^{28-29}, Apoc $20^{5-6.12-13}$), the general resurrection of good and bad, especially the latter, to judgment is distinctly advocated. The antinomy is obviously due to the fact that the early Christian outlook upon the future was determined by heterogeneous and varied presuppositions, drawn largely from the fluid conceptions of contemporary Judaism.

Apart from one or two minor points,[1] these represent the main directions in which the Solomonic Psalms converge upon the language and ideas of the N.T. Their especial value lies in the fact that they afford evidence of a simpler and less corrupt form of Pharisaism than that which the historical exigencies of the situation have preserved for us in the N.T., and especially in the Gospels. There the Pharisee is indeed the Malvolio of Judaism, as he has been called, with his ridiculously stiff formality, his assumed attitudes, his absurd conceits. But it must never be forgotten that, despite grave faults of externalism, complacency, hypocrisy, and exclusiveness, this type represented only the caricature of a religious ideal which itself had not yet wholly perished; and that, if Christianity had affinities with any of the religious parties throughout Judaism, it was with the finer elements of Pharisaism, from which so many of its best adherents in Palestine were in all likelihood drawn.

[1] *E.g.* to stand before God, as the reward and privilege of the pious at the end (Ps 2^{40} = Lk 21^{36}); the verbal resemblance of πνεῦμα ἅγιον and ἐλέγξαι (Ps $17^{27.45}$) and the collocation of 'light' and 'life' (3^{16}), both Johannine phrases; the very rare parallels of χρηστεύομαι (Ps 9^{11} = 1 Co 13^{4}) and ἀνθρωπαρέσκος (Ps 4^{1} = Col 3^{22}, Eph 6^{6}), πλησμονή (Ps 5^{20} = Col 2^{23}) and ἀνάληψις (4^{20} = Lk 9^{51}), and the reference to divine influence under the figure of a goad (16^{4} ἔνυξέν με ὡς κέντρον ἵππου ἐπὶ τὴν γρηγόρησιν αὐτοῦ = Ac 26^{14}). The main coincidences with the gospels include divine intervention on behalf of the saints (Ps $2^{26f.}$ = Mk 13^{20}, Mt 24^{22}), God's knowledge of secret charity (Ps 9^{6} = Mt 6^{1-4}; also the use of θησαυρίζειν, Ps 9^{9} = Mt $6^{19f.}$), the pious as lambs (Ps 8^{28} = Mt 10^{16}, Lk 10^{3}), and the Pharisaic phrase 'to inherit eternal life' (Ps 14^{7} = Mk 10^{17}, Mt 19^{29}, Lk 10^{25}).

Requests and Replies.

I am puzzled by the rendering of 1 S i. 3 in both A.V. and R.V. The Heb. is יָמִים מִיָּמִים. This is rendered in LXX ἐξ ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας, as one might expect; why then do both English versions give 'yearly'?—T. W.

The Heb. phrase quoted above does not *mean* 'yearly' (A.V.) or 'from year to year' (R.V. and A.V.m.); it is the context that gives it this sense. 'From day to day' or 'daily' would manifestly be absurd in the instance in question. If a strictly literal translation were wanted, 'periodically' or 'on the proper days' might be suggested, but, as the visits of Elkanah to Shiloh were evidently on the occasion of an *annual* festival (cf. esp. 1 S 2^{19}), the E.V. rendering is much to be preferred on the ground of clearness. The same technical expression יָמִים מִיָּמִים occurs also in Ex 13^{10} (of the Feast of Unleavened Bread), Jg 11^{40} (of the mourning for Jephthah's daughter), 21^{19} (of the Shiloh festival). In all these passages the context shows that 'yearly' is the sense intended. It may be further noted that יָמִים probably answers to 'year' in such passages as Gn 4^{3}, Lv 25^{29}, Jg 17^{10}, 1 S 20^{6} 27^{7}, 2 S 14^{26}, 2 Ch 21^{19}. The Heb. student may refer for fuller information to Professor Ed. König's admirable *Heb. Syntax*, § 266a.

J. A. Selbie.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

The Unrighteous Steward.

I have read with great interest Dr. Jannaris' article on 'The Unrighteous Steward and Machiavellism.' I do not criticize his suggestion as to the punctuation, but to suggest that the difficulty, if the older

punctuation is retained, is not so great as Dr. Jannaris seems to think.

Commenting on Lk. xvi. 9, his words are: 'Friends acquired in this world by means of mammon and everlasting habitations are two incongruous and irreconcilable things.' But may not the expression 'mammon of unrighteousness' be simply an equivalent for 'money,' the former term being chosen by 'attraction' (to borrow a word from grammar) from the parable, and also because money is so often and to so many the *unrighteous* mammon? The Saviour's words might then be paraphrased thus: 'The steward used this mammon of unrighteousness to prepare for himself a welcome into temporal habitations. You may use the same *thing, i.e.* money (an unrighteous thing in the steward's case), in such a way that when you die you will be welcomed into *everlasting* habitations by those who still remember with gratitude your kindness on earth.'

That the expression may be used as a mere synonym for 'money' seems to me to be apparent from ver. 11, or how could the Lord mention the possibility of being 'faithful' therein?—E. P.

'E. P.' SEEMS to overlook the fact that whether we say 'mammon of unrighteousness' or 'money' (which is the same thing), the difficulty remains insuperable. His paraphrase is too free, speculative, and far-fetched to be admitted. For as commonly read, the passage is unmistakable: 'Make friends by means of money, that *they* (*i.e.* the friends so bought) may receive you into *everlasting* habitations.' Now does 'E. P.' mean to say that friends so unrighteously and sinfully allied (as are dishonest givers and unlawful receivers)—I ask, can such sinful confederates expect to meet in the 'everlasting' habitations?

A. N. JANNARIS.

Mr. C. K. Henderson writes from Sydney in reference to the prohibition of the use of things strangled and of blood in the apostolic decree in Acts xv. 28, 29: 'No one that I know of acts on these injunctions. I know how they can be refuted from other portions of the N.T., *e.g.* from the writings of Paul. But how can any reasoning of Paul annul commands given with such authority—"the Holy Ghost"?'

THE difficulty which Mr. Henderson has hit upon is only one detail of the general difficulty of reconciling the Acts with the Epistles of St. Paul, about which so much has been written on both sides. In the present instance the late Bishop Lightfoot's reply to the question raised by Mr. Henderson would be that there is no reason for supposing that the decree was intended to be universal or permanent. He thinks that it was not intended to be universal, because it was addressed only to the Churches of Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, which were near Judæa, and therefore more interested in the controversy. The adequacy of this reply has, however, been questioned on the ground that the Book of Acts itself seems to regard the decree as of wider application (see Lightfoot, *Gal.* p. 126, and Acts 16^4 and 21^{25}, and *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, October 1899, pp. 70, 71).

It is not so easy to answer Bishop Lightfoot when he says that the decree was not intended to be permanent. Nothing is said in the Acts as to whether it was intended to be permanent or not. The occasion for it would certainly have grown less as the importance of the Gentile element in the Church increased, and that of the Jews diminished in comparison. But we really know very little of what happened in the early years of the Church.

Mr. Henderson asks another question. At p. 34 of the article on the 'Acts' in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* it is said that 'the presence of the author's hand in the speeches cannot be denied.' On pp. 28, 29, the writer in enumerating the contents of the Acts prints the speeches in italics. He also italicises the apostolic letter (Acts 15^{28}, etc.). Mr. Henderson's question is: 'Are we to understand, therefore, that the apostolic letter may also have been modified by the writer of the Acts as well as the speeches.' There is no reason why the letter might not have been subject to the same treatment as the speeches, except that the letter being short, and being written, and of a more authoritative character, would have been more likely to have been preserved in its original form. It might be better compared with a letter of St. Paul than with one of his speeches.

J. A. CROSS.

Little Holbeck, Leeds.

At the Literary Table.

THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

I.

THE EMPHASISED BIBLE. By J. B. Rotherham. Vol. I. Genesis to Ruth. (*Allenson.* Royal 8vo, pp. 288. 8s. net.)

There is no little danger that Mr. Rotherham's *Emphasised Bible* will miss the attention it deserves, for on first view it is a highly elaborate system of signs and symbols signifying nothing. Take a single verse, Ex 3^{12}—

> ^{12} And he said—
> I will be[d] with thee, and ‖ this ‖ <to thee> [shall be] the sign, that ‖ I ‖ have sent thee,—
> <When thou bringest forth the people out of Egypt> ye shall do service unto God, upon[e] this mountain.
>
> [d] Heb.: *'ehyeh*—as in ver. 14. | [e] Or: 'by.'

Now what have we here? We have first a new translation, which is good enough to justify its existence. Next, emphasis marks, whose purpose is to bring the English reader into touch with the original; for in translation it is impossible to present the exact force of the Hebrew and be idiomatic; so Mr. Rotherham's marks say, 'Thus the words would be read aloud in Hebrew.' Then brief notes, which do for special points what even the emphasis marks fail to do. The whole desire, therefore, is to enable us to read the English and produce the very same effect as reading the Hebrew does.

Is it worth the labour? Surely it is. Ask the trained reader sitting in the pew. Moreover, it puts the English scholar on a level, as nearly as possible, with the Hebrew scholar.

Lessons on the Gospel of St. Mark is the title of the latest issue of Messrs. A. & C. Black's 'Guild Text-Books' (6d.). It is really a commentary on the Second Gospel, not, however, in the usual method of phrase by phrase, the incident or topic itself being explained rather than its language, and all being turned to immediate spiritual results. The author is Dr. Irvine Robertson of Clackmannan.

THE UNIVERSE. By F. A. Pouchet, M.D. Revised and Edited by J. R. Ainsworth Davis, M.A. (*Blackie.* 8vo, pp. 592. 7s. 6d.)

Pouchet's *Universe; or, The Infinitely Great and the Infinitely Little*, has been one of the most successful of Messrs. Blackie's popular books. It has run so long that it was getting out of touch with scientific knowledge. So it has been revised by a competent student. And now it will set out on a new career of conquest, captivating the hearts as well as informing the understanding of another generation of young men and maidens.

The special business to which Messrs. David Bryce & Son of Glasgow have set themselves is the production of the smallest possible books. Scott's *Lady of the Lake* in their 'Dainty Little Library' weighs less than two ounces. With its brown leather and brass clasp it is an ideal gift for friends abroad.

BEYOND THESE VOICES. By Mrs. Egerton Eastwick. (*Burns & Oates.* Crown 8vo, pp. 328.)

The heroine is all the book. And what a heroine! Powerful, perplexing, attractive—but good or bad? It is marvellous how easily the interest is maintained. There is a murder, but even that does not destroy or weaken it. For there is that beautiful woman's life to live and account for. The book is written by a woman, and the men, though respectable, are not great men, nor always consistent with their own mediocre selves. But the greatness of this bad woman makes up for it. It is a Catholic book, and there is purpose in things we might at first see little purpose in.

The third yearly volume of the new series of *Young People* (2s.) has been issued by Mr. Burroughs. It is a denominational magazine, but nothing merely sectarian is to be found in it, and it ranks with the best young folks' magazines published. Mr. Capey is an editor who should be introduced into the home.

Morning Rays is the children's magazine of the Church of Scotland. It is edited, with a fine sense of the wishes and the wants of the little ones, by the Rev. Harry Smith, M.A. And it is illus-

trated so as to hold its own with the artistic undenominational magazines. Its annual volume is published at 42 Hanover Street, Edinburgh (1s. net).

THE OXFORD BOOK OF ENGLISH VERSE, 1250–1900. Chosen and Edited by A. T. Quiller-Couch. (Oxford: *At the Clarendon Press*. Crown 8vo, pp. 1084. 10s. 6d.)

The *Oxford Book* is the best book. We say so with remembrance of the rest and with grateful obligations to them. It will never take the place of the *Golden Treasury* in our affection, for the first is the best loved always. But it is the best though not best loved. Having all the rest as guides, and going more thoroughly than any general anthology into the poetry of our own time, Mr. Quiller-Couch seems to have found what others missed, and missed nothing of what others found. As fat as a popular hymn-book — it contains 883 pieces—the *Oxford Book of English Verse* is nevertheless so severely edited that it can only be individual taste that will reject this piece or that, not common consent. For our part it would be the few more recent and more fanciful that we should be inclined, not to reject, but to bracket as the textual critics do. For simplicity, which is humanity, is the first law of anthology-making. Can anything be better to announce that law and fix it for ever than 'Sumer is icumen in,' the poem with which all anthologies must open? Can anything be better to end an anthology, in obedience to that law, than Margaret L. Woods' *Genius Loci*? or even the 'Amen' of the Book, the Oxford motto, which we must quote—

Dominus Illuminatio Mea.

In the hour of death, after this life's whim,
When the heart beats low, and the eyes grow dim,
And pain has exhausted every limb—
The lover of the Lord shall trust in Him.

When the will has forgotten the lifelong aim,
And the mind can only disgrace its fame,
And a man is uncertain of his own name—
The power of the Lord shall fill this frame.

When the last sigh is heaved, and the last tear shed,
And the coffin is waiting beside the bed,
And the widow and child forsake the dead—
The angel of the Lord shall lift this head.

For even the purest delight may pall,
And power must fail, and the pride must fall,
And the love of the dearest friends grow small—
But the glory of the Lord is all in all.

One of the most attractive single volume editions of Shakespeare is that which is published by Messrs. Collins of Glasgow. It contains an introduction by Henry Glassford Bell (4s.). Its paper, type, binding are all effective, and form a handsome volume. But its special feature of attractiveness is its series of illustrations. They are representations of modern actors and actresses taken in the act. Sir Henry Irving is here as Hamlet and Shylock and Wolsey and Lear. Miss Ellen Terry is seen in Beatrice and Portia and Queen Katharine and Imogen and Cordelia and Lady Macbeth and Ophelia. Almost all the plays are represented by those two or by others. It is an aid to interpretation which the most ardent student of Shakespeare will appreciate most.

HE CHOSE TWELVE. By J. Elder Cumming, D.D. (Stirling: *Drummond*. Crown 8vo, pp. 272. 2s. 6d.)

In publishing a volume of studies in the character of the Twelve, Dr. Elder Cumming expresses astonishment, which we must echo, that he could find only two books (Bruce's *Training of the Twelve* and Symington's *Apostles of Our Lord*) which cover the same ground. That does not encourage him to be commonplace, however. He knows that separately the apostles have been much discussed. His studies are thoughtful, and once or twice independent. In the case of Judas, for example, he dares to suggest, in order to account for his choice, that our Lord never chose him, but that he offered himself; in fact, that he is the man who said, 'Lord, I will follow thee whithersoever Thou goest,' and that he followed in spite of Christ's warning, 'Foxes have holes.'

THE GRAMMAR OF PROPHECY. By R. B. Girdlestone, M.A. (*Eyre & Spottiswoode*. Crown 8vo, pp. 207. 6s.)

To Canon Girdlestone prophecy means prediction. He does not deny that there is prophecy in the Bible that is not prediction, that the prophets were sometimes forthtellers and not foretellers, but he is only mildly interested in such prophecy. In prophecy, which is prediction, he is, and has long been, so deeply interested, that it alone is prophecy to him, and with it alone this book has to do. His purpose is to reveal the rules by which predictive prophecy should be interpretated. He calls his book *The Grammar of Prophecy*—not its Arithmetic. For he sees that

it is not by figures on a slate, but by understanding the language of the Spirit of God that the times and seasons will be found. So he will displease all the almanack-makers. But if he succeeds, and we think he does succeed, in showing that in prophecy 'we count time by heart-throbs,' he will do good service to his fellow-men. The Lord shall come, the earth shall quake—we know that; when? how?—that we do not know. Nor would it be well with us if we knew, but ill. Therefore let us be up and doing while the day lasteth, knowing that the sun will set and the night come down upon us, not knowing the hour of sunset or the darkness.

This volume fitly closes the 'Bible Students' Library,' and the 'Bible Students' Library' closes a period in the interpretation of the Bible.

A MINISTER OF GOD. (*Philip Green.* Crown 8vo, pp. 222. 2s. net.)

This volume contains first a memoir of John Hamilton Thom; next selections from his sermons and addresses, the passages selected having a special value for preachers, so that the title, *A Minister of God*, is not meant to describe John Hamilton Thom (though it would describe him), but you or me (if we will); then three fine sermons chosen to reveal the author's most characteristic work in the pulpit; and, lastly, an address to students of theology. The book will be made most welcome by those who know the two volumes of *Laws of Life after the Mind of Christ*, and it may do more than even those volumes to keep this good man's influence alive.

EADIE'S BIBLICAL CYCLOPÆDIA. (*Griffin.* 8vo, pp. 687. 10s. 6d.)

This old book has been found out of date and a new edition has been prepared under the direction of Professor Sayce. The arrangement and the words of Eadie have been as far as possible retained. Even the old attitude has been scrupulously kept both in the Old Testament and in the New, so that, as Professor Sayce puts it, 'those who want the speculations of the so-called "Higher Criticism" must go elsewhere.' Consequently, we have the story of Abraham told just as it lies in Genesis. Abraham denied Sarah both before Pharaoh of Egypt and before Abimelech of Gerar, and Isaac denied Rebekah before Abimelech also, 'or rather his successor of the same name, for the term Abimelech seems to have been, not a proper name, but a Philistine regal title.' No suspicion is hinted that these might be duplicate accounts of one occurrence. As the Cyclopædia proceeds, however, the possibility of such duplicates is frankly recognized. Thus in the history of David it is said, 'In this section of the sacred narrative there occur several difficulties in the way of reconciling what are apparently two accounts of this part of David's life which have not yet been thoroughly harmonized by any suggestions that have been made.'

In this new edition account is taken of the Apocrypha and of the monuments. These, indeed, constitute its chief additions. But it is evident that the whole book has been wrought over, and consistently with the plan adhered to, brought up to date.

THE CHURCH'S ONE FOUNDATION. By the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton.* Fcap. 8vo, pp. 227. 3s. 6d.)

There has been some startlingly unorthodox writing recently, and some of it has come from quarters whence orthodoxy was expected, but this is the way to deal with it. To get into a panic is absurd. The faith we hold has been assailed before now, and shaken itself clear of its assailants. Give it room to declare itself—its truth to life, its capacity for godliness, its spiritual pre-eminence—as Dr. Robertson Nicoll does here, and it will ever produce new conviction of its essential truth in the minds of honest men. The assailant may think that by nibbling at the supernatural in the Gospels he can nibble it all away. He begins at the wrong end. He must take away the Jesus of the Gospels first. He is the Supernatural, and after Him the rest will go or stay.

THE PROGRESS OF DOGMA. By James Orr, M.A., D.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton.* Crown 8vo, pp. 395. 7s. 6d.)

Unless it be his co-editor on the *Union Magazine*, there is no man we know who can make systematic theology so easy as Professor Orr. If all 'Bodies of Divinity' had the vivacity of this book, the joke 'more body than soul' would lose its point. But Dr. Orr's purpose is not simply to make theology attractive, not simply to write a Body of Divinity; it is to show how one theological system and one theological dogma developed out

of another. The history of Dogma has been written by Professor Harnack, Professor Orr writes its evolution.

Having to crush into a single small volume the whole mental development of Christianity, Dr. Orr has had to practise economy. His gift however lies there. When he is most concise he is most lucid; when he cuts and carves he is most telling. We have to fill in much matter from other sources, but Professor Orr gives us the spirit and the life. And it is a perpetual surprise that in condensing he does not dictate, but continues to offer us the means of judging the most vital questions for ourselves. We do not always agree with his verdict, but we always respect it, for he respects our right to disagree.

CULTURE AND RESTRAINT. By Hugh Black. (*Hodder & Stoughton.* Crown 8vo, pp. 395. 6s.)

Religion is more difficult than theology. There are those who can discover a new theory of the Atonement (and there are easier things in theology than that) who cannot take up their cross daily and follow Jesus. Mr. Black does well to address himself to religion. The truth is we have taken in enough of theological food for the present, we must get it digested. Not, What am I to believe? now for a little, but, What am I to do?

There are two plans of life, the æsthetic and the ascetic, or the cultured and the restrained. Both are wrong. Jesus Christ our example followed neither. Nor is it right to go first a little into the one and then a little into the other. Nor again is a compromise between them right. The compromise is perhaps of all the devil's devices the most devilish.

The æsthetic ideal is right in so far as it takes of the things that are lovely in the world and transmits them into grace of character under the operation of the Spirit of God. The ascetic ideal is right in so far as it cuts off from the life and character all that is antagonistic to the glory of God, all that is really of the world, the flesh, and the devil.

So, or nearly so, does Mr. Black most eloquently persuade us. His book is itself a demonstration of the truth and workableness of his theory. He has made it a most attractive work of art, he has made it also a most impressive advocate for 'the following of Jesus.'

THE MIRACLES OF JESUS. By the Right Rev. Cosmo Gordon Lang. (*Isbister.* Crown 8vo, pp. 296. 6s.)

It is a curious commentary on our modern Christianity that a writer on our Lord's miracles has to explain at the outset that he is not writing either critically or apologetically. They were not done for the use of either the critic or the apologist. They were the expression of the Person, the acts that became Him, the inevitable outcome of His human activity. They were done that we might behold His glory—full of grace and truth. But we have to be recalled to that. We have to be reminded that the use of the miracles is their religious use, that the question, What do they mean for us? is more than the question, Were they ever wrought? The critic and the exegete will pass by a book like this. For they will copy the Jews who sat at Simon's table, saying 'Who is this that forgiveth sins also?' when they might, if they read this edifying book simply and sincerely, hear the Saviour say, 'Thy faith hath saved thee, go in peace.'

MEMORANDA PAULINA. By George Jackson, B.A. (*Isbister.* Crown 8vo, pp. 268. 3s. 6d.)

The contents of this book, like those of Bishop Lang's, appeared originally in *Good Words*. Mr. Jackson, however, has revised and rearranged his *Good Words* paper, which Dr. Lang had not time to do. Perhaps it will not be invidious to add that even before the revision they had more in them of the results of modern scholarship. Dr. Lang was 'religious' only, Mr. Jackson is exegetical also, and partly even apologetic. Nevertheless, his business has been to tell us how we may find Paul good unto edifying. His choice of passages is made for that end, and they are wonderfully representative. Moreover, he brings Paul near. 'The Passion for Souls,' for example (chap. xxx.),—it is the passion of Richard Baxter also, and of Wesley, and of Brownlow North, and of George Jackson.

THE CHILDREN'S LONDON. By Charlotte Thorpe. (*Leadenhall Press.* 4to, pp. 229.)

This is a captivating idea. Miss Thorpe becomes guide to all the children who *cannot* visit London, but long to. And if anything will comfort them in their distress, this beautiful book is the thing. How handsome it is, how smooth and white its paper, how clear-cut its illustrations, how

effective its coloured frontispiece! The illustrations are all by William Luker, jun., and that is enough. Miss Thorpe is a kind children's friend, and she seems to know London, its great places and its small, most intimately.

THE REAL CHRISTIAN. By Lucas Cleeve. (*Long.* Crown 8vo, pp. 334. 6s.)

The only fault one has to find with this book is its brevity. It is not a common fault with this type of book, and for that reason must be forgiven. And the brevity gives the impression of reserve power. Yet a greater effect, we feel sure, would be produced by greater scope in which to develop the characters and give them more movement and life. The greatest success of the book is the hero. Catholic though he became—a sorry Catholic, the hard ecclesiastic would say,—he is to be accepted as a real Christian, a far closer approach to the type we all feel after and even see in Jesus than any recent effort we can name. The heroine never takes her place,—that is, if Irma *is* the heroine,—she is weaker than was necessary, and had no right to let herself be set aside by Lady Fellcroft. For the rest the effect is wholesome. A great life and not impossible, triumphant also in its tragedy, is made ours for ever.

There are many children, we are sure, to whom the two Latin words *Biblia Innocentium* were familiar before they could conjugate *amare*. For Mr. J. W. Mackail gathered the stories of the Bible into a book of that title, relating them in language that had the rhythm of the old version and more than its simplicity, and it fell into the hands of discerning mothers, who thereby taught their little ones to love both the Bible and this book. Now there has been published *Biblia Innocentium Part II.* (Longmans, crown 8vo, pp. 197, 5s.). It tells 'the story of God's chosen people after the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ upon earth' far into the history of the Church. Its brief chapters will be less familiar to mothers, but not less enjoyable to their children. The same simplicity of language attains the same universal charm.

To their new edition of Thackeray Messrs. Macmillan have added *Pendennis* (crown 8vo, pp. 874, 3s. 6d.), and *The Newcomes* (pp. 864, 3s. 6d.). 'Pendennis' has Thackeray's own illustrations, 'The Newcomes' Richard Doyle's. The great novels are each found in a volume of perfectly convenient size, though the type is large enough to be read with ease, and the paper opaque enough to let one page be read at a time. One welcome feature, not noticed till *Vanity Fair* had been some time handled, and therefore missed last month, is the flexibility of the binding. At every page the book lies open flat, and there is no breaking or cracking of the back. A pleasanter volume to hold you could not take into your hand.

MORE LETTERS OF EDWARD FITZGERALD. (*Macmillan.* Globe 8vo, pp. 295. 5s.)

The volume is again edited by Dr. Aldis Wright, and many of the letters are addressed to him. There is as much self-revelation in them as formerly; there is as much ignorance of the world's ways, as much sensitiveness to its opinion of Edward Fitzgerald; there is as much love of books and coffee and pipes and—1870 Port. Some of the letters are to Carlyle, whose judgment he feared and courted. He estimated Lowell very highly, one is pleased to see how highly in these days when we are all reading Lowell's *Life*—but, while he has more humour, even Lowell has 'not nearly so much Delicacy of Perception or Refinement of Style as Ste. Beuve'—a just and welcome judgment also.

OXFORD STUDIES. By John Richard Green. (*Macmillan.* Globe 8vo, pp. 334. 5s.)

Some will buy this book to add it to their set of John Richard Green in the 'Eversley' Series; some to recall the Oxford scenes they love; and some to enjoy true history well told although in snatches only and in hints. The papers which the book contains are contributions towards a history of Oxford never accomplished. The most extended, filling 220 pages, is 'Oxford during the Eighteenth Century.' It is just an extension of the breezy essays that surround it, entering with them into the homes, as well as the clubs and colleges, revealing the same shrewd knowledge of men, the same keen relish of affairs.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS. By G. B. Stevens, Ph.D., D.D. (*Macmillan.* Crown 8vo, pp. 203. 3s. 6d.)

This volume belongs to Professor Shailer Mathews' series of 'New Testament Handbooks.'

If that series is not yet generally known in this country we are losing much. We are losing acquaintance with the best theologians of America, and we are losing the benefit of the best popular theological teaching. Professor Stevens gathers our Lord's words into groups under great topics, as His Attitude towards the Old Testament, the Kingdom of God, the Father in Heaven, the Son of Man. He has no novelties of interpretation to disclose. He believes the teaching is intelligible in itself, if we would take it as it stands. In his preliminary chapter on the Methods of Jesus' Teaching, he states that each of the parables teaches a single simple lesson; the unjust judge is nobody, and the widow is nobody, what is said by the judge or by Jesus is everything. Where all is so clear and capable, we need not stay to note a single slip—Lock being credited with the article SON OF MAN in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, instead of Driver.

CHARLES ARMSTRONG FOX: MEMORIALS. By SOPHIA M. NUGENT. (*Marshall Brothers.* Crown 8vo, pp. 368.)

If all is true that is here said of Mr. Fox, and if nothing is kept back, he was one of those whose walk is close with God. We do not doubt it is all true, so many have a hand in it and they all concur so heartily. We do not suspect for a moment that anything is kept back, for the sincerity is transparent both of Mr. Fox himself and of his biographer. It was a great privilege to know such a man, who 'never gave his "testimony" on the platform of Keswick,' but gave it 'in the sweet and holy way he did his life duty,' and then 'in the sweet and heavenly patience with which he bore his death.' It is now the privilege of us all, if we will, to know him from these 'Memorials.' We have known him partly already from his books, and Mr. J. B. Figgis, who knew both him and them well, says that his secret is in his books: 'This was, after all, Mr. Fox's greatest characteristic; not eloquence, nor poetic power, not even expository gift, though each of these in large measure were his;—his great gift was that when he spoke and when he wrote he did so as one who had seen the King's Face. His was the "intense intimacy" he speaks of in *Green Pastures and Golden Gates*.'

PATTIE E. EKINS. (*Marshall Brothers.* Crown 8vo, pp. 212. 3s.)

We have conferences 'for the deepening of the spiritual life,' and we have books. This is one of the books. It is the simple record of a simple life, with some unaffected letters. It is the revelation of a life that had been spiritually deepened. And its spirit and depth were seen not in words of pious devotion only, though these are not withheld, but in deeds of sympathy also. Nothing more tactful, more touching, could be written, we think, than the letter on page 81 to a cousin who had lost her mother. 'I would like to get you right into my arms so that I could love out a little of the sympathy that cannot be written.'

BETWEEN LIFE AND DEATH. By IRENE H. BARNES. (*Marshall Brothers.* Post 8vo, pp. 308. 3s. 6d. net.)

The author of *Between Life and Death* believes in Medical Missions. She believes that they are to be the missions of the future, their success being universal and immediate. In this book she tells the story of Medical Missions under the C.E.Z.M.S. in India, China, and Ceylon. The story is crowded with incident, sometimes of the most painful but always of the most impressive kind; and the incidents are made memorable by excellent photographs, which are due to two clever artists. If we were teaching our Lord's miracles of healing, we should find many useful illustrations in this volume.

JOHN HOWARD. By EDGAR C. S. GIBSON. (*Methuen.* Fcap. 8vo, pp. 224. 3s. 6d.)

Messrs. Methuen have done up this little biography very charmingly, and it deserves it. Dr. Gibson has not missed his opportunity. A short bright life of *John Howard* will be welcomed in many schools and homes. The lads who see life before them, reading this, will seek to live it nobly. And those who look back on life will yet be thankful to read that one man fought the good fight so strenuously.

THE AGAPE AND THE EUCHARIST. By J. F. KEATING, D.D. (*Methuen.* Crown 8vo, pp. 219. 3s. 6d.)

'The Agape has long been regarded as, if not, like Mary Queen of Scots, "the eternal enigma of history," at least one of the obscurest of problems,

and I do not profess to have solved it.' Dr. Keating thus introduces his book. He knows what has been said upon it from the beginning to the present day; he has studied the original sources for himself; and he has a mind of his own. From first to last he writes with the utmost modesty, but that never leads him into sycophancy. And if he has not solved the problem, it must be because, as he says himself, the materials for its solution are even yet not sufficient.

His conclusions respecting the origin and earliest observance of the Agape and its relation to the Eucharist are these. The Agape was a distinctly Christian feast, arising out of our Lord's supping regularly with His disciples, and also speaking of His kingdom under the image of a Supper. The Agape and the Eucharist were at first united, the Eucharist being the culmination —the sacrificial culmination—of the Feast.

The book is the product of very real scholarship, and in all discussions of its subject not only deserves but demands attention.

THE CHURCHMAN'S INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT. By Angus M. Mackay, M.A. (*Methuen.* Crown 8vo, pp. 317. 6s.)

What he means by the *Churchman's* Introduction Mr. Mackay nowhere tells us. Perhaps he means the church member, the person who is interested already in the Old Testament, not the outsider or the infidel, for he says his book is primarily intended for the intelligent layman. But it does not matter. It is just the book which hundreds of clergymen have been waiting for, in order to get their Old Testament lectures into modern shape and interest, it is just the book which thousands of laymen have been expecting, in order to understand what this Higher Criticism is, and what the Old Testament is after the Higher Criticism is done with it. Mr. Mackay has great sympathy with the intelligent layman. He does not denounce the Higher Criticism, he does not praise it. He tells what it is, he shows what it has done. He has written an Introduction to the Old Testament on critical lines, which will be welcome for its plain candid information, whatever may be felt about the Higher Criticism. His first chapter is on Inspiration. In his hands Inspiration is a matter of interest to ordinary men. He makes it so. He makes them feel it so. And he is not afraid. 'Inspiration,' he says, 'does not guarantee him who possesses it against all error. Here also,' he goes on, 'an analogy may help us. When we say that Shakespeare surpassed all other men in *poetic* inspiration, what do we mean? Not that in dealing with disputed historical questions he was infallible, but that he had an incomparable eye for the *poetic* and *dramatic* elements of history. His genius did not make him an authority upon botany or astronomy, it only inspired him to turn stars and flowers to the very highest *poetic* uses conceivable. So the prophets were inspired in matters pertaining to God; they had a genius for religion.'

Messrs. Morgan & Scott publish in a cheap form the remarkable story of the 'Cambridge Seven'—the athletes and scholars who sixteen years ago gave up scholarship to be scholars in Christ's school and athletics to compass sea and land in the service of the Gospel. The title is *A Story Retold* (6d. net).

A supplementary volume to *Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission* has been issued by Messrs. Morgan & Scott under the title of *Last Letters and Further Records of Martyred Missionaries* (8vo, pp. 105, with 19 illustrations, 2s. 6d.). The book is edited by Marshall Broomhall, B.A. It contains the record of experiences that are as heart-rending in their simple bravery as any in the first volume. To that it adds complete lists, with portraits and much information, of those who in the China Inland Mission endured even unto death.

JOSHUA AND THE LAND OF PROMISE. By F. B. Meyer, B.A. (*Morgan & Scott.* Post 8vo, pp. 193. 2s. 6d.)

Mr. Meyer names two or three books, 'to all of which I gladly confess my obligations.' But this work is his own. He has considered Joshua for himself, and understood him in his own way. It is of course a way much influenced by the things which Christ has wrought. Mr. Meyer makes no effort to detach himself from Christ and present Joshua to us with the aid of the historical imagination alone. The things of Christ, even the deep things, are used to make Joshua ours in the fulness of God's own prophetic vision of him. And so also the Land of Promise is a land which eye hath

not seen even yet, the 'land of morning glories and unexampled green' which awaits the people of God. It is Joshua and the Land of Promise, as he may be made useful for instruction in righteousness by us to-day.

In conjunction with Messrs. Nisbet the Christian Literature Company of Edinburgh have published a small volume of 'Verses on the Christian Life,' by the late William J. Govan, entitled *In His Presence*. Few of the poems can be quoted at length, yet few are unworthy if we had space. Take the first two verses of 'God Blessed for Ever'—

Our God, could we but see
The loveliness Thou art,
Then would our waking heart
Seek only Thee.

All happiness is Thine,
And happiness below
Is but the after-glow
Of joy divine.

The Church Directory and Almanack is one of the bravest enterprises in publishing of our day. It could be called so last year on its first appearance. Now it may be called also one of the most successful. So well has it been received that the editor makes it larger and fuller this year, and the publishers issue it at the same price (Nisbet, crown 8vo, pp. 672, 2s. net). This is to bring within every man's reach all the information he can desire regarding the Church of England, its Clergy, and its Benefices, and all in the most marvellous accuracy. This year's volume begins a list of the Colonial Clergy, which next year's volume is expected to present in completeness. It is useless for any clergyman to go farther or pay more; he will get everything here, including notes for his sermons and a selection of books for his library.

LIFE: ITS MYSTERIES NOW AND AFTER DEATH. By the Rev. Alexander Wright, M.A. (*Oliphant*. Crown 8vo, pp. 230. 3s. 6d.)

The things beyond the veil never lose their interest albeit we get no nearer their knowledge with all our discussions. Mr. Wright knows now, for he was just on the shore, it turned out, as he prepared his book. But he wrote before he knew, and although he had a pleasant manner of writing and ample acquaintance with the literature, he leaves us where we were. His book should be got by those who cannot afford Salmond's *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*.

The Rivers of Damascus.

By Ernest W. Gurney Masterman, F.R.C.S., F.R.G.S., late of Damascus.

'*Are not Amana* (A.V. *Abana*) *and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? May I not wash in them, and be clean?*' (2 K 5^{12}).

Unanimity of opinion regarding the identification of the Amana and Pharpar may perhaps be scarcely hoped for. It is indeed possible, though highly improbable, that an entirely new theory may some day be started. It may be, too, that some new discovery may settle the question once for all; but, meanwhile, I am venturing briefly to review the 'Rivers of Damascus' as I have seen them during three years' residence in the capital of Syria, in the endeavour to help others to form their own conclusions as to the possibility of a satisfactory identification, and as to the merits of rival suggestions. My notes, made on the spot some years ago, have been laid aside, as I thought it was impossible much difference of opinion on the subject could be maintained; but as I find at least two rival theories holding the field, I venture now to write them up.

Briefly, then, I propose (1) to describe all the known 'rivers of Damascus' as we find them to-day; (2) to indicate the many proposed identifications; and (3) to state my reasons for adopting the only one which appears to be at all tenable.

1. *The Modern Rivers of Damascus.*—To those visiting Damascus for a hurried excursion there appears to be but one river—the Barada—that beautiful, quick-running, noisy stream which to-day accompanies the railway train, as once it

gladdened the weary eye of the diligence traveller, for the last hour and a half of his journey from Beyrout to Damascus. The stream, and the beautiful verdure produced by its distributed waters along the narrow valley of the Wady Barada and out into the great plain—the *Ghûtah* —in which the 'Oldest City in the World' lies 'like a pearl set in emeralds,' can never be forgotten by any who have been privileged to see it, much less by any who have lived on its banks, and upon its abundant produce. Rising high up in the heart of the Anti-Lebanon—at the northern foot of Hermon, in a large open pool 300 yards long, it speeds quickly over the short space of level ground which forms the southern end of the great plain of *Zebedani*; and passing to-day under a railway bridge, it plunges into its valley path, down which it descends, by a long succession of cascades and torrents, a thousand feet in 23 miles. The waters of this abundant *'Ain Fundyk* are more than doubled, rather over half-way down, by the copious, almost ice-cold, spring *'Ain Fejeh*, which to-day rises from the bowels of the earth amid the ruins of a temple dedicated in ancient times to the god of the Spring. As it approaches Damascus, but before it leaves the *Wady Barada*, the river, now of considerable volume, is subjected to a succession of dams, whereby its waters are turned off right and left into canals. Of these there are six, making with the main stream seven,[1] 'rivers' for the watering of Damascus and district. These canals pass off at different levels, so that at *Rubweh*, the mouth of the valley, one finds as he passes out five streams to the right of the road, and two to the left. As a matter of fact, very few visitors have taken the trouble, or had the opportunity, to observe this; and in many travellers' accounts, both ancient and modern, only two, three, or maybe four streams are mentioned.

Commencing with the canals on the right bank of the river, we find high up on the cliffs—

(1) The *Nahr Daiwané*, ديواني.—This arises above the village of *Dummar*, and supplies a large mill near there. It contains[2] a comparatively small quantity of water, through want of repair and consequent leakage. It passes through deep tunnels in the solid rock in many places, and was made to hold much more water than it does at present. As it turns out towards the plain, in the direction of the village of *Darayya*, which it was apparently made to supply, it contains little water, and is much overgrown with reeds.

Some 10 feet or more lower down is the—

(2) *Nahr Mezzaweh*, مزّاوه.—This at present contains a somewhat larger volume of water than the *Daiwané*; in places it passes through rock tunnels, but it is chiefly an open channel; at present it is a good deal overgrown with reeds, etc. It goes to the village of *Mizzeh* and the gardens beyond.

(3) Below this again is the *Nahr Kanawat*, قناوات — the River of Canals, literally. This stream, of course, leaves the Barada a good deal further down than the two before mentioned. For any who go to Damascus, I may mention that I have noted that it arises 'close to the railway signal-box where the road crosses the railway.' It contains also much more water than the channels above. It passes east of the new barracks, runs parallel with the new railway along a covered-in channel, and passes into the city by a fine old Roman aqueduct, now half hidden by the high level of the road beside it, and thence supplies a large section of the city with water.

(4) The *Banias*, بانياسى, is also a large and important canal: it arises near the mouth of the *Wady*, and passing east of the *Merj*, at several spots traversing rock tunnels, it enters the city about half-way between the Kanawat and the Barada, and supplies another large section of the city.

As these canals, at any rate the ones of importance, are from time to time emptied by diverting the waters in order that they may be cleaned out, the inhabitants know well enough, to their cost very often, from which canal their houses are supplied.

(5) The main stream—the *Barada*, بردى,—would be much smaller than it is but for the continual leakage into it from its canals on each side. It passes from the *Rubway* through some gardens, and emerges at the *Merj*,—a large open meadow, —where it runs beside the high road (the French

[1] Eight, counting the *'Akrabani*, which branches off just inside the modern city.

[2] The remarks on the condition of the canals were written on the spot some four years ago.

diligence road) until it reaches the Serai Square. Here it plunges beneath a bridge, *not* (as Dr. G. A. Smith[1] has it) to pass 'in lesser conduits and pipes to every house and court in the city,' but to give off the canal '*Akrabāne* (عقربانی) which runs 'between the walls,'—that is, between the sites of the two lines of walls which protected this northern side of the city. It emerges a little farther on, after passing under the Serai Square, and runs along the moat of the north wall of the city until it reaches Bâb Tuma. Here it leaves the city to wind among the gardens, and finally, with much of the water of other channels also, it loses itself in the great marshy lakes to the east of the city.

The two remaining canals, those on the left bank, are both large and of elaborate construction. They are, in many places, built up of masonry to a great height against the steep cliffs.

(6) The *Taura*, طورا, or more correctly, ظورا, the lower of the two, arises not far up the valley. At *Rubway* it makes a remarkable dive through a tunnel in an obstructing ridge of cliff. On reaching the open it works north-westward, making a great sweep round the western flank of the city. It passes chiefly through gardens, but supplies the western suburbs outside the ancient city walls. It moves on as a shallow stream with muddy banks, overhung with trees, to water the land beyond the city, and, like the Barada, terminates in the lakes.

(7) The *Yazid*, یزید.—This, the largest and highest of the canals, leaves the Barada near *Hameh*. On reaching the *Rubweh* it makes a wider sweep northward than the *Taura*, almost, one might say, skirting the foot of the northern hills. It flows through and supplies the suburb of *Salyheyeh*, and passes to the villages of *Harista*, *Dûma*, etc.

The Arabic historians,[2] Idrasi, 1154 A.D., and Dimashki, 1300 A.D., give almost identical names to these channels. The Yazid, Thaurah, and Barada are identical. The Banias is called the Banas by Idrasi, and the Balniyas by Dimashki. Banas is probably the ancient name, which has become corrupted to Banias through some confusion with Banias, the site of Cæsarea Philippi and source of the Jordan. The Mezzaweh is called by both the Kanat et Mizzeh, after the village it supplies, and the Dairané is the Adayah of Idrasi and the Darayyah of Dimashki—all practically the same. The only doubtful one is the *Kanawat*, which, though so called by Dimashki, must correspond to either the Nahr *Sakt* or the Nahr *Yashkûr* of Idrasi; the 'Akrabani may be the other.

It is evident that these canals are of extreme antiquity, especially those on the right bank, as without them the site of the city of Damascus would be a waterless desert, intersected with one green-fringed river—the Barada.

When we turn from the Barada we find but one other river in the Damascus district. This is the '*Awaj*—the 'brawling little Awaj,' as the late Dr. Wright called it. It seems to have fared badly in his descriptions, the reader's prejudices against it being excited by the mention of the large number of 'toads, tortoises, frogs, and leeches' that surround any one venturing to bathe in it. I shall not attempt a detailed description of the crooked Awaj (that will be found fully in Dr. Porter's works), but it is far more attractive than would be supposed. Rising from the very heart of Hermon at '*Arny*, or, by its other head, from the south-west slopes of that great mountain near *Beit Jenn*, the Awaj has as clear and fresh a beginning as any river in the district. The two branches unite at *Sasâ*, and the stream runs a very crooked course through the plain south of the *Jebal el Aswad*, under the modern bridge on the Damascus-Mezerib Railway, and on to the southernmost of the marshy lakes of Damascus. It is true that in the latter part of its course it is muddy, but that is no drawback to its usefulness. Even to-day it is used for irrigation purposes, and one canal still passes towards the city; but it is evident that in old days its waters were much more utilized. Remains of old aqueducts are found to-day, and the south end of the *ghûtah*, which evidently should be watered from it, is now, for want of water, little cultivated, and a marked contrast to the immensely fruitful area supported by the sister stream, the Barada.

I have said there are but two 'rivers' of Damascus, but I should perhaps add that a small stream coming down the *Wady Helbon* has by some been claimed to be the Pharpar. To me this identification appears to be impossible, and the

[1] *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 7th ed. p. 646.

[2] See *Palestine under the Moslems*, by Guy le Strange (Palestine Exploration Fund).

comparison of such a streamlet with the Jordan absurd.

Putting this aside, there are at least four proposals that have had, or have, their day. At the middle of last century I find[1] that the Barada was supposed to be the Pharpar, and the Awaj the Abana. I am unable to say on what grounds this identification was made; but I agree with a still earlier writer who states that the first mentioned, the Amana (or Abana), was certainly the more important, and therefore of these two must be the Barada.

Secondly, we find the two fountains[2] 'Ain Funduk (or Barada) and 'Ain Fejeh suggested as the two rivers; but it seems to have been made by those who relied on false descriptions of the locality.

Lastly, we have the two rival popular views of to-day—that of the late Dr. Wright[3] and that supported by Robinson,[4] Porter,[5] and I know not how many others. Dr. Wright availed himself of so many opportunities for bringing his views to the front, and did so with such assurance and enthusiasm, that they have been widely adopted in spite of their not having (as he himself says of Porter's views) 'a single claim, logical or archæological, to be so honoured.'

Dr. Wright's view was briefly this, that the Abana was the Canal Banias, and the Pharpar the Canal Taura. For the elaboration of his views I must refer the reader to the *Expositor*, vol. iv.,[6] 1896. Briefly his arguments are—(1) that the word Banias (he calls it Abanias) is like the word Abana; (2) that the Taura, inasmuch as it supplied the best baths of the city, must have been the Pharpar; (3) that the Awaj, being too muddy for a satisfactory bath, could not have been the Pharpar; (4) that his views are supported by local tradition; (5) that an Arabic version of the Bible, published in 1545, supports his views; and (6) that his view is supported by Benjamin of Tudela.

Against the first argument two objections may be urged. The name Amana is now generally accepted instead of Abana; and secondly, the name Abanias, on which Dr. Wright laid so much stress, is certainly *not* the name of the canal in question. All the best modern authorities give the name as Banias. I myself, after much inquiry, never found any trace of a name Abanias. Further, I have just received a letter from the Rev. J. Stewart Crawford, who, in addition to having been born and brought up in Damascus, has spent many years there as a missionary. He says, 'I have never heard the Canal Banias called Abanias. I have inquired of Moslems since getting your note, and none of them ever heard "Abanias."'

In the old Arabic writers the name always appears, so far as I know, as Banas or Balniyas.

I cannot help thinking that some Damascenes had endeavoured to please Dr. Wright by furthering his views with a piece of fictitious nomenclature!

2. The identification of the Pharpar seems to rest on no grounds at all—mere guesswork. The Taura is by no means one of the most important canals for *the city*. The Kanawat, Banias, and the Barada are all more important. The Taura is entirely cut off from the city proper by the main stream. As to the 'western suburbs, luxurious and healthy,' they rest on no historic or antiquarian grounds, and at such a time of political unsettlement are, to say the least, highly improbable. It may be pointed out, too, that Dr. Wright entirely ignores the main stream, the Barada itself, which must always have been a prominent object in the city.

When first I became acquainted with Dr. Wright's theory I thought perhaps that I might find evidence that once there were but two rivers entering Damascus, and these, the Barada, bifurcated into the Banias and the Taura; but of this I find none. Dr. Wright indeed himself admits, 'There need be no question that the same,' *i.e.* seven, 'rivers with various names flowed through the city in the days of Naaman and Elisha.' Is there not, too, an almost insuperable difficulty

[1] John Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, 1847; Kitto, *Geography of Palestine*, 1850.

[2] *Descriptive Geography of Palestine*, by S. Schwarz, translated by Isaac Leeser, 1850.

[3] Wright in *Expositor*, 1896, vol. iv.; *Leisure Hour*, 1874; *Palmyra and Zenobia*; 'Bible Society's *Handbook of the Bible*,' etc. Also Sir C. W. Wilson in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (1893), vol. i. p. 3; *Oxford Companion to the Bible*, p. 110; Armstrong's *Names and Places* (Palestine Exploration Fund).

[4] Robinson's *Researches*, vol. iii. pp. 446, 447.

[5] Porter's *Four Years at Damascus*, vol. i., 1855; *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Nos. 8 and 9 (July and October), 1853.

[6] The passages quoted below are either from this source or from Dr. Wright's *Palmyra and Zenobia*.

in associating the rivers of Damascus as contrasted with the Jordan with *canals*, artificially made, and emptied and filled periodically at will? The fact that *Nahr*, *i.e.* river, is prefixed to the names of these canals adds nothing to Dr. Wright's argument, as it is used for almost any running water.

3. Much of Dr. Wright's argument is founded on the idea that Naaman, captain of the host of Syria, was chiefly engaged in considering what river would give him the cleanest bath! Surely the question of the purity of the water is entirely beside the point. The thousands of pilgrims who annually throng the banks of the Jordan for a dip in its sacred waters are not greatly concerned that its waters are loaded with sediment, or that it is a dangerous river for a swim. I imagine Naaman may have had two thoughts in his mind: (1) the relative powers of the local gods of the two districts, and (2) the usefulness of the rivers. The first, and very probably the only thought, lies behind the whole story. Was not his pride humbled at having to submit to the God of Israel? Did he not connect that God intimately with the land,[1] and doubtless also with the river of that land?

But if the second thought was also present, how truly he spoke, that is, if we may judge of such early days by what we know since. Were not Amana and Pharpar (if the Barada and the Awaj) better than all the waters of Israel in the immense area of fertility—the wealth of the whole kingdom—produced by their widely spread waters? Where in Israel could such rivers be shown?

This wide outlook on his country's gods, or his country's possessions, or both, is surely more worthy of a general than thoughts of 'the crystal waters that flowed through his court, and had so often refreshed him in his marble bath when he returned weary and dust-stained from his campaigns'![2]

4. With respect to local tradition, I venture to say it is all against Dr. Wright. The only local opinion he quotes is that of the late Dr. Mashaka[3]—a learned Protestant, no doubt, but not a native of the city (I understand that either he himself or his father came from the Ionian Isles). Mr. Crawford in his letter to me says, 'I never found natives with any ideas about the Pharpar except what they got from *Frangies*.'

5. The Arabic Version of the Bible published in 1545 seems after all to be at the root of the whole thing, and all that can be said is that the translator appeared to hold the same views as Dr. Wright as far as the Pharpar is concerned; but whether he had ever visited Damascus or seen the rivers is an open question. Because a translator substitutes for Amana and Pharpar the words Abana and Taura, it is no proof of any carefully reasoned out identification. I would prefer to quote against this the newly published *Arabic Biblical Dictionary*, edited by Dr. Post of Beyrout, in which Porter's identification is unquestioningly adopted.

6, and lastly. Dr. Wright claims that the pilgrim Benjamin of Tudela supports his views. He wrote in 1163 A.D., and his writings have been translated into English. Let me quote what he says, and the reader who has followed the description given above will be able to see how far the pilgrim's account supports Dr. Wright, or indeed tallies with the account of the rivers given, nine years before, by the Arabic traveller Idrisi. He writes:[4] 'The rivers Amana and Parpar, the sources of which are in Mount Hermon (on which the city leans), run down here: the Amana follows its course through Damascus, and its waters are carried by means of pipes into the houses of the principal inhabitants as well as into the streets and markets. . . . The Parpar runs between the gardens and orchards in the outskirts, and supplies them copiously with water.'

A footnote, added perhaps by the translator, says Amana = Barady: Parpar, now called, El Faige. I can see nothing in all this to support Dr. Wright's theory.

In conclusion, let me briefly recapitulate the positive reasons for identifying the Amana with the Barada, and the Pharpar with the Awaj.

In Damascus as a district there are but two rivers; in ancient time undoubtedly both these were of essential importance to the city's prosperity, as the whole district was irrigated by their waters; both of these rivers arise from the roots of Hermon, and both end in similar marshy lakes to the east of the city, and were therefore fairly comparable with the only other river rising from Hermon, the Jordan, which also, it may be noticed, ended in a lake; in the rivalry between

[1] See 2 K 5^{17}. [2] *Expositor*, vol. iv. p. 296. [3] *Loc. cit.*

[4] *Early Pilgrims in Palestine* (Bohn's edition).

the two countries, Palestine and Syria, the great rivers of the two countries must have been prominent objects of comparison; in many respects the 'rivers of Damascus' must have, to a Syrian, appeared far finer than the comparatively useless though larger and longer Jordan.

With respect to the two rivers themselves, the larger, more important, and the one that must under all circumstances have been mentioned first, must have been the present Barada, which therefore is the Amana. Some slight support to the identification of the Pharpar may be derived from the present name Jebal *Barbar*, in the neighbourhood of one of the tributaries of the Awaj. I think Dr. Wright is quite correct in saying the '*Wady Barbar*' and also, I may add, the *Nahr Barbar* which figures large in the Palestine Exploration Map, have no existence. Mr. Crawford, who has unusual facilities for knowing this district, also tells me, 'I have never been able to find a native who said "Nahr Barbar." The river you and I crossed near '*Ain esh Shaara* takes its rise at *Uruch* and sweeps around the base of *Jebal Barbar*, which everybody knows by that name. There is no *Wady Barbar*, and the river is not known by that name in any of the villages near its source.'

On the whole, modern names do not help us much, and I think a satisfactory identification can more surely be obtained on the broad lines given above.

Recent Foreign Theology.

The New Edition of 'Schürer.'[1]

Amongst those books which, by no figure of speech but in the most literal sense, are indispensable to the student of Scripture, all competent judges will accord a place to Schürer's *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes*, or *History of the Jewish People*. The frequency with which, in our Bible dictionaries, commentaries, etc., we find the reference *G.J.V.* or *H.J.P.* is the best testimony to the reputation of the book. It is some time since vols. ii. and iii. appeared, and were noticed by us in these pages, and many have been waiting with eager impatience for the publication of vol. i. This has now happily been issued from the press, and when the Index, which is promised shortly, makes its appearance, we shall be provided with all that we need in this department of study for many years to come. The general character of a work so well known needs no description. Accordingly we will confine ourselves to a few points that distinguish the new edition.

As in the case of the other two volumes, the principal feature of the new edition of vol. i. is found in its additions. These have enlarged the volume by more than a hundred pages. They have been necessitated partly by the fresh literature that had to be taken account of, and very largely by the numerous recent discoveries of inscriptions and papyrus texts. Witness, for instance, pp. 65–70 (on the history of the persecutions of the Jews at Alexandria), and pp. 514 ff. (ἀπογραφαί in Egypt). Similarly, the extremely valuable account of Josephus has been expanded from twenty-five to thirty pages.—The burning question of the shekels and half-shekels attributed by many numismatists to Simon the Maccabee is investigated afresh, and the author shows even more inclination than before to assent to the view of such experts as Reinach, Imhoof-Blumer, and Babelon, that these coins really belong to the period of the rebellion, 66–70 A.D. In this he is at one with Professor A. R. S. Kennedy in his article 'Money' in vol. iii. of Hastings' *D.B.*, an article by the way which our author describes as a 'sehr gute Zusammensetzung.'—The Excursus on the Census of Quirinius occupies thirty-five pages as against thirty in the previous edition. In view of Professor Ramsay's defence of the accuracy of Lk 2, as put forward in his book, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* and in his recent articles in the *Expositor*, many will turn with interest to ascertain what is Schürer's final verdict. He sees no reason to alter his former conclusion that St. Luke has perpetrated a twofold slip: (*a*) in attributing to Augustus the order that

[1] *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi.* Von E. Schürer, ord. Prof. d. Theol., Göttingen. Dritte und vierte Auflage. Erster Band: Einleitung und politische Geschichte. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1901. Price M.18; bound, M.20.

a census should be made throughout the whole empire; (*b*) in placing the census, *which was actually made by Quirinius*, some ten or twelve years too early. In particular, Schürer urges that it would be very strange, upon Professor Ramsay's theory, that St. Luke should date the census by Quirinius, who, *ex hypothesi*, held simply the *military* command, instead of by Saturninus (or Varus), who had charge of the *internal* administration, and therefore of the census. Probably Professor Ramsay will have something more to say on this point. His last article in the *Expositor* (November 1901) shows that he is still engaged on the problem, and that he is by no means despondent of solving it on the lines he has been following.

We take our leave of this great work by offering our hearty congratulations to Professor Schürer on the accomplishment of a colossal task, by which he has laid us all under a new and heavy obligation.

Baudissin's 'Einleitung.'[1]

THE student of Scripture is at present very fortunate in having at his command a whole series of first-class Introductions to the Old Testament. In our own language we have Dr. Driver's unrivalled *Introd. to the Literature of the O.T.* (the familiar *L.O.T.* of references); in German we have the works of Cornill and Wildeboer and Strack (all three concise, but sufficient for their purpose) and König (more detailed, and, like everything that comes from the pen of that author, marked by thoroughness and independent research). And now we have to add to the number, Graf v. Baudissin, the well-known author of the *Gesch. d. A.T. Priesterthums* and of many other works, including the elaborate article 'Priests and Levites' in the forthcoming fourth volume of Hastings' *D.B.* He has given us a very full Introduction to the O.T., consisting of no fewer than 824 pages. One of the principal and most interesting features of the work is the attempt, often crowned with brilliant success, to give as clear and connected a view as possible of the general character and the contents of each book, before proceeding to discuss questions of date, unity, text, etc. Our author's exposition is all the more easily followed, as his text is rigorously purged from all references, these being relegated to the bottom of the page.

The first part of the work (pp. 1–54) is occupied with a discussion of the scope and history of O.T. Introduction, and an account of the form and the transmission of the O.T. Interesting and valuable information is given regarding the speech the Hebrews brought with them to Canaan, and the extent to which Hebrew underwent development during the period covered by the literature of the O.T. Professor Baudissin, so far as we have observed, ignores the hypothesis maintained by Professor Hommel, that the Israelites, prior to the conquest, spoke a dialect of *Arabic*. A short account of Hebrew poetry is followed by the history of the formation of the Canon of the O.T., and this again by an account of the Text.

Passing to deal with the different constituents of the Canon, Professor v. Baudissin still adheres to his opinion that the Priestly Code as a whole is prior to Deuteronomy, his order of the sources being J, E (or perhaps E, J), Book of the Covenant [all these three probably belonging to the ninth century], H [in its present form much interpolated], P [which, however, he admits to have been practically unknown outside priestly circles prior to 444 B.C.], D. We need not enter upon the description of the processes whereby these constituents were welded together till the present Hexateuch was produced.

In dealing with the Prophetical Books, our author gives what appears to be still needed in some quarters—a convincing demonstration that Is 40–66 is not from the pen of Isaiah. The Ebed Jahweh passages are discussed with reference to most of the recent literature on that subject. On such points as the date of Joel and the extent to which Micah is post-exilic, our author is cautious; he is more certain as to the flesh and blood character of Hosea's wife, and of course he adopts the view now universally held by scholars that the Book of Jonah is poetry and not history. The Book of Daniel is very fully discussed, and much valuable material will be found in the pages devoted to it.

Among the Poetical Books, the Psalms naturally hold a prominent place. While our author is more inclined than some modern critics to admit that there may be truth in the tradition of Davidic

[1] *Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testamentes.* Von Wolf Wilhelm Grafen Baudissin, Prof. an der Universität, Berlin. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1901. Price M.14.

Psalms, he points out that, the titles being of no weight, we are really without any certain criteria for deciding which are Davidic and which are not. A short list, which he would not be altogether unwilling to extend, of Maccabæan Psalms, is recognized by him. The genuineness of the Elihu speeches in Job is, as we should have expected, rejected. The sections on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes will repay careful study.

As a thoroughly readable, as well as up-to-date and exhaustive work, Professor v. Baudissin's *Einleitung* deserves the warmest commendation.

Siegfried's 'Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.'[1]

It is needless to say that the high reputation of Nowack's *Hdkom.* is fully maintained by this addition to the series. The veteran Hebraist and critic, Dr. C. Siegfried, is well worthy of a hearing on the knotty questions that have arisen in recent years around the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and on the somewhat puzzling problem of the origin of the Feast of Purim.

The question of the sources used in Ezra-Nehemiah and of the process by which the book (for it was originally undivided) reached its present form is discussed with the fullest reference to all the recent literature on the subject. Dr. Siegfried finds that the Chronicler, who compiled the book, had at his command (1) an Aramaic work (written *c.* 450 B.C.) which contained a history of the rise of the Jewish community after the Exile, along with certain official documents relating to the history of the rebuilding of the temple and the walls. These documents Siegfried holds to be partly authentic Aramaic translations of decrees of the Persian kings. He thus sides mainly with Ed. Meyer as against Kosters and Wellhausen in the controversy on the genuineness of these decrees. (2) Memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah. These are sometimes incorporated without change (*e.g.* in the 'I' passages), and sometimes worked over more or less by the Chronicler. (3) Other sources and documents, sometimes quoted *verbatim*, sometimes in a modified form. Then there is (4) the Chronicler's own work, to which Dr. Siegfried attaches far more value than is allowed it by Kosters, Torrey, and similar writers.

In dealing with Esther, our author gives a lucid account of the attempts that have been made by Lagarde and others to explain the real character of the book, and notably to throw light on the origin of the Feast of Purim. Special value is naturally attached by him to the views of Zimmern and, above all, of Jensen. Probably most will share his inclination to accept of the latter scholar's identification of the leading characters in the Esther story with figures that are found in Babylonian myth-lore, although a great deal must be allowed to the Jewish writer or writers who transformed the story for their own purposes and gave it a wholly different colouring.

The Commentary proper is, throughout, all that could be desired.

König's 'Fünf neue Arab. Landschaftsnamen.'[2]

Professor König has rendered a real service by the publication of this work. For years past, certain views, of which Professor Hommel has been a principal exponent in The Expository Times, have been put forward regarding the connotation of a number of place names in the O.T., which differ widely from those that have hitherto been generally held. Professor Hommel himself will be one of the first to welcome the work before us, for he has frequently challenged criticism of his views, and he will also concede that Professor König has written throughout in a tone to which no exception can be taken. Having read the *brochure* with some care, we have no hesitation in saying that for patient scholarly study and clearness of exposition it is surpassed by nothing that has come from Professor König's pen.

(1) There is first the question of a N. Arabian tribe of *'A'šûr* held by Hommel and others to be repeatedly represented in the O.T. by אַשּׁוּר. Grant-

[1] Nowack's *Hdkom. z. A.T. I. vi.* 2: *Ezra, Nehemiah, und Esther.* Von C. Siegfried, Geh. Kirchenrath u. o. Prof. d. Theol. in Jena. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Glasgow: F. Bauermeister, 1901. Price M.3.80.

[2] *Fünf neue Arab. Landschaftsnamen im A.T.* Beleuchtet von Ed. König, o. Prof. d. Theol. in Bonn. Mit einem Excursus über die Paradiesesfrage. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1902. Price M.3.

ing the occasional equation *Aššûr* = Edom, has this Aššûr anything to do with the tribe of Asher? And is there anything in Hommel's גשור (Geshur) —גי אשור? (2) Then comes the equation contended for by Hommel, *Moṣar* = Midian, or, in other words, the contention that *Miẓraim* in the O.T. frequently stands not for Egypt, but for a N. Arabian *Muṣri*. (3) There is Hommel's *Eber ha-nahar*. (4) Does the O.T. recognize a territory of *Kûš* (or *Kôš* or *Kevôš*) in Arabia? (5) What about the kingdom of *Aribi* which Hommel finds in the *Jareb* of Hos 5^{13} and 10^{6}. All the passages cited by Hommel in support of his contentions under those five heads are subjected to a thorough examination, for the results of which we must refer our readers to the book itself. Finally, we have (6) an examination of Hommel's identifications of the four rivers of Paradise, and his views in general on the Paradise question.

We have the greatest pleasure in recommending this work as absolutely indispensable to all who are interested in the above questions. Its appearance is most opportune, and we feel certain that Professor Hommel will acquit us of any discourtesy if we add that its author, if inferior to his Munich colleague in forming daringly original combinations, seems to us to be his superior in adducing convincing arguments.

J. A. Selbie.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

Prophetic Ecstasy.

By the Rev. R. Bruce Taylor, M.A., Aberdeen.

II.

We have seen that ecstasy is not only a common enough feature among the Semites from their earlist history down to the present day, but that it was considered to contain, as far back as we can trace it, a Divine element. Here there was an opportunity lying ready to the Spirit of God, and the opportunity was taken and used till it had its full result in the bursting upon the world of the great prophets such as Amos and Isaiah. That the Spirit should use such a means as the vehicle of His communication need occasion us no surprise. 'No permanent change takes place in the usages of a race which is not rooted in the existing beliefs and usages of that race. The truth which Aristotle enunciated, that all intellectual teaching is based upon what is previously known to the persons taught, is applicable to a race as well as to an individual, and to beliefs even more than to knowledge. A religious change is like a physiological change, of the nature of assimilation by, and absorption into, existing elements.'[1] And we find that in its origins the religion of Israel has almost everything in common with the beliefs and customs of the general Semitic stock. There was, in point of fact, no such primitive setting apart of Israel as the people of God, no such special religious revelation given to her, no such care taken to preserve her separateness from other peoples as the historical books of the Old Testament have tried to establish. Had there been such, the subsequent declension and absolute ignorance of Israel as to the law that had been given her would be altogether incomprehensible. Israel's God was, till the time of David, at all events, a tribal God, and His relation to Israel was thought of as identical with the relation of Chemosh to Moab. 'The ritual of Israel is full of exact analogies to the ritual of Semitic sanctuaries from Cyprus to Southern Arabia. The sacrifice of certain animals at certain seasons of the year; the smearing of lintels and other objects with blood; the anointing of pillars in honour of the Deity; the presence of human sacrifices with as much infrequency and sense of the awful crisis that demands them as elsewhere in the Semitic world; the worship of images by Jacob's family, by David, and at the sanctuaries of the northern kingdom; the discovery of the Deity's will through dreams, in ecstasy, or by lot . . . all these things have not only for the most part the same names as in other Semitic languages, but—except for a higher moral character, which, however, only sometimes distinguishes them—they are the same as among

[1] Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 14.

other Semites in intention and details of execution.'[1]

But if ecstasy was a feature common to all the Semitic people, it becomes extremely valuable to us if we can show that the Spirit, adopting so crude but so universally accepted a method, gradually changed its form, adapted it to different needs, and finally caused the prophets, still based upon this primitive phenomenon, to speak religious truth to all times. And that there is such a development in ecstasy can, I think, be proved from the Old Testament. Were such a development to be established to a demonstration we should, of course, require to place beyond all cavil the dates of the documents in which the various narratives occur. This cannot be done with any very great certainty even for the documents themselves, while it can never be settled to what extent the Jahvist and Elohist narratives embody accurate information reaching back to a time long anterior to that in which they were compiled. And another critical difficulty arises from the fact that later ages did their best to eliminate from those early records whatever seemed offensive to a later religious taste. Many most widespread religious beliefs—such, for instance, as human sacrifice—have had all trace of their existence destroyed in books which came under the revision of a Deuteronomist or of a Chronicler. Sometimes, in such a book as Judges, primitive customs come cropping out of the smooth and pragmatic narrative of a later time, like a trap dyke out of a field of waving corn; in other cases, the unsophisticated but plain spoken prophets preserve traces of a belief which was extinct, according to the historian, centuries before the time in which the prophet lived. The demonology of the Græco-Roman period has been shown by von Baudissin to have been simply the survival and resuscitation of the primitive polytheistic beliefs, while the worship of unclean animals under Manasseh was the recrudescence of a totemism which had never been wholly extinct. From Lv 17^7 we learn that even after the Exile sacrifices were made to the שְׂעִירִם, or demons, supposed to exist in the form of hairy satyrs; while the curious rite of Azazel (Lv 16), where the sins of the people were laid on the head of a he-goat, which was thereupon sent off to the evil spirit dwelling in the wilderness, points to the fixedness of the same belief.

When we find, therefore, a case of ecstasy, we are entitled to make the most of it, and to assume that it is representative of the feeling of the people at the time to which it belongs. But now the critical difficulty meets us. The first case of ecstasy that we find is the story of Balaam. To what period does this belong? To discuss this matter would require a monograph in itself. We have narratives belonging to J, E, and P, while the oracles constitute a separate problem altogether. We cannot, I think, place the oracles earlier than the time of Saul, while the historical narrative is at the earliest contemporary with Isaiah. But, even allowing that the oracles cannot be earlier than the days of Saul, their interest for us as students of the Old Testament is in no way lessened. They represent the belief of the people of the time to which they belong, and are therefore valuable documents in the history of thought. Their interest to us in this study of ecstasy is not vitally affected by the question whether they actually relate to Balaam or not. In fact we feel ourselves on far surer ground if we understand that these oracles do not belong to the grey dawn of Israel's history, but refer to a time when similar phenomena were understood and valued. A very instructive parallel is to be found in the *Thousand and One Nights*. Many of these stories are Indian and Persian in their origin, but the setting is purely Egyptian. 'Though the place may be nominally Bagdad, or Cairo, or even farthest China, it is in mediæval Cairo, in the days of the Memlooks, that the scene of the Arabian Nights is really laid. The people described are not Hindus or Chinese, but Arabs and Egyptians as they lived and moved in the fifteenth century, ere the devastating hand of the Ottoman Turk had been laid on the land of the Pharaohs.'[2]

The Balaam oracles date from that early time when ecstasy took the form of predicting the future, and they mark the transition period between the very primitive and the national period of ecstasy. Samuel is the typical figure in the earliest form of ecstasy, when it was concerned simply with household matters. Balaam represents the intermediate form when it was concerned still with the future, but when national interests were becoming prominent; and thus we hardly

[1] G. A. Smith, *Criticism and Preaching of O.T.*, p. 129.

[2] Lane, *Arabian Nights*, Advt. to vol. i.

know whether to call Balaam a *ro'eh* (רֹאֶה) or *ḥozeh* (חֹזֶה) or *nabi'* (נָבִיא); while Saul represents ecstasy at its height, induced by a national crisis, no longer seeking to elucidate the future, but to rouse the dormant patriotism of the people in a time of great oppression. Balaam is the true ecstatic, a man not even belonging to Israel, but to a kindred people; brought to a certain spot of land so that his vision might be induced by what he might see. And the religious lesson inculcated is certainly a high one—that in the case of a people blessed by God, every evil design of its foes must eventuate in blessing.

But that about this period there was a great change in the nature of ecstasy may be gathered from the significant note in 1 S 9^9. 'He that is now called a prophet (נָבִיא) was aforetime called a seer (רֹאֶה).' The remark is made in connexion with Saul's visit to Samuel. Samuel was a רֹאֶה; Saul was a נָבִיא. What was the difference?

It is important to notice, having regard to the position laid down—that the form of ecstasy depended upon the outward conditions—that this change came about when the state was changing from the patriarchal to the monarchical condition. Prior to the time of Saul the tribe had been the unit. Only now and then had the temper of the people as a whole been stirred. Even the magnificent upheaval under Deborah had not been participated in by all the tribes. National interests were then but little heard of. Each tribe was trying to keep its own footing, and the life of the times was rather an extended family than a national life. Under those circumstances what was wanted in the man of God was that he should be able to give information about the events of daily life. He was consulted on domestic matters; he used his gift to restore lost property to its owners; he was maintained by payment from those who sought his advice. The methods of the רֹאֶה reflect an extremely simple condition of life. The seer was the spiritual man in each community to whom all went for advice, and to whom none went empty handed. In such a primitive state of society the priest and the seer were one and the same. There was none of that division which afterwards grew so bitter between priest and נָבִיא. Both ideas, priest and seer, are etymologically very near akin. The Hebrew word for 'priest,' כֹּהֵן, means in ancient Arabic 'seer.' And, corresponding to this conception, is the fact that Samuel, before he was a 'seer,' served in the temple at Shiloh and received his upbringing there.[1]

But it was impossible that this simple condition of life could continue if Israel as a nation was still to persist. The tribes in their separation were helpless against the Philistines. They were gradually being disarmed and reduced to the condition of a subject people; and by their isolation from one another were losing all patriotic feeling. It was the bitter complaint of Deborah that, in the hour of need, some of the tribes had failed to rally to the standard. Unless something were done to rouse religious and patriotic feeling, the tribes would become merged in the surrounding paganism, and make of none effect their splendid history. It was now that ecstasy changed its form in so notable a way, and was used by the Spirit of the Lord to rouse the people to a sense of danger. Ecstasy lost its domestic form and became patriotic. The conservatism of Samuel did not understand the necessity of the change. He wished things to go on as they had been doing; and the later narrative sets down all the subsequent troubles of Israel to its desire for a king. But it is perfectly evident that it was the efforts of the ecstatics and of Saul that saved the nation. To the ecstatics the needs of the situation presented themselves first. They were no longer content to give information with regard to lost property; their object was to save the nation. They formed themselves into bands, and swept up and down the country, rousing enthusiasm. In their progress they met this stalwart youth Saul, who had already been recognized by Samuel as one fit to lead the people, and at once the spirit fell upon him also. That this aspect of ecstasy was new is clear from the remarks that met Saul when the spirit seized him. 'What is this that is come to the son of Kish? Is Saul also, a man whom we know, and whose father we know, is he also to be whirled off in this enthusiasm?' And some bystander who sympathized with the patriotic movement, answered, 'Yes, Saul the son of Kish *is* among them. Who was their father? Was he any more likely than Kish to have had a son a prophet? Prophecy is no hereditary possession; and Saul, all whose forebears you have known, can

[1] Kraetzschmar, *Prophet und Seher im Alten Israel*, p. 20.

be rapt away in it as well as any other.'[1] After his anointing, Saul returned home, where he remained about a month (LXX, ὡς μετὰ μῆνα, 1 S 11[1]). His opportunity came then in the invasion of Nahash. He assumed the sovereignty, and his action was justified by the successful issue.[2]

Accordingly, with the change of function on the part of the ecstatic, there came, too, a change of name. He that was aforetime called a רֹאֶה was now called a נָבִיא. This word has nothing in extant Hebrew literature by which its meaning may be determined; it is either a very ancient word or else a word borrowed by the language from some other source.[3] But whence could the word be derived? Certainly not from any of the other Semitic languages, as the form in which the word occurs in those other languages shows that they have themselves borrowed it from Hebrew. As the word in Hebrew dates from the time when the Israelites were being brought into very close contact with the Canaanites, and as the נְבִיאִים were common to Israel and the worshippers of Baal, the view has been put forward by Kraetzschmar and others that the נָבִיא was really an importation into the religion of Israel from Canaan,[4] that he was entirely foreign to the moral nature of that religion, and that he disappeared before the rise of the great ethical prophets.

But such a view is open to very serious objections. It does nothing to explain features that some of the Judges, such as Gideon, had in common with the נְבִיאִים. It carries no such illumination with it as Wellhausen's suggestion that the נְבִיאִים arose in the very depths of the Philistine oppression, when the function of the spiritual adviser had to be changed from that of giving information in domestic affairs to that of rousing the sleeping heroism of a people.[5] It fails to account for the influence that Elijah, a typical ecstatic, had upon the history and traditions of the people of Israel. And, most fatal objection of all, it introduces as a foreign element, supposed to hold sway for only 250 years, a characteristic of Israelitish religion that there is good ground for believing had existed in somewhat similar form centuries before the Philistine oppression, and of which we find the repeated recrudescence as late as the times of the Maccabees. Far easier is it to think that the Divine Spirit used a means that was already recognized as having in it something supernatural, and adapted its special form to the needs of the time, than to think that this patriotic ecstasy had its source in the religion of Canaan.

But, like all great movements that have sprung into existence almost full grown under the stress of political or religious urgency, patriotic ecstasy fell away from its original forcefulness after it had done its immediate work. The 'Bands of the Prophets' became a recognized institution. From their original connexion with the king, they soon came to have an official position as advisers at court. They adopted a particular dress, a hair mantle, and carried in their flesh the sacred scars of the Kenites, the wilderness people from whom Israel had, in all probability, received in the first place the pure religion of Jehovah. But no organization or outward semblance of earnestness could take the place of the impulse that had called them into being, and they rapidly degenerated. All the external appearances of the genuine נָבִיא they simulated. They wore the coats of skin and the garments of hair 'with intent to deceive' (Zec 13[4]). They used the common phraseology of the prophet in announcing a false oracle. Words which in the mouth of the true prophet meant so much, words such as נְאֻם יהוה and חָלַמְתִּי, they employed to gain credence for their false oracles (Jer 23[25. 36]). Again, their oracles were wanting in that originality which so characterized the true prophet. They stole their words every one from his neighbour (Jer 23[30]). But the head and front of their offending was their use of their position to obtain easy and luxuriant lives for themselves, while some took to prophesying as a means of earning a livelihood (Am 7[12], Mic 3[5]). If they were not sufficiently bribed, they would proclaim a holy war against an innocent man (Mic 3[5]). And as they had begun by inciting Saul to brave deeds, so they gradually sank into the position of mere court appendages, saying 'Yea' and 'Amen' to whatever a king might suggest, hiding the real moral condition of the land; and instead of stirring a nation's conscience to a sense of its misdeeds, they cried 'Peace,

[1] Driver, *Text of Samuel* on 1 S 10[12].

[2] Older stratum of narrative, 1 S 9 10[1-16] 11 (omitting v.[14]).

[3] W. R. Smith, *Prophets*[1].

[4] Kraetzschmar, *op. cit.* p. 10.

[5] Wellhausen, *Israel u. Jüd. Gesch.* p. 35., 389 ff.

peace,' when there was no peace. The 'Bands of the Prophets' became thus an offence to all honest men. To be a נָבִיא was to be a fawning time-server. Amos indignantly refused to allow himself to be associated with them. 'Prophet! did you say? No, I am no prophet; I am something vastly better and honester,—a herdsman and a gatherer of sycamore fruit.' The 'Bands of the Prophets' were the progeny of ecstasy. They showed where its danger lay. It was too easily imitated. Any Semite could bring on him the condition of ecstasy by means of music; and any one at all could wear the externals of the prophetic office. But the soul aflame for God, and the burning heart to speak from, were other things.

It was not upon such 'Bands' that the true ecstasy descended after the immediate danger of the Philistine oppression had been removed. When the occasion which had called them forth passed, they became a mere anachronism. The true line of divine ecstasy lay through Elijah to Amos. The 'Bands of the Prophets' became stereotyped. The revelation came no more to guilds but to individuals persuaded of the *righteousness* of Jehovah. Elijah stands midway between the נְבִיאִים who met Saul, and ethical prophecy as it reveals itself in Amos. He was a great teacher of righteousness as well as an ecstatic, and yet in him we find that our principle holds true. The revelation that was given to him in his ecstasy was conditioned by the circumstances of his time. No longer was it necessary that the king should be roused to heroism to fling off danger coming upon the state from the outside. The danger was now an internal one: the danger that in a time of great material prosperity, when much was to be hoped from a close association with the Power which held the sea-coast and the outlet to the rapidly increasing markets of the Phœnicians, the old loyalty to Jehovah should vanish and an unbelieving syncretism take its place.

And so the aspect of God which Elijah presented to the nation and especially to Ahab was that God was a jealous God. קַנֵּא קִנֵּאתִי לַיהוָה was his watch-word. It is very probable, as Smend contends,[1] that there is exaggeration in the story of Elijah. There is hardly evidence to support the assertion that the prophets of Jehovah were rooted out by Ahab; nor is it altogether fair to hold him specially guilty for erecting shrines to foreign gods seeing that Solomon had done this 150 years before in Jerusalem. But, while we may admit this, we can at the same time claim Elijah as the first who saw that religious interests might run counter to national, and that there was a higher patriotism than an unthinking imperialism. Elijah, first of all his race, understood that where Jehovah was worshipped no other god could have place. It was a truth of tremendous import, far greater than Elijah himself can have seen. It involved the isolation of Israel; the abandonment of her ambitions to play a direct part in the politics of the world. For the first time in the history of Israel, religion and politics became separate. Patriotic ecstasy, which began by supporting the monarchy, has now in its purest form ended by condemning it.

Nor can we forget that it is to Elijah the נָבִיא that we owe the teaching of another aspect of Jehovah's character. The judicial murder of Naboth was an act which sent a thrill of horror throughout Israel, and which was remembered for centuries afterwards. Naboth's offence was that he had clung to ancient custom and law; and his murder was 'an insult to the moral sense of all Israel.' That it was so vividly remembered shows how high must have been the sense of justice already reached. But Elijah related the iniquity of this deed to the character of Jehovah. His words were the expression of the dumb feeling of the best part of the nation. Ahab had sinned not only against man but against God. The higher truth thus reached rapidly wrought a change in the method by which the truth itself was conveyed. Elisha, it is true, is still an ecstatic, in whom the ecstasy is roused by music. But as ecstasy is its most pronounced form was the method by which the God of Israel revealed himself during a great national crisis, so now, with fuller knowledge of His nature, and under different religious and political circumstances, the ecstatic prophet dropped out of sight. Amos denied that he had any kinship with him; and in the time of Jeremiah he had come to be a subject of ridicule (Jer 29 [26]). The function of ecstasy was at an end. It always had had its dangerous elements, and it was possible for a man to imagine himself to be inspired and yet to be grievously deceived. What was desired now, as the nation was looking out upon a wider world, and was enjoying a larger and more pro-

[1] Smend, *A. T. Religionsgesch.*[1] p. 155.

sperous life in itself, was not the quickening of the sense of heroism, but the awakening of the sense of sin. The prophet remained the patriot, but he became the critic and not the approver of the national politics.

To say that ecstasy has definite physiological causes; to find reasons why it should be peculiarly prevalent among the Semitic races; is not thereby to deny that there is a Divine element and a Divine purpose in it. God generally works on man by the agency of man, and He did so here. Ecstasy as a power appeared when it was needed; it did its work and then it gave way to something better. The life is present in the opening bud just as in the fragrant flower. If we linger over the flower and pay but scant attention to the bud, it is because the flower has more fragrance and sweetness to yield us. But as the bud, dissected with our knowledge of the flower, is full of suggestion, so those phenomena of the spiritual childhood of the race show us hid in them the germs of developments which have taken place in times of quiet and deepened insight. Absolute absorption in duty to God, physical courage in the cause of right, the arousing of a people's conscience on public questions, those are the lessons for our day from the ecstasy of the prophets. Another Saul would find us still learners.

At the Literary Table.

THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

II.

Messrs. Passmore & Alabaster have published other two volumes of the 'Twelve Sermon' Series of Mr. Spurgeon's works. The one is *Twelve Sermons on Grace Abounding* (1s.); the other *Twelve Sermons on Decision* (1s.).

THE PASSING AND THE PERMANENT IN RELIGION. By Minot Judson Savage, D.D. (*Putnams.* Crown 8vo, pp. 336. 6s.)

Marvellous is the freedom of thought in theology. Philosophy or physical science are orthodoxy in comparison. Here are the great things in theology, the things that make life worth living for us—the Bible, God, Prayer, a Saviour, the Resurrection Life—all discussed as though nothing had yet been said about them that would stand, as though they were the newest and airiest of speculations. That it is an interesting book is true. But what is the use of it?

Dr. Savage is not thorough enough, and he is not sensitive enough to the consent of the human mind, to serve his generation as his talents enable him.

SIDELIGHTS ON THE BIBLE. By Mrs. Brightwen. (*Religious Tract Society.* Crown 8vo, pp. 160. 2s.)

Mrs. Brightwen writes with the charm of sympathy and simplicity. Her books on animals are universal favourites. Here she describes with almost equal affection some curiosities she has secured from Palestine which illustrate the Bible. They are phylacteries, lamps, slings, alabaster boxes, and the like. And her descriptions are sent home by reproductions in line drawing or photograph of the articles themselves. Her knowledge is apparently as thorough as is her ease in writing.

In Messrs. Rivington's series of 'Handbooks to the Bible and Prayer-Book' there has appeared an edition of *St. Luke's Gospel* (crown 8vo, pp. 264, 2s. 6d.). It is for teachers. It gives them just such notes as they may quickly get up before entering the class. The text is the A.V., but the margin gives select readings from the R.V. The editor is the Rev. Morley Stevenson, M.A.

TYPICAL NEW TESTAMENT CONVERSIONS. By Frederick A. Noble, D.D., LL.D. (Manchester: *Robinson.* Crown 8vo, pp. 326. 3s. 6d. net.)

The two things in Conversion which Dr. Noble insists upon are the fact and the variety. He will not have it that 'the ethics of the gospel is all that is required.' The ethics of the gospel certainly, when you have entered the Holy City, but it is Conversion that leads you in. Again, however, there are gates on every side of the city.

You entered by the north? Do not grudge if I enter by the gate that looks toward the sunny south. So there are here both Lydia and the Philippian jailer, with many others, and every one has his own story retold just as it is told in Scripture, the individuality being persistently preserved.

THE STUDY OF RELIGION. By Morris Jastrow, Jun., Ph.D. (*Walter Scott.* Crown 8vo, pp. 465. 6s.)

The attention that is now being given in the 'Contemporary Science' Series to religion is a sign of a welcome widening of the word science. Only yesterday it was restricted to physical science. It is so restricted by some even to-day, who will not admit that Religion has reality enough behind it to stand the light of scientific investigation. And on the side of Religion itself there are those who reject the intrusion of scientific exploration, as if they believed that Religion were altogether supernatural. Professor Morris Jastrow is a Christian. He believes in revelation and in Jesus Christ. He holds with Wellhausen that even in the prophets there is a residuum which science cannot reduce to ordinary cause and effect. Yet he is a scientific investigator. He insists on the searchlight being sent in whenever there is anything to see. He finds his science and his religion thrive together.

His book is a study of religion in general. It is not any particular religion nor any particular phenomenon of religion that he describes, it is the origin of religion, its classification, its relation to ethics, its practical issues on education, and the like. His work is throughout the work of a capable responsible scholar as well as of an enthusiast in the study of religion. The bibliography he offers at the end is of extreme value.

THE MAKING OF A MARCHIONESS. By Frances Hodgson Burnett. (*Smith, Elder, & Co.* Crown 8vo, pp. 346. 6s.)

There is always something distinctive about Mrs. Burnett's books, difficult as it is now to make a story distinctive. Nor are they by any means suggestive of one another. She has many manners, and yet they are all her own and not another's. And they are all effective. This is a comparatively short but most moving book. Its tone, too, is so good, without the preaching or the morality-play that goody novelists indulge in. That all ends well, after so stormy a sea, is in its favour greatly; and that also is distinctive in these days.

ADDRESSES ON THE REVISED VERSION OF HOLY SCRIPTURE. By C. J. Ellicott, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester. (*S.P.C.K.* 12mo, pp. 138. 2s. 6d.)

The object of these Addresses is 'seriously to suggest the question, whether the time has now arrived for the most general use of the Revised Version at the lectern in the public service of the Church.' It is a question that is being suggested by several of the leading scholars in the Church of England.

Dr. Ellicott's method of emphasizing the matter is the best method possible. In the first two Addresses he traces the history of Revision; in the third he describes the Hebrew and Greek text used by the Revisers; in the fourth he explains the reason for some of the more questioned renderings; and then in the fifth he draws the whole together and shows the great reasonableness of his desire. There is no man living who can do this work with more authority; and no man could do it with more kindly consideration.

THE BIBLE ATLAS. Edited by Sir C. W. Wilson, K.C.B. (*S.P.C.K.* 4to. 10s. 6d.)

This well-known Atlas has been re-edited by Sir C. W. Wilson, K.C.B., after the latest results of Eastern exploration. Some of the maps have been redrawn and re-engraved, and all have been revised. Still more has been done (still more needed to be done) with the Notes. There are twelve plates in all, the last being a very full exhibition of the Tabernacle and the various Temples. Besides the Notes which describe each plate minutely, there is an Index of Scripture passages and an Index of geographical names in the Bible, including the Apocrypha.

Even Sir Charles Wilson will not be accepted in every detail of his identifications. The very second word in his Index of Names, which evidently identifies the Amana with the *Nahr Banias*, will be as emphatically condemned as any. He even gives the alternative name *Nahr Abanias*, a name which Dr. Masterman shows in the present issue of The Expository Times to have no actual existence. Again, it will be found,

after Professor Kennedy's article on the TABERNACLE in the fourth volume of the *Dictionary of the Bible* is published, that the details of the Tabernacle must be somewhat altered. Dr. Kennedy's explanation of the frames and their sockets has only to be seen to be accepted.

But such corrections or differences of opinion are of infinitesimal amount over a work so great and so elaborate as this. The S.P.C.K. deserves the thanks of all students of the Bible for this new and scholarly edition of their useful Atlas.

HINDU MYTHOLOGY. By W. J. WILKINS. (*Thacker.* Crown 8vo, pp. 519. 7s. 6d.)

Mr. Wilkins has seen his *Hindu Mythology* pass into a second edition, which proves that it has met a want; and he has let it pass without alteration, which proves that he has carefully considered his subject before writing on it. His book is indeed a kind of classic, quite an authority, already. Not that it has unravelled the complexities of the Hindu pantheon, still less enabled us to pass an examination on the names of Hindu deities. But it is the fullest readable and scholarly introduction to the religion of Vedic and Puranic mythology that we possess. Its success is no doubt largely owing to its general ease and interest. Whatever we gain of mythological knowledge, we at least spend an entertaining hour among the gods and goddesses. The selection of native literature is always right and made at the right moment.

Mr. Wilkins has also published a volume on *Modern Hinduism* (Thacker, crown 8vo, pp. 423, 7s. 6d.), and it also has gone into the second edition. The earlier book was theoretical, this is practical. The earlier described the gods and goddesses, this describes their worshippers. And where will so complete and orderly an account be found of the Hindu religious sects, their ceremonies, and their moral (or immoral) life? Mr. Wilkins has a fine descriptive gift. He seizes the essential and not merely the picturesque in a pageant, but he makes it as visible and impressive as the most outward show. We should have been glad if further space had been given to the last chapter, which tells of 'Death, Shradha, and the Future Life.' Perhaps Mr. Wilkins will make that the subject of a separate volume yet.

The Third Gospel.[1]

Mr. Sense called a previous volume which he published on the Fourth Gospel, 'A Free Enquiry'; he calls the present volume 'A Critical and Historical Enquiry.' We prefer his first title. It is is not so high-sounding, and it is more appropriate. For after his 'Enquiry' this is the conclusion to which he comes regarding the Third Gospel: 'The Third Gospel was compiled from the writing used by the sect of the Marcionites, known as the Marcionite Gospel, and from the writings of minor apostles known as the Apocryphal Gospels.' 'The site and date of publication of the so-called Marcionite Gospel were Pontus and the first half of the second century, *i.e.* before 150 A.D., and its author was Luke, Lucanus, or Lucianus the Marcionite.' Our canonical Luke was published between 168 and 177 A.D. Mr. Sense found after he had reached these conclusions that they did not agree with the conclusions of Westcott and Hort. So he considered *their* method, and finding that they relied on the Codex Vaticanus and the Codex Sinaiticus, which they conjectured to belong to the fourth century or a little later, but which he believes to belong to the ninth, he came to the conclusion that their edition of St. Luke's Gospel is 'not only incompatible and inconsistent with, but also utterly repugnant to, their great merits as scholars and gentlemen.'

Is Mr. Sense quite honest? In another paragraph he says, 'I doubt if many, or any, of the learned clergy are conversant with Dr. Hort's *Introduction.* The Quarterly Reviewer, 1881, admits that he had not read it.' It is the word 'admits' that raises our suspicion. Dean Burgon boasted, he did not admit—and that makes all the difference. If we misjudge him, however, for it may be ignorance, we crave pardon, which he will the readier grant that on the following page he himself accuses Volckmar of 'great swinging falsehoods.'

These things, together with the brave statement that historical criticism is in favour of Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, being regarded as the founder of the Christian religion, not Jesus, are all found in Mr. Sense's preface. As for the book itself we do not 'admit' that we have not read it, but we admit that we have found it trying to read.

[1] *The Origin of the Third Gospel.* By P. C. Sense, M.A. Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 614. 7s. 6d.

About the middle of the volume we discover that Mr. Sense is inclined to credit the story of Simonides that he had himself 'penned the Codex Sinaiticus in the monastery of Pantelæmon on Mount Athos as recently as 1839 and 1840,' which surely is enough to discredit his own capacity as a critic and historian. Nor will his fame as an exegete rise much higher if his elaborate fooling about the Parable of the Unrighteous Steward on pages 184 to 192 be read. His conclusion on the difficult verse in that parable is interesting,—a *not* has been omitted. It should be 'Make *not* friends to yourselves of the mammon of unrighteousness.'

Macmillan's 'Guide to Palestine and Egypt.'

When the report came that Mr. Murray had to give way before the keen competition of Baedeker, there was surprise and disappointment. It seemed strange that the travelling nation could not furnish its own guide-books. But Messrs. Macmillan have stepped forward. Cutting down the size and the price, they have produced a book which is more easily handled and bought, and which at the same time restricts itself to giving information pure and simple—leaving other books to discharge the function of universal critic. The new *Guides* are thus more easily mastered. They do not demand preliminary days of hard study. They contain what they ought to contain, it is in its proper place and can be found at once, and it is expressed in good simple Saxon English.

The volumes are anonymous, as guide-books ought to be. If they mislead us through lack of scholarship, we shall discard them, and they will come to nought; if they lead us aright we do not mind whose name stands on their title-page, we feel more assured if there is no name there.

Four volumes have now been published—Italy, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Western Mediterranean, and Palestine and Egypt. We have to do with the last. Its size is globe 8vo (the same as the 'Eversley' Series), it runs to 270 pages, it contains forty-eight maps and plans, and it is published in cloth at 10s. net. The editor politely asks us to send him corrections of errors found. We cannot oblige him yet, but we may notice two points of wider interest, and at least taste his style thereby.

He believes in 'Gordon's Tomb.' Of the traditional Church of the Holy Sepulchre he says, 'Regarded as a shrine of holy memorial, the church would claim our most reverential homage; but, considered as an actual site of sacred events, it must be dismissed as a fraud and an imposture.' As for the 'Skull Hill,' he admits that the shape of the whole mound does not determine the matter, 'though, as General Gordon showed by the models made from his very careful survey and measurements, the resemblance is remarkable'; but its face at once reminds him of a skull: 'once seen, there can be no further doubt about it.' He knows the argument for the Resurrection of Jesus from the undisturbed cloths that were wound around His body, states it tersely, and uses it with effect.

With still less hesitation, when he comes to Damascus, does he identify Amana with the *Barada* and Pharpar with the *Awaj*. On that matter Dr. Masterman's article in the present number of The Expository Times will probably settle doubtful minds. Of Damascus itself, he says, 'Rome proudly arrogates to herself the title of the "Eternal City," but Damascus is infinitely more entitled to the claim. Thousands of years before Rome was born or thought of, Damascus was just as populous, thriving, and beautiful as she is at the present day. When Abraham engaged the services of Eliezer of Damascus nearly 4000 years ago, if he in truth visited that city, as historical tradition relates, he saw in all probability almost identically the same types of costume, countenance, and character, the same bazaar scenes, the same modes and methods of bargaining, the same habits and customs of daily life, as are witnessed by the modern European or American tourist. The cause of this immortality of life and prosperity is simply the presence of those two rivers, *Abana* and *Pharpar*, of which Naaman the Syrian so proudly and so justly boasted (2 Kings v. 12). But for them there never could have been any city or plain of Damascus at all, for all would have been a dreary, uninhabitable desert. In fact, Damascus itself really stands as an oasis in the desert, for it cannot be approached from any quarter (unless, indeed, it be the south-west) without crossing at least some portion of desert.'

Nelson's 'New Century' Classics.

Messrs. Nelson have published editions of Scott, Thackeray, and Dickens which are so distinctive that they deserve and are likely to be remembered by a special title—the 'New Century Scott,' the 'New Century Thackeray,' and the 'New Century Dickens.' Their 'New Century' feature, the reason of their existence, is the thinness and opacity of the paper used. Very thin paper is a trial to turn over, but this paper enables the type to be so large and the book so small that all the advantage of a library edition is secured in a volume that goes comfortably into the pocket. The volume containing *Waverley* crushes 660 pages into half an inch of thickness. Yet the page is white and every line distinct and clear.

After the paper, the most striking feature is the price; the price varies with the binding. In cloth each volume of Dickens costs 2s. net; in smooth blue leather with gilt top and four artistic illustrations it costs 3s. net. Thackeray and Scott in leather, similarly gilt and illustrated, cost but 2s. 6d. each, net. Such prices as these are quite new and enough to give the series their name. It is some years since Mr. Gladstone prophesied that books would be so reduced in price in the new century that we should have to see to our joists and beams. He did not foresee that with the price the size and weight would also be reduced.

'The Story of the Nations.'

'The Story of the Nations' has now reached its fifty-sixth volume, and Mr. Fisher Unwin has determined to follow the example set by the publishers of other great books, such as the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and offer it at a special subscription price in a special subscription binding. We say 'binding,' because that is the only difference between the subscription edition and the original. The paper, printing, plates are the same; the contents are the same throughout.

'The Story of the Nations' is not a children's book. Nor is it, in the ugly sense of that word, a popular book. The editor's first thought has always been to find the best authority on the history of each country, so that, whatever else, the volumes could at least be relied upon to tell the truth. These authorities write with varying literary skill, no doubt also with varying conception of the aim of the series, but they all know that their volumes are expected to be reliable and to advance our knowledge of the countries on which they write.

The editor's next thought seems to have been to find the best possible illustrations. Artists have sometimes, we understand, been sent to the country in question to draw or photograph on the spot. The drawings or photographs have been in all cases skilfully reproduced. This gives the books a value that may properly be called unique. No other continuous history of the nations of the world furnishes illustrations. And yet we have now come to understand that without illustrations no history of any nation can properly be written.

We have said the volumes vary in literary skill. Those that strike us as most successful, of the volumes we have read, are: Church's *Carthage*, Mahaffy's *Alexander's Empire*, *Chaldea* by Madame Ragozin, with her other volumes, namely, *Assyria*, *Media*, and *Vedic India*, Morrison's *Jews under the Romans*, Oman's *Byzantine Empire*, Miss Duffy's *Tuscan Republics*, Murray's *Japan*, Maurice's *Bohemia*, Douglas's *China*, and Edwards's *Wales*. The volume which most successfully fulfils the aim of the series has always seemed to us to be Freeman's *Sicily*. It is a thoroughly original work, based on the most painstaking persistent researches, and yet it is written in language which appeals to the reader whose knowledge of Sicily is nothing. Freeman's volume alone would make the series notable.

The fifty-sixth volume is *Wales*. It has just been published. Its author is Mr. Owen M. Edwards, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Mr. Edwards has had to face the difficulty which almost all the writers have met, the difficulty of managing the mass of details so as not to neglect them and yet let us see the way through the wood. He has produced, it seems to us, one of the best volumes of the series. The special character of the Welshman, the national characteristic, is easily felt throughout, and shapes the history. The individual has his due; but it is not a single hero's exploits we desire to know, not even Llywelyn's, and the nation is never hid behind the towering form of its great ones. This last volume shows with peculiar clearness the great purpose this series is able to accomplish. The Welsh people take

their place among the nations of the world; their character, their history, their country, their literary and artistic powers, their aims, and their future prospects—all is given in sufficient fulness for the ordinary reader to master. It is a portion of the history of the world, distinct and detachable, yet best understood after all when read along with the other volumes which give us the history of other nations.

We need not say more to commend this great series. It is its own best recommendation. One volume read will lead to the reading of another. The reader who can master the whole will have gained a knowledge of the nations of the world which no other series could have furnished him with.

The New Edition of the Peshitta.[1]

Mr. Gwilliam's edition of the Peshitta version of the New Testament supplies a real want, and will receive a hearty welcome from all students of textual criticism. It is a work of great learning, accuracy, and research, and yet, strange to tell, the labour expended upon it has been less than what we should have expected, in view of the wealth of materials which lay ready to the editor's hand. One great service which it has done, is to bring more prominently into view the fact that the Syrian Church has the unique distinction of having been absolutely faithful to her duty in handing down the version which she adopted, probably at the beginning of the fifth century, practically unchanged and uncorrupted till our own day. At first sight one might have expected that the number of manuscripts to be used for a standard text would have made the work one of immense labour. But it is not so. This 'queen of the versions,' as it has been well called, exists in no less than ten fine manuscripts of the fifth century, and in thirty of the sixth; whilst the Greek branch of the Church Catholic offers us only two important manuscripts of the fourth century, two of the fifth, and two of the sixth. The Latin branch offers us two MSS of the Vulgate assigned to the sixth century and three to the seventh (we cannot credit her with those pre-Vulgate Old Latin MSS which she discarded). But that is not all. Between the official revised edition of the Vulgate, published under the care of Cardinal Caraffa in 1590, by the authority of Pope Sixtus v., and that published in 1592 under his successor, Clement viii., there were, according to Dr. Nestle, 3000 variants. How many there may be between the last-mentioned edition and that of Wordsworth-White (1889–98) we have not at present time to ascertain; but Tischendorf has drawn attention to the discrepancy between the authorized edition of 1592 and the text of the best and oldest MSS. Let us look at the Greek critical editions of the New Testament. Tischendorf has used about forty-four Greek MSS in his edition of 1869; Mr. Gwilliam forty-two in his edition of the Peshitta. Compare any one verse in the two books, and the very appearance of the pages tells you that there is infinitely less divergence between the MSS of the Peshitta and those of the Greek text. Nor is this question merely one of quantity, for the variants themselves are for the most part of little importance, being to a great extent merely orthographical. For interesting and suggestive readings in Syriac, we must go to the Curetonian and to the Sinai Palimpsest.

The reading of these manuscripts is, however, confirmed in one remarkable passage, Lk 24^{32}, as it stands in Mr. Gwilliam's translation: *Nonne cor nostrum grave erat in medio nostri.* As the difference between 'heavy' and 'burning' depends in Syriac merely upon the position of a dot, this might well have been taken for a scribe's mistake. But when we find that all MSS of the Peshitta, the Arabic of Tatian's Diatessaron, and the Sinai Palimpsest have the same reading, we are at once convinced that the Syrian Church believed it to be the true one.

We find in the Angels' song of Lk 2^{14} another agreement in all Peshitta MSS with the Sinai Palimpsest, 'on earth peace, and good will to men.' The Syriac word for 'good will' or 'good hope' is not the same as in the Sinai Palimpsest, but the Greek original of both these ancient Syriac versions must have contained εὐδοκία, not εὐδοκίας.

We think that Mr. Gwilliam has shown true wisdom in refraining from any discussion on the relation of the Peshitta text to that of the so-called Old Syriac. The question of their relative antiquity will be fought out on other fields, and

[1] *Tetraeuangelium Sanctum juxta Simplicem Syrorum Versionem.* Edited by G. H. Gwilliam, S.T.B. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Crown 4to, pp. xvi, 608. 42s. net.

Mr. Gwilliam's book will remain as a standard one long after it has been decided.

We are glad also that he has not burdened his pages and tried our patience with such minute points as ܣܡܟ̈ for ܣܡܟ in Mt 2^3, and ܐ̈ for ܐ in v.^{6} of the same chapter, as they are found in Cod. Add. 14,454, of the British Museum. These are interesting only from an orthographical point of view, and their inclusion would have detracted from the usefulness of the volume by increasing its bulk.

The type and printing are all that can be desired, for though small, they are clear and agreeable to the eye. The Syriac system of Sections and Canons is most welcome, and so are the Tables of Harmonies at the foot of each column. Our one complaint about the book, and it is a serious one, is that with so many figures in the margins, the numbering of the chapters is not in sufficiently large type; and that consequently it is no easy task to find one's way in the book. But this does not detract from our gratitude to Mr. Gwilliam for the thorough way in which he has accomplished his laborious task.

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Contributions and Comments.

Note on the LXX of 1 Samuel ii. 5.

IN the clause translated by R.V., 'Yea, the barren hath borne seven,' the LXX translates the introductory particle עַד (R.V$_m$, 'Yea') by ὅτι. Since in other cases, *e.g.* Hag 2^{19}, עַד is represented by ἔτι, *i.e.* עוֹד, probably ὅτι in *Samuel* is a corruption of ἔτι.

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The Coffer ('Argāz).

NOTE ON THE TEXT OF 1 SAMUEL VI. 8.

THE Massoretic text of this passage tells us that when the Philistines were returning the ark they placed their guilt-offering in the coffer (*'argāz*) by the side of it. The word only occurs in this passage in vv.$^{8.\ 11.\ 15}$; the clauses in which it occurs in vv.$^{11.\ 15}$ are regarded as very late glosses by Budde (*S.B.O.T.*), H. P. Smith, etc. The interest taken by the glossators in the *'argāz* suggests that they are also responsible for its presence in v.^{8}. Cheyne, THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, x. 521, suggests that the original reading was ארן, *'rn*, and that 'the "coffer" was not really distinguished by its name from the ark.' I would suggest that he is right as to the original reading, but that the history of the corruption is rather different. M. Jastrow, in his *Dict. of the Targumim*, etc., gives *'argāz*, ארגז, as used in post-biblical literature for 'box' or 'chest,' and as occurring in one instance with a various reading, *'ārôn*, ארון, 'ark.' It seems likely that the original text stated that the guilt-offering was placed *in the ark*. This was naturally offensive to later editors, who substituted for *ark*, ארון, the similar word *'argāz*, ארגז, 'coffer'; and inserted 'by the side thereof' and the glosses in ^{11} and ^{15}. Various texts of the LXX, including that ascribed to Lucian, have a double rendering: (1) θέμα, usually an equivalent of מערכה, 'row'; (2) some more or less accurate transliteration of *'argāz*. This suggests the existence either of a Hebrew text in which מערכה had been substituted for *'argāz*, or else of one in which it had been added as an explanation of that word.

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Micah v. 1–3 (Eng. 2–4).

IT has become customary to regard Beth-Ephrath as the original reading in v.^{1}, instead of Bethlehem Ephrathah, but with no sufficient reason. The only reason which is advanced is that the LXX has Βηθλέεμ οἶκος Ἐφράθα, and that, in order to explain the origin of the Greek, it is necessary to suppose that Bethlehem was added in the Hebrew

to an original Beth-Ephrath. But Beth-Ephrath as a place-name is without parallel; the place is always called Ephrathah (once Ephrath). A comparison of the passages where Bethlehem and Ephrathah occur together makes it probable that the latter was the district in which the village of Bethlehem lay; note especially 1 S 17^{12}, Ru 1^{2}, where Jesse and Elimelech's sons are called Ephrathites from Bethlehem. Bethlehem Ephrathah is Bethlehem of E.; cf. Bethlehem-Judah. The Greek translators failed to recognize this distinction, and found it necessary to insert οἶκος here. At the end of Jos 15^{59} they add Ἐφράθα, αὕτη ἐστὶ βηθλέεμ, and again identify the two. If Bethlehem Ephrathah was the original text, it is easier to explain the two glosses in Gn 35^{19} 48^{7}, where the Ephrathah of Rachel's burial is taken to be the same as Bethlehem. The glossator, finding the two places named together, understood them to be identical, but, unlike the LXX translator, did not add a second בֵּית. The Ephrathah of Rachel's tomb was of course in Benjamin; cf. 1 S 10^{2}, Jer 31^{15}.

Oort thinks the passage in Micah refers to the Ephrath of Benjamin, and, counting Bethlehem an incorrect addition, declares the prophet anticipated that the crown would pass from the discredited Davidic line to the stock of Saul the Benjaminite. His theory requires us to remove not only Bethlehem but בְּאַלְפֵי יְהוּדָה from the present text, ignores all the other instances where Bethlehem and Ephrath occur together, demands the unproved supposition that Saul's race retained some hold on the popular imagination till this late period, and the further gratuitous supposition that Saul's house had any association with the Ephrath of Benjamin.

The reading 'too little to be among the thousands of Judah' is grammatically difficult, since it would require to be followed by מִהְיוֹת instead of לִהְיוֹת. It does not agree with 1 S 20^{6}, where Bethlehem finds its place among the מִשְׁפָּחוֹת of Judah. Omit לִהְיוֹת as having found its way hither from the following clause, and perhaps read הַצָּעִיר 'the least.' The article may have dropped out because of the ה with which Ephrathah ends.

The real sequel of v.[1], as has been frequently recognized, is not v.[2] but v.[3]. The grammar requires this, since the subject of the verbs in v.[3] is the מוֹשֵׁל or ruler of v.[1], while the subject of v.[2] is Jahveh. The sense also demands it: the promised ruler is to arise לִי for Me, *i.e.* to fulfil Jahveh's ends, and these ends are more nearly defined in v.[3].

Hence the two verses will read, 'But thou, Bethlehem Ephrathah, least among the thousands of Judah, out of thee shall one arise unto Me to be a ruler in Israel, whose goings forth are from of old, from ancient time. And he shall stand and shall feed his flock,' etc., as in R.V.

V.[2] is, as Wellhausen recognized, made up of two references to Isaiah. The first refers to Is 7^{14}, which the writer understood to contain a Messianic prediction. The second refers to Isaiah's prophecy of שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב 'a remnant shall return,' which the writer also interprets in his own way. Read 'therefore is He (Jahveh) surrendering them, until one who beareth hath borne, and (until) the remnant of His (Messiah's) brethren return unto the children of Israel.' The Messiah was to arise from Bethlehem-Judah: when therefore the remnant of His brethren returned to the children of Israel, there would be a reunited nation.

I take the verse to be an exilic or post-exilic addition. The indefiniteness of the pronouns—יִתֵּן has no subject, the 'his' in אֶחָיו cannot refer to the subject of יִתֵּן, but must refer to the 'ruler'—is entirely in the manner of such marginal insertions. The scholastic use of and appeal to early prophecies is a sign of a later age. The nation is waiting and longing for its promised redemption. The students of prophecy are searching into the cause of the delay. We have in this verse an explanation why the deliverer from Bethlehem tarries. For this cause Jahveh gives them up, until a bearer has borne. The 'therefore' with which the verse begins has no meaning, unless it refers to some such thought in the writer's mind. It has no direct connexion with our first verse. The verse offers us an early example of Jewish exegesis, and an illustration of how prophecy was interpreted.

This, however, makes it only the more certain that vv.[1-3] are early, and likely that they date from Micah's time. Men do not annotate any-

thing except their classics. The presence of this note makes it the more certain that they were dealing with what had already become a classic.

Wellhausen has declared it difficult to suppose that the prophecy of a ruler arising from Bethlehem could emanate from a period when the Davidic stock was actually seated on the throne of Judah. He contrasts this passage with Isaiah's promise of a shoot out of the stem of Jesse (Is 11^{1-10}), and seems to suggest that, if the one is genuine, the other can hardly claim to be so. But is the gulf between the two promises so great that the difference between the attitudes of the two prophets is insufficient to explain it? Both men find their hope for their nation in the race which once made the kingdom. Jahveh used the old stock once for great ends, He can and will use it again for higher ends.

But Isaiah was a court prophet. He lived in the great world, and understood it. He hated the corruption which was manifest in the capital, but he did not despair of the people's princes. He still hoped that Jahveh might reform them, for in his God's name he still continued to preach to them. To warn and to rebuke are signs of faith in the men one warns. His faith in Israel's future clothes itself in the promise of a new shoot from the old Jesse stock, who shall reign in righteousness.

Micah despaired of the court and its princes. He saw in them nothing but men who robbed and flayed the helpless poor. He had ceased to preach to them; he was content to denounce them. But that God had cast Israel off for ever, he did not believe. Only God must leave this lustful, cruel race in the capital. Micah's faith in his people's future and in Jahveh clothed itself in these forms. God will give us back the old simple king of the ancient times, a king from Bethlehem, not from Jerusalem—a king who will shepherd instead of fleecing.

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'Our Lord' in the Lewis Palimpsest.

IN my collation of Codex Lewisianus (Lp), otherwise known as Syr. Sin., with the Curetonian Syriac (Sc), published by the Clarendon Press, 1896, I drew attention in the following words to the fact that the term ܡܪܝ = 'our Lord' is of frequent occurrence in the former MS.: 'Non abs re hic est notare Lewisianum ܡܪܝ pro ܡܪܢ persaepe legere, et hoc quidem plurimis in locis contra alios testes omnes' (p. v).

The fact here alluded to is of course well known to those who have studied this important palimpsest, but it has been spoken of in a way not wholly in accordance with the facts of the case. Mrs. Lewis herself, to whom all Syriac students owe so much, wrote in the preface to her first translation of Lp, published by Macmillan, 1894: 'There are a few expressions which may point to a later origin [than Cureton]. The chief of these is, as it seems to us, the persistent use of the title "our Lord," instead of the name Jesus throughout the narrative of all the Evangelists' (Introduction, p. xxxi). These words were probably written in haste and under the influence of a first impression, for they do not correctly represent the facts. For instance, it may be remarked by the way, that so far from the phrase in question occurring throughout all the four Gospels, it is found only once in Mk (12^{24}), and, as will be pointed out, its use can hardly be described as persistent in the other three evangelists.

Before giving the actual facts, which are certainly curious, let me explain the method adapted in their investigation. Briefly, then, no notice has been taken of the use of the phrase 'our Lord' by *speakers* in the Gospel narratives, *e.g.* as in Mt 28^{6}, for these cases stand on a different footing, and here Lp presents no special peculiarity; the examination is entirely confined to the use of the word ܡܪܝ by the Gospel *narrators*, and the result is undoubtedly remarkable. Furthermore, the use of this term in Sc and in the Peshitta (P) has been examined, since the comparison of these with Lp in the employment of ܡܪܝ is not to be neglected in any attempt which may be made to solve the problem set before us by the peculiar occurrence of the word in Lp.

First of all, then, it appears that the term 'our Lord' is found in Lp 64 times, as against 11 times in P, including Lk 16^{8}, and 12 times in Sc,—a preponderance which fully justifies the words cited from my collation. It is of course true that a large part of Sc is lost, including all of Mk,

excepting a few verses at the end of chap. 16, and it might be argued that were we in possession of the lost portions we should find ܡܪܝ to be used by Sc with as great frequency as by Lp. Of course it might be so, and no doubt those lost portions would give us several fresh instances of the use of 'our Lord'; but judging from the facts before us, it does not seem very likely that the phrase would be found to occur with any extraordinary frequency. The employment of ܡܪܝ in Lp, to which I am about to draw attention, is quite peculiar, and in the two passages which display an abundant use of the term, enough of Sc is fortunately extant to enable us to institute a comparison, and we find that Sc in these passages presents no peculiarity. Thus, in a portion of Jn where Lp has 'our Lord' 34 times, Sc reads 'Jesus' with P 25 times, once 'Jesus' where P omits the name, the remaining 8 passages being lost. This affords a presumption, at least, that Sc contained no extraordinary proportion of ܡܪܝ readings. But let this be as it may, we are here dealing of course only with existing material, and as was stated above, ܡܪܝ occurs 64 times in Lp., 12 times in Sc, and 11 times in P. This great preponderance, however, does not justify us in saying that the use of the word in Lp is persistent throughout the four Gospels. Quite the contrary, indeed. There is nothing remarkable about the use of ܡܪܝ by Lp in Mk and Lk, and there are large tracts of Mt and Jn where the term occurs with no more frequency—though in different places—than in Sc and P. The fact which is deserving of the closest attention is briefly this, that the peculiarly frequent employment of the word in Lp is confined to two well-defined sections of Mt and Jn, namely, Mt 8^{3}–11^{7}, and Jn 1^{36}–6^{5}. In these two sections 'our Lord' occurs no less than 56 times, leaving the balance of 8 times only to be distributed throughout the rest of the Gospels. In 52 of these 56 places P has 'Jesus'; once 'Christ' (Mt 11^{2}); and thrice (Jn 1^{43} 2^{23} 4^{6b} [1]) gives neither name nor title. Sc is extant in 36 of these 56 places, and in all of them reads 'Jesus.' Thus, then, excluding these two sections of Lp, we find that elsewhere the palimpsest has the term 8 times, as against 12 times in Sc, and 11 times in P. The passages are here given for the sake of comparison.

[1] Lp has here a different text.

Lp.	Sc.	P.
Mt 4^{18} omits.	'our Lord.'	omits.
14^{31} 'Jesus.'	'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'
Mk 12^{24} 'our Lord.'	lost.	'Jesus.'
16^{20} wanting.	LORD (*i.e.* God).[2]	'our Lord.'
Lk 8^{40} 'our Lord.'	'Jesus.'	'Jesus.'
10^{39} 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'our Lord.'
11^{39} 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'Jesus.'
12^{42} 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'Jesus.'
14^{16} 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'Jesus.'
16^{8} LORD (*i.e.* God).[2]	'lord' (of the steward).[3]	'our Lord.'
17^{5} 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'[4]	'our Lord.'
18^{6} 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'our Lord.'
19^{8} 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'Jesus.'
22^{25} omits.	'our Lord.'	'Jesus.'
22^{31} omits.	'our Lord.'	'Jesus.'
22^{61} 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'Jesus.'
22^{61} 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'our Lord.'
Jn 8^{34} 'our Lord.'	lost.	'Jesus.'
11^{44} 'our Lord.'	lost.	'Jesus.'
12^{16} 'our Lord.'	lost.	'Jesus.'
13^{23} 'our Lord.'	lost.	'Jesus.'
20^{18} 'our Lord.'	lost.	'our Lord.'
20^{20} omits.	lost.	'our Lord.'
21^{7} 'our Lord.'	lost.	'our Lord.'
21^{12} omits.	lost.	'our Lord.'
8	12	11

To sum up, we are confronted with the very curious fact that in two well-defined sections of Mt and Jn Lp employs the expression 'our Lord' persistently [5] to the exclusion of the name 'Jesus,' but that elsewhere Lp reads 'our Lord' with no special frequency.

To tabulate the foregoing facts is a comparatively easy task, demanding as it does only a little time and patient investigation, but to explain the facts is by no means so easy, and perhaps it requires the ingenuity of a Rendel Harris to suggest a satisfactory explanation of them. If, indeed, we had found that Lp generally throughout the Gospels substituted 'our Lord' for 'Jesus,' we should probably say at once that it was a case of editing; but when we find that this repeated employment of 'our Lord' is confined to two short sections only, conjecture becomes less certain and explanation less obvious. What, then, are we to say? Must we conclude that our facts

[2] The Syriac word is ܡܪܢܐ.

[3] The Syriac word is ܡܪܝ.

[4] In the three Berlin leaves printed privately by Dr. Wright.

[5] Except in Mt 11^{4}, where it has 'Jesus,' with Sc and P.

are due merely to the caprice of the scribe of Lp or of some one of its ancestors—that for reasons known only to himself he began in these two sections to write 'our Lord,' and then suddenly ceased making the alteration? Or, what amounts to nearly the same thing, shall we suggest that another scribe than he who wrote the main part of Lp's ancestor, wrote these two sections, and chose to write 'our Lord' instead of 'Jesus'? Of course it might be so, and the fact that in the majority of the 56 places the reading 'our Lord' has the support of no existing authority, may lend some colour to the theory of arbitrary alteration. To quote again from my collation: 'Certe res huiusmodi [the frequent occurrence of مرن] quamvis parva, minime, ut censeo, praetermittenda erit si quaeretur utrum textus verus alibi (*e.g.* Mt $1^{16.25}$) perverse vel saltem mera voluntate scribae immutatus sit' (p. v). But there is another suggestion. Have we, perhaps, in the facts before us traces of the influence of the once widely known *Diatessaron* of Tatian? When we compare the *Diatessaron* as published by Ciasca with the earlier form of it derived from the Ephrem fragments, we see that in the latter 'our Lord' occasionally occurs where 'Jesus' stands in the former; and it is probable, if we had the complete *Diatessaron* of Ephrem's day, or a yet earlier form, that 'our Lord' would be found in it with still greater frequency. Now the authority and influence of the *Diatessaron* in the early Syrian churches must have been very great, for it was really a church lectionary, as Dr. Rendel Harris has pointed out, and for many a long year after Rabbula's famous order that the 'distinct' Gospels should be read, and Theodoret's clearance of it from his diocese, scribes must continually—now of set purpose and now unconsciously—have 'corrected' or altered the copies they were making of the 'distinct' Gospels by the *Diatessaron*. This consideration is of great importance in any attempt to account for the differences between the Peshiṭta and the Curetonian type of Gospels, and more especially in accounting for the very many and great differences which exist between Cureton and Lewisianus. We might argue that these differences are in no small degree due to *Diatessaron* influences, and that possibly this is so in the case before us—the repeated occurrence of مرن in our two sections might be explained by the suggestion that the scribe when writing these sections 'corrected' his work by the *Diatessaron*.

Mr. Reid, in an instructive paper in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for June, has examined the use of the word 'Lord' in the Greek Gospels. On p. 428 he gives a list of passages where 'Lord' is applied to Jesus by others than Himself. Setting aside, in accordance with the scheme of the present paper, instances of the word as used by *speakers* in the Gospels, and the compounds 'Lord Jesus' of Mk 16^{19} and Lk 24^{3}, there remain 21 places where the term is used by the Gospel *narrators*, *i.e.* 1 in Mk, 14 in Lk, and 6 in Jn. So far the Greek Gospels. But now, when we turn to the Peshiṭta, we find that out of these 21 places 'our Lord' occurs in 8 only, namely, Mk 16^{20}, Lk 10^{39} 17^{5} 18^{6} 22^{61b}, and Jn 20^{20} $21^{7.12}$. Of the 13 remaining places, P reads 'Jesus' in 12, and in 1 (Lk 17^{6}) 'he saith' without name or title. Mr. Reid contends—and it is the usual conclusion, that 'Lord' implies a somewhat later date than 'Jesus.' I express no opinion on this conclusion but if it be correct, the facts and considerations set out in this paper have their bearing on the controversy, now slumbering but certain to be again aroused, concerning the relative values and ages of the Peshiṭta and Curetonian forms of text. If it be held that 'Jesus' implies an earlier, 'our Lord' a somewhat later date, then let it be remembered that it is to some extent Cureton and Tatian so far as we known them, and to a larger extent Lewisianus, which read 'our Lord' in place of the, on this view, more ancient 'Jesus' of the Peshiṭta; and, furthermore, that in this matter the Peshiṭta, as appears by comparing Mr. Reid's list, goes to a large extent behind accepted Greek texts as well.

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Canon Henson on Apostolic Succession.

LAST year, on the third Sunday of December, Canon Hensley Henson preached in Westminster Abbey a sermon on Apostolic Succession, which will have remarkable results. Like many at the moment, his mind and heart are much turned to the subject of Christian unity. He sees, as everyone does, that the docrtine of Orders, strenuously held by a large, and possibly the more influential, portion of the Anglican Church, and which closes the door against at least every external

token of union in worship, is really the chief barrier at the moment to Christian fraternity; and, accordingly, he has devoted himself—and his sermon is full of the traces of care and restraint—to an examination of the position. It is safe to say that no such declaration, certain to be so fruitful in effect, has for many a year been made in any historic pulpit of the Church of England.

Canon Henson takes his text from 1 Co 4[1], 'Let a man so account of us, as of ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God;' and such a word at once carries him into the heart of his subject. His business is to inquire as to 'a theory about the Christian ministry, which has maintained its ground from the third century, which has influenced most powerfully the course of Christian history, and which now presents one of the most formidable obstacles to that restoration of external fellowship among the disciples of Christ, which the most precious interests of mankind manifestly and urgently demand.'[1] The theory is that of Apostolic Succession, well known and simple, and it accounts for the origin and virtue of the 'Episcopal ministry.' 'The modern bishop is held to derive his authority through a line of regularly ordained bishops reaching back in an unbroken chain to the apostles themselves. This succession is held to be the sole security we have that our clergy now possess a divine commission, and authority to exercise a valid ministry. Thus the validity of the sacraments comes to depend on the apostolic succession of the bishops, and a fatal insecurity is attached to all non-episcopal ministrations.'

It is peculiarly difficult for anyone outside the Anglican communion to write sympathetically, or even justly, of this doctrine of Orders. It is so hard to catch the point of view, the claim appearing at first not only preposterous but ridiculous. One feels there is surely more than one has understood; and the very theory itself precludes much weight being given to anything advanced from the outside. Accordingly, we shall follow Canon Henson as closely as possible. He can speak both with sympathy and authority.

He begins by quoting Dr. Liddon's well-known declaration that Apostolic Succession 'rests upon the broad fact that in the Church of the apostles there was an order of men, such as were Timothy and Titus, who notoriously discharged the apostolic functions of ordination and chief government in particular portions of the Church, and who had been solemnly entrusted with these functions by apostolic hands.'

[1] The quotations are from the sermon as reported in the *Christian World Pulpit*, 25th December 1901. The sermon is the last of a series on 'Intercommunion' shortly to be published.

This statement Canon Henson traverses. He points out, *first*, again quoting Dr. Liddon, that 'the question of the Episcopacy is increasingly seen to be bound up with that of the apostolic origin and authority of the Pastoral Epistles,' and that this is slender ground upon which to support a theory which prohibits the recognition, and invalidates the communion, of the vast majority of the Reformed Churches. For there is the doubt as to the Pauline authority of the Pastoral Epistles. It is true Canon Henson accepts them, though with difficulty, 'as genuine writings of St. Paul'; but there are scholars who do not; and consequently in themselves these letters are 'an extremely unsatisfactory foundation for so tremendous an ecclesiastical claim.'

But, even assuming the Pastoral Epistles to be Paul's writings, Canon Henson doubts if they 'justify the necessity of Episcopal ordination,' and he quotes Dr. Lightfoot and Dr. Hort to prove that they do not. Timothy and Titus were not members of an order, but were merely set apart to an occasional and personal mission; nor 'is the gift of God, which was in Timothy bestowed by the laying on of St. Paul's hands, to be understood of the grace of ordination' (Dr. Hort). Of course Dr. Hort and Dr. Lightfoot may be mistaken, yet so also may Dr. Liddon. But such being the case, one may well be slow to base 'anything of importance on the point of difference.' And, accordingly, Canon Henson is led to the conclusion that 'the basis in Scripture for the necessity of Episcopal ordination is insufficient.' At most the question is left open.

The *second* line of proof for the doctrine of Order comes out of the testimony of the Fathers. Canon Henson does not examine this in his sermon in detail; but it is clear what his own opinion is. It is, he says, no difficult matter to determine the truth. The decisive facts are comparatively few; average intelligence is sufficient to appraise them. And Canon Henson fearlessly challenges inquiry. He does so because if Apostolic Succession be a fact, then multitudes are left in 'spiritually fatal error'; and because there ought not to be lightly bound 'upon Christianity the burden of a doctrine which afflicts men's hearts and perplexes their consciences, which is strangely alien to the spirit of the gospel, and which involves practical consequences of a character which no Christian can contemplate without misgiving.' 'Surely we are guilty of presumption when we attribute to God what is not His, wrapping the creatures of our own credulity or ignorance, or even interest, with the awful insignia of His authority.' 'I charge you not to accept unexamined and unjudged this doctrine of Apostolic Succession, which rends our Christendom asunder.' 'If we

could at length renounce that obstinate fiction of divine right attaching to one or another form of ecclesiastical organization, we should at least have secured the external condition of Christian reunion; so long as that barrier remains, fraternity is a futile hope.'

Stronger and truer words than these have seldom been spoken, and Canon Henson deserves our gratitude for speaking them. No doubt he does not touch upon what is felt to be specially fatal to the doctrine of Orders, namely, that the 'gift,' even if the channel through which it came were unbroken, was passed on by many notoriously corrupt in themselves; that therefore the 'grace of God' was able to exist independently of character, and was mechanical, so to speak, which it never is. But there can be no question that Canon Henson's sermon is of epoch-making importance, and that he has done a great and bold service to our common Christianity.

Turning from the false to the true Apostolic Succession, he dwells upon the divine vocation to the ministry 'conveyed through the constitutional action of the Christian society.' The precise form of the constitutional action has not been prescribed by Christ or determined by apostles, nor has it conformed to one type. But the principle remains; and it forbids the exercise of the ministry without a 'call,' and without a sanction. It is here that all will admit a fitting place for the Episcopate.

Canon Henson has also some edifying remarks on the supposed priestly functions of the ministry, which very easily pass into sacerdotal assumption. He regards this conception—that of a ministry succeeding to the sacrificial character, if not the exact functions, of the Jewish priesthood — as 'utterly opposed to the apostolic conception.' There is no trace of sacerdotalism in the Pastoral Epistles. The ministry is 'a ministry of the word,' and the first duty of the minister is to labour 'in the word and teaching.'

In a singularly fine passage Canon Henson brings his sermon to a close: 'Nor has the apostolic succession ceased. Sometimes from scenes of holy toil, without recognition and without reward, as the world counts, from self-forgetting pastorates, carried on in solitary hamlets and, in the crowded ghettos of the wretched, year in and year out, under the chilling bitterness of poverty and neglect, the splendid devotion of the Christian ministry startles the world. No conflict stirs about this apostolic succession of service and suffering; for the commissioning Cross of Christ shines apparent upon it, and everywhere men's hearts bend in homage before it, and their consciences endorse its claim.' G. Elmslie Troup.

Broughty Ferry.

A Correction.

I REGRET to find that in the note on p. 168 of your last issue I was guilty of an inaccuracy, and did inadvertently some injustice to the Canterbury Convocation. I had not at the time of writing the note seen the recently published excellent Charge of the Bishop of Gloucester (S.P.C.K., 1901) on the subject of the Revised Version, and was under the impression that the sanction which I referred to had been given by the Bishops, as such, and not, as Bishop Ellicott's volume now reminds me (p. 6), by the Bishops as constituting the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury. The exact terms of the Resolution to which I referred, and which was passed on 9th February 1899, are: 'That in the opinion of this House the use of the Revised Version at the lectern in the public service of the Church, where this is desired by clergy and people, is not open to any well-founded objection, and will tend to promote a more intelligent knowledge of Holy Scripture.' This Resolution was adopted unanimously by the Bishops present, after a strongly worded recommendation, contained in the report of a Committee, consisting of the Bishops of Winchester, Gloucester, Salisbury, Ely, Southwell, and Rochester, had been presented to the House, and after several Bishops had independently spoken emphatically in support of it.[1] It seems to me, I must own, that after this distinctly expressed sanction on the part of the Bishops, no English clergyman, at least within the Province of Canterbury, need feel the smallest difficulty or scruple in adopting the Revised Version in the public services of the Church, or need fear that in doing so he will be acting otherwise than with the complete approval of his ecclesiastical superior. I may add that the Bishop of Gloucester, in his Charge (p. 120 ff.), offers some good practical suggestions as to the manner in which the Revised Version might be suitably introduced in a church in which it had not previously been used.

S. R. Driver.

[1] The report of the Committee is contained in No. 329 of those published by the National Society (price 1d.); the debate may be read either in the *Guardian* for 15th February 1899, or in the *Chronicle of Convocation* for February 1899.

Printed by Morrison & Gibb Limited, Tanfield Works, and Published by T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, Edinburgh. It is requested that all literary communications be addressed to The Editor, St. Cyrus, N.B.

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

Why is it that so very few Jews are being saved? If there is anyone who can answer the question it is the Bishop of Jerusalem. He has had exceptional opportunities of studying it, and he has studied it very carefully. He says that the reason why so very few Jews are being saved is because we insist on making them Gentiles.

At the beginning there was a great controversy about Jews and Gentiles. The controversy arose over the question whether Gentiles could be saved without becoming Jews. The Church decided that they could. Now there is no controversy. We simply take it for granted that Jews cannot be saved without becoming Gentiles. The Bishop of Jerusalem believes that that assumption is the chief hindrance to the spread of Christianity among the Jews.

Bishop Blyth says that we have no right to demand that the Jews should become Gentiles. That demand was not made at the beginning. It was never made officially throughout the history of the Church. It simply grew up and got to be taken for granted. But we must refuse to take it for granted. We must tell the Jews that they need not become Gentiles. We must tell them, he seems to say, that they may be circumcised and keep the Law of Moses. And if we do, he believes that many Jews will then be saved.

It is in *Church and Synagogue*, the quarterly of the Parochial Missions to the Jews, so ably edited by the Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, M.A., with the assistance of the Rev. G. H. Box, M.A., that the Bishop of Jerusalem makes these statements. His article is 'The Revival of the Church of the Hebrews.' He gives it that title because he holds that the Hebrews must be allowed a Church of their own within the pale of the Catholic Church. And he holds that until the Hebrew Church gets its place there, the Catholic Church is one-sided and incomplete.

The Hebrew Church once had a place within the bosom of the Church Catholic. Theoretically it has it still. For it never was disannulled. It was simply allowed to disappear. The Bishop of Jerusalem says it is merely in abeyance. The restoration of the Jews to their land is much desired by some amongst us. Bishop Blyth much more desires the restoration of the Jews to the bosom of the Catholic Church. And he would take measures for that restoration at once.

He would allow the Jew who embraced Chris-

tianity to remain a Jew. He would allow him the practice of his national rites and ceremonies. He would regard them as incomplete Christianity, but not antagonistic to Christ, who came not to destroy the Law and the Prophets but to fulfil. We teach the Old Testament, he would allow the Jew to practise it. The acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah, the only demand he would make, would slowly fill the Old Testament practice with the Spirit and fulness of the New. Thus he would gather together a community of Jews who still were Jews though believers in Christ. And into that community in every place new converts, he believes, would be easily and numerously received. Thus he would restore the Church of the Hebrews to its place in the Catholic Church, and he would obey the Lord's command, 'To the Jew and also to the Gentile.'

The Continental Presbyterian is an annual edited by the Rev. J. E. Somerville, B.D., and published in Edinburgh by Messrs. Macniven & Wallace. The issue for 1902 contains an article on 'St. Paul at Malta' by the Rev. G. A. Sim of Valetta. The article discusses three questions: the spot where the shipwreck occurred, the residence of the apostle on the island, and the formation of a Christian community there.

Mr. Sim, who has studied the whole situation for himself, believes that the traditional *San Paul Bahr*, or 'St. Paul's Bay,' is the spot, the only possible spot, for the shipwreck. He believes that somewhere in what is now the modern Città Vecchia St. Paul spent the time of his sojourn on the island. And he believes it is highly probable that before the apostle departed, a Christian Church was formed.

The last matter is the most precarious. On the place of the shipwreck and the residence the locality can be examined, and Mr. Sim is on the spot. On the formation of a Church, or even the existence of converts, the locality gives no help, and even tradition seems to be at fault. The reasons Mr. Sim gives for his decision are two. First, there were the materials of a Church. For besides the Punic natives, there was probably a small Jewish colony in the island, as well as Greek and Roman residents. And secondly, there was a great preacher. It is scarcely credible to Mr. Sim that St. Paul spent three months in Malta and made no converts there.

Shall we ever succeed in solving all the difficulties in the construction of the Tabernacle? No model-maker has ever been able to follow the text fully, perhaps none ever will be able. To get things to fit, some departure has to take place, if not here, then there. And it may be that the explanation is the simple and 'critical' one, that the Tabernacle cannot be made because it never was made, but only existed in the writer's imagination.

Nevertheless, men will always attempt to reconstruct the Tabernacle. The latest attempt is by the Rev. W. S. Caldecott. Taking the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund aside, he explained his model of the Tabernacle and how he made it. He overcame its difficulties, he said, and adhered to the text, by the simple device of using three cubits of different lengths in the measurements.

First he used the 'great cubit' to measure all the areas with. It is a cubit of five palms in breadth, or fifteen-tenths of an English foot. Next he used the 'ordinary cubit' of four palm-breadths, or twelve-tenths of a foot, with which the walls were measured. And then he used the 'small cubit,' of three palm-breadths, or nine-tenths of a foot, to measure the gold and silver work. There is a narrative of the interview in the current *Quarterly Statement*. There is no record that the Committee accepted Mr. Caldecott's ingenious device.

Were Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob individuals,

or were they not? In the *Sunday School Times* of America Professor König of Bonn undertakes to show that they were.

The issue lies between individual or tribe. No one need be considered who says that the names are pure invention. Now Professor König admits that the word 'beget' is not at once decisive. Ham 'begat' Mizraim. But Mizraim is a dual word and means the two Egypts, Upper and Lower. The Egyptians themselves called them *ta-ui*, or the two worlds. Again, Mizraim 'begat' Ludim. But Ludim is a plural form and clearly signifies a nation. Yet more unmistakably, Canaan 'begat' the Jebusite (Gn 10^{15}), and no one will deny that 'the Jebusite' means the tribe of the Jebusites, whose ancestor, the son of Canaan, would likely have been called Jebus.

The word 'beget' does not settle it at once. The Hebrews evidently could speak of one nation begetting another without a violation of idiom. Still, Professor König believes that when Abraham is said to have begotten Isaac, and Isaac Jacob, the word is used in its literal sense. For that is its usual sense, the metaphorical being quite exceptional. Besides, the names themselves have nothing of the appearance of tribal names about them. The very difficulty of the derivation of such a name as Abraham is a testimony in favour of his individuality.

Cornill suggests that Ishmael and Isaac stand on a level with Eunomos and Eukosmos, the reputed sons of Lycurgus. Professor König says we have but to look at the two pairs of names to see the absurdity of the comparison. Lycurgus was believed to be a great lawgiver; the names Eunomos (that is, 'legality,' or the like), and Eukosmos (that is, 'harmony,' or the like) were his sons only in the tradition which in that way sought to testify to the results of his work among the Spartans. How different are the names Ishmael and Isaac. The one means 'God shall hear,' the other 'One who laughs.' There is no personification of qualities in that, there is no reference to any acts of Abraham their father. To Dr. König the names simply explain particular features in the character and lives of the men who bore them.

But there are more serious arguments than this. The first is that tribes and nations never originate through the splitting up of rapidly increasing families, but always by the *amalgamation* of families and of races.

Now, if that is true, especially if the word 'always' is true, the matter is settled. Dr. König has often seen it asserted. He has seen it asserted in Stade's *History of Israel*, in Holzinger's *Genesis*, in Guthe's *History of the People of Israel*. But he has never seen it proved. Once only is the attempt made, in a reference to a book on Siberia, wherein it is stated that in that northern land nations are now rising through the amalgamation of families and races. Professor König does not think one instance enough to establish a rule. And on the other side he holds that in Arabia great tribes have been known to originate after the manner described in the Bible.

Another argument is that 'nations never call themselves after individuals, but the name of the ancestor is in every case at first a comprehensive title, a personification of the people.' So Cornill expresses it. Guthe says more briefly: 'There is not a nation in history that can name its progenitors.'

Professor König does not seem to deny the general truth of this assertion, he denies its universal application. He denies its application to the Hebrews. The Hebrews of the days of Moses had no immense stretch of history to look back upon. They came into being only six hundred or four hundred years (according as the Hebrew or the Greek of Exodus 12^{40} is preferred) before the deliverance from Egypt. Dr. König sees no impossibility in their preserving the tradi-

tion of their origin all that time. He thinks it probable that they had already begun to keep genealogical lists. Do not the Arabs make out the pedigrees of their very horses and hand them down from generation to generation? There is nothing to hinder the Israelites in Egypt and the Wilderness from knowing Abraham as their father.

But there is a third argument. In the very traditions themselves Cornill discovers the evidence that nations and not individuals are dealt with. Is it not said to Rebekah, 'Two *nations* are in thy womb'? And is not the transaction between Jacob and Laban a manifest device to explain the fact that the Israelites and Aramæans regarded the mountains of Gilead as their dividing line? Professor König answers that it is just as likely that the choice of the mountains of Gilead as the dividing line between the two nations rose out of the transaction between Jacob and his uncle. And the words, 'Two nations are in thy womb,' mean no more to him than that Jacob and Esau were to be the heads of two nations. It is merely a matter of style.

Then, when he has answered the critics' arguments, Professor König gives reasons on his own account.

His first reason is that if the pedigrees of the patriarchs were invented to explain existing relations of tribes, it is very puzzling to find that Gad and Asher — tribes whose territories lay far apart — are represented as having been born of the same mother as well as the same father. It is puzzling also that Reuben is represented as having had improper relations with Bilhah, the mother of Dan and Naphtali, whose territories lay far away from his, not with Zilpah, whose son Gad lay alongside the tribe of Reuben. It is puzzling to understand why Reuben (being a tribe and not a man) should be spoken of as having had these improper relations at all. Critics say that it is a fiction invented to express the desire of Reuben to lord it over the other tribes. But history knows no such desire. Judah and Ephraim sought the first place. But in the Song of Deborah Reuben is ridiculed for keeping at a safe distance when the fatherland was in extreme peril.

Dr. König's second reason for accepting the personality of the patriarchs, and for believing that the history of the early Hebrews is more reliable than criticism is at present inclined to admit, is that it was a custom in Israel from the earliest times to erect memorials of great events. These memorials are very numerous in the Old Testament. There are the 'heap of witness' of Gn 31^{47}, the pot of manna (Ex 16^{33}), the tables of the law (34^{35}), the budding rod of Aaron (Nu 17^{10}), the stones taken out of Jordan (Jos 4^{6}), the stone 'Ebenezer' (1 S 7^{12}), the sword of Goliath hung up in the tabernacle at Nob (1 S 21^{9}), the pillar which Absalom reared (2 S 18^{18}), and more. These monuments testified to actual events, of which records were no doubt otherwise preserved, as in the Book of Jashar and the Book of the Wars of the Lord; the events were not invented to explain the monuments.

Finally, the very fact that Israel claimed a pre-Mosaic existence is to Dr. König proof of that existence. If it had not been, there was no reason why they should go back behind their great Lawgiver, under whom the foundations of their political independence were laid and the most important principles of their religious history unfolded.

The smallest scientific Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament is published by Messrs. Rivingtons and written by the Rev. Kerson Lake, M.A. Mr. Lake has now contributed an article to *The American Journal of Theology* for January on 'The Text of the Gospels in Alexandria.'

The attention of students of the New Testament text has for some time been concentrated on the 'Western' text and its phenomena. Mr. Lake

does not find that that study has borne fruit at all commensurate with its duration and intensity. Westcott and Hort rejected this type of text because they counted it corrupt and licentious, but they admitted that it possessed both very wide and very ancient attestation. The only result of recent study upon it is to show that its attestation is wider and older than Westcott and Hort knew, and that perhaps Westcott and Hort were not well advised in rejecting it so emphatically.

What we have to explain is why this corrupt text is so widely attested and why this widely attested text is so corrupt. Mr. Lake thinks we cannot do that as we have been attempting it. We must change our method of attack. Let us approach the 'Western' problem, he says, not by a frontal movement on the Codex Bezæ or the Old Latin or the Old Syriac versions, but by a flank movement directed against the 'Neutral' or 'Alexandrian' texts. This will bring us at once before the great uncials ℵ and B on which Westcott and Hort rely. If it shows that they are less trustworthy than Westcott and Hort considered them (and Mr. Lake firmly believes it will show that), then it may also show that the rejected 'Western' text is more worthy of consideration.

Mr. Lake takes us to Alexandria. He bids us forget for a moment that text to which Westcott and Hort gave the name of 'Alexandrian,' and try if we can find out for ourselves what the text of the Gospels was which the earliest writers who lived in Alexandria used. He means Clement, Origen, Athanasius, Cyril. We may not find this out in every particular, for the works of these early Alexandrian writers are still waiting for their critical editor. But we shall, at least, discover the type of text they had in their hands, and that is enough for our purpose.

Take Clement of Alexandria first. We find that the text which Clement used was a 'Western' text. It is not identical with any other 'Western' text we know. It is not identical with the Western text of the Old Latin or of the Old Syriac. It sometimes differs from the one, and sometimes from the other; it sometimes differs from both. Still it is a text whose peculiarities are so predominantly 'Western' that it cannot be called anything else than a 'Western' text.

We pass to Origen. We have now reached a later stage in the history of the text of Alexandria. Origen's text is no longer distinctly 'Western.' It is what Westcott and Hort called 'Neutral.' It is best represented by ℵ and B. How this change arose it is not easy to say. The older 'Western' text of Clement is not entirely forgotten. It crops up here and there in Origen. But it is no longer fashionable. The fashionable text is the text which Westcott and Hort (calling it Neutral or no-sided) adopted as nearest to the original. And it is to be noted as very significant that in Alexandria it does *not* represent the oldest type of text, but only the second oldest.

The third type of text used at Alexandria is found best in the writings of Cyril. It is in the main a recension of the 'Neutral' text, and is chiefly remarkable for certain small grammatical and stylistic changes. It is best represented in CL, the Bohairic version, and the great cursive 33. It is the text which Westcott and Hort called specially the 'Alexandrian' text. It also contains 'Western' readings. And Mr. Lake does not believe that they were imported from some other place. It is extremely improbable, he thinks, that strange readings thus imported would have been accepted by Alexandrian scribes. He believes that these 'Western' readings are survivals still of the oldest Alexandrian text, the text which was mainly 'Western' itself.

Then Mr. Lake draws his conclusions. His first conclusion is that Westcott and Hort's edition is a failure. It is a failure 'without which we should be poor indeed,' but it is a failure. It

has not succeeded in reconstructing, as it claims to do, the original Greek of the Gospels. Its text is one that was dominant in Alexandria, not in the first, but in the second stage of the history of the text in that city. We must therefore regard it and the MSS on which it is based as secondary rather than primary authorities for the text of the New Testament.

And his second conclusion is that no one can tell at present what the primitive text of the Gospels was. We have it in no manuscripts, we have it in no versions. We must give ourselves in the days to come to gather it. And we shall have to pay far more attention than we have done to the quotations in the early Fathers. No one can tell what the primitive text of the Gospels was, but Mr. Lake believes that it is more nearly represented by the despised and rejected 'Western' than by any other.

The editor of the *Guardian*, in his issue of 12th February, has published the sermon which Professor Sanday preached before the University of Oxford on Sexagesima Sunday in 1902. It is a sermon on Reunion.

The text is Isaiah $11^{12, 13}$, 'And He shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and they that vex Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim.'

Dr. Sanday is struck with the modernness of that ancient prophecy. Spoken long before the coming of Christ, it is central now. Deep and earnest is the prophet's yearning for union: it is the deepest and most earnest yearning of many of us to-day. So the history of this tiny people Israel is typical of the greatest movements that spread over the face of Christendom and the world.

The difference between the prophet and us is a difference of distance. But it is not distance in the past, it is distance in the future. He is one with us in his yearning for union, he differs from us in his burning faith that union is near at hand. We do not think it is near at hand, says Dr. Sanday; we think it is very far off. And then he turns and asks if after all it is so far off as we think. Is it not rather that we measure time as God does not measure it? In His sight and in the sight of the true prophet a thousand years are as one day. Had he measured time as we do, the prophet's sight would have been strained to see the fulfilment of his prophecy in the far, far distant future. But prophecy is really timeless, says Dr. Sanday. 'The time of its fulfilment is a very secondary matter. The certainty is the great thing — the certainty that God will some day comfort His people and bind up the stroke of their wound.'

Therefore this is the great lesson to those who yearn for reunion—and Dr. Sanday expresses it at once: Do not trouble about times and seasons which the Father has kept within His own power; do not be impatient and cry, Where is the promise of His coming? and above all, do not seek to hasten His coming in ways that He may not approve.

Five years ago this mistake was made in the Church of England. Dr. Sanday does not name, and he will not blame, those who made it. 'Their action was not, perhaps, that of the wisest and most far-seeing statesmanship.' It was not statesmanship that was at work at all. Rather was it a chivalrous instinct, a truly Christian instinct, which felt that our divisions were not Christian, and made one great effort to diminish them.

Dr. Sanday will not blame them. He will not even regret—at least he will not regret too much —that they made the attempt. He is proud of the spirit and manner in which they made

it. 'Those who acted for the Church of England did so with a combination of knightly dignity and Christian zeal of which we may well be proud.' And on the other side, the little band of French clergy, who were their best allies, were no whit behind them. Moreover, he thinks they were not far from succeeding. 'If report spoke truly, even at Rome itself the issue for some time trembled in the balance; the word of recognition for which we waited was all but spoken, when the tide suddenly began to ebb as before it had flowed.'

And yet it was a mistake. Its failure has checked the whole course of the movement and thrown it back. 'It may take some years—we do not know how many—to recover the lost ground.' Moreover, it had not a large enough body of opinion behind it. Even if it had been successful, Dr. Sanday doubts if success would not have been more embarrassing than failure. For the Church of England is not ready for union with the Church of Rome yet. To diminish the breach on that side might have widened it on the other.

Therefore Dr. Sanday believes that for the present time it is the duty of English Churchmen to watch and pray and do nothing. In the inner chamber of their minds they may, no doubt, do much. But for the rest, let them deliberately adopt a policy of strict *non-aggression* and *non-intervention* as regards all other religious bodies. Let them adopt a policy of working out their own Christian calling as best they may, with the least possible interference and friction outside.

Let us clear our minds of controversy, cries Professor Sanday, during this time of waiting. And his language trembles with emotion as the picture of such a time rises up before him. 'What an effect it would have upon Church life,' he says, 'if each congregation could go on worshipping God in its own way without any sense of antithesis or contradiction, how much happier would its worship be; and, because happier and more undisturbed, how much more acceptable, we would hope, to God Himself?'

And what a change would come over the field of theological study. Every branch of that study would be remodelled, and all in the interest of impartial truth. 'Think,' he says, 'of our dogmatics, rewritten with a view to no foregone conclusions, but simply seeking to ascertain the balanced mind of the Church universal. Think of our Church History, no longer concentrating all its light or all its shade on one side, but letting both freely and delicately intermingle with each other, as they do in the subtlety of nature. Think of our exegesis, not always anxiously considering to what its admissions may lead, but seeking earnestly to discover the original sense by the best means in its power.'

To cease from controversy, it seems a little thing. Yet these are some of the gains it would bring. And there would be no losses to reckon against the gains. In the pursuit of the truth, the highest attainable truth, there would be no loss to lament. The only loss would be the loss of the assumption that what we believe to be true must be true for all the world. And even that assumption we might be ready to lose with less regret.

Dr. Sanday does not think this happy consummation is at hand. But he thinks we might begin to look for it. He thinks that we may set our faces toward Zion, even though we know that we have a considerable journey before us.

Professor A. B. Davidson.

By Professor John Skinner, M.A., D.D., Westminster College, Cambridge.

In the November of 1877 it fell to Professor A. B. Davidson to deliver the Inaugural Lecture of the session in the New College, Edinburgh. The present writer, a second year's student who had learned the rudiments of Hebrew elsewhere, then saw and heard him for the first time; and he can still recall the curiously mistaken, but distinct and memorable impression which his first sight of the great teacher made upon his mind. As he stood at the desk, and announced with quiet passionless incisive tones the subject of his discourse, he looked like a doughty champion of criticism, at a time when criticism was fighting for its life,—a resolute, fearless, somewhat truculent, and wholly redoubtable personage, who would go great lengths in the pursuit of truth, and strike hard in its defence. There must have been some truth in that impression, crude and evanescent as it was; for a trace of it lurks in Sir George Reid's portrait. Yet within a few weeks it was dissipated in the genial atmosphere of the class-room, and was replaced by that more engaging and enduring vision, of the kindly eyes and the refined and sensitive features, which lives in the hearts of all his pupils.

Professor Davidson was then at the height of his popularity, and wielding the marvellous ascendency over the minds of his students to which so many eloquent tributes have been paid. His influence does not appear in the least degree to have declined since then, but it can hardly have increased. It is no doubt possible to convey to the outside world some idea of his unique power as a lecturer and a teacher, and of the subtle and stimulating influences that played on the minds of his hearers, and silently revolutionized the thinking of many of them. So far as that can be done, it has been done by the distinguished men who during his life or since his death have tried to express what they have owed to him. The immediate effect of his lectures has never been more powerfully described than by the late Professor Elmslie, in a passage much too long to quote here,[1] but worth referring to, because it has been strangely misunderstood as evidence of the negative and destructive tendency of Dr. Davidson's teaching. Apparently it has been supposed that the 'emancipation' and 'disimprisonment' of which the writer spoke could only mean dismissal into the arid regions of Rationalism and Natural Theology. Nothing could be farther from the truth. His work was eminently constructive, and in the best sense edifying. No man was ever more careful to exhibit the essential continuity of his teaching with the forms in which the traditional view of Scripture had been wont to express its inner meaning in the past. It is true, of course, that the traditional doctrine was transformed in his hands, but it was not treated with contempt or rejected as worthless. It was rather treated as a seed, containing a living principle of truth which could be made to fructify even in minds where it had hitherto lain dormant. Many a lecture would start from some unpromising fragment of Typology, or a seemingly discredited Messianic interpretation, and into this he would breathe a new significance, and finally leave the idea firmly lodged in the mind as something not tenable or defensible merely, but a luminous and unassailable truth. Such was the effect produced, not once or twice, but many times; and each time the willing hearer was left with a deeper conviction of the reality of the religion of Revelation, and a fresh inspiration to the service of God. Of him, in his own department, and in relation to the theology of his time, it might truly be said that he came not to destroy but to fulfil.

But when we pass from description to analysis, and come to ask where the secret of his influence lay, we realize how hopeless is the attempt to give any adequate account of the singular effectiveness of his teaching. It is difficult to say whether natural endowments, or scholarly training and equipment, or observation of human life, or moral and religious sensibility, had the most to do in forming his mind into the subtle instrument of thought which it was. All these contributed their shares, and worked harmoniously to one result. The most that can be said is, that somehow he had attained an unrivalled insight into the spirit of the Old Testament religion, and possessed a

[1] See *Expositor*, 3rd series, vol. vii. (1888), p. 33 ff.

remarkable power of expressing it. It is instructive to remember, in this connexion, what his own idea of his calling was. He has told us that he considered his work as a professor to be essentially a form of preaching; that is, of course, preaching as he himself understood it. In point of fact, between the lectures he delivered to his class and the sermons he addressed to the public, there was no fundamental difference. In the pulpit, as in the chair, he was scrupulously truthful in exegesis, faithful to the exact historical sense of the Scripture he was expounding, and disdainful of all subjective and arbitrary conceits that obscured the true meaning of the passage. His method appeared to be first to lay bare his mind, with all its native susceptibilities and its acquired faculties, to the impression of the idea or scene or character which was his theme; and then to reproduce the message which it conveyed to his own heart. When his imagination kindled, and the stream of rich poetic language came charged with spiritual emotion and deep human sympathy, one felt that this was not done to impress the audience; it was the genuine response of his own nature to the truth which he had discovered in the Scripture. That was his method: the only method accordant with 'the right idea of Scripture, which is the reflexion of the presence of the living God in human history.' And that, too, was doubtless the chief source of his power both as a preacher and a teacher; he made himself a transparent medium, through which the light of the divine revelation was flashed on the hearts and consciences of men. It was not so much his voice that spoke, as the spirit of the Old Testament that found an organ in him; it was the voice of the living God, whose shining track down the ages of history it was his lifelong work to explore.

It will be an interesting chapter of Dr. Davidson's biography (if it can be written) which tells how his mind was first drawn towards Oriental study, and what impulses stirred into activity the peculiar qualities of intellect that gave him so vivid a perception of the genius of the Hebrew literature. Only once has the writer heard him touch on that matter, when he made the characteristic, if not very sensational, disclosure, that his interest in Hebrew was first awakened, while he was teaching a country school, by a volume of prose composition of T. Kerchever Arnold which came into his hands. It might be fanciful to suggest that in that now forgotten work he had found the key of the magic casement which looked out on that strange new world of thought whose radiance was to be the master light of all his seeing. But he was a born grammarian; and it is just permissible to indulge the fancy that even then the forms of ancient speech had for him a fascination which was the foretaste of an inspiration hardly as yet divined by the scholarship of his age and country. At a somewhat later period, it is rumoured that he gave his days and nights to the study of Ewald. *Se non è vero è ben trovato.* For, in spite of glaring dissimilarities, the two scholars had much in common. Not to speak of their personal influence over their pupils,—which in degree was remarkable in both, though probably very different in kind,—there are some striking mental affinities between the Edinburgh Professor and the 'Lehrer ohne Gleichen' of Göttingen. Both have been accused of a defect in critical method (whatever that may mean); and both had a profound conviction of the religious value of the Bible for modern life. Of Davidson it might truly be said, as Wellhausen has said of Ewald, that in him the fruits of philological science reveal themselves 'um so mächtiger, weil mit einer urwüchsig religiösen Anlage zusammentreffend und daraus selbstständig wiedergeboren.' Scholarship reborn in a religious mind!—that is no inapt characterization of Davidson's idiosyncrasy amongst the intellectual leaders of his day. From Ewald, also, he might have learned a certain 'genetic' way of looking at things, which was half the charm of his thinking. His grammatical sense seemed to conceive of 'the language' as a living organism, growing under phonetic laws, arraying itself naturally in parts of speech, and adjusting itself, as if by conscious effort, to the expression of thought. The same turn of mind, carried into higher regions, gave him his singular faculty, often remarked upon, of 'getting at the heart of a subject,' by some intuitive perception of the inner principle of its development. To listen to his exposition of an historical idea was like seeing the mango tree grow by the art of the Indian juggler. The evolutionary process of an age was compressed into an hour; the idea germinated, and put forth its branches and produced leaves and flowers before our eyes; and if the effect was in one sense magical, it was nevertheless real, for it left the mind with a true impression of the creative

thought which had moulded the institutions and literature of the Old Dispensation.

How intense and living his own feeling for the Old Testament was, is best seen from the fact that he never lost his interest in its study, never reached finality in his researches, never ceased to be a learner. The Old Testament he has described as 'the most unintelligible of books'; and to his latest years he would speak freely of the 'surprise' with which he read this thing or that in the prophets. The stimulus of his training consisted very largely in the openness and freshness of mind which he brought to his work. Each day he seemed to come prepared to think out the subject afresh, and to reveal the working of his own thought upon it. He readily welcomed suggestions from the class; some he would dismiss abruptly and discisively enough, on others he would dwell, as if there might be something in them! It was the example of a master at work in his calling; but a master who constantly appealed to the intelligence of his pupils, and sought to make them fellow-labourers in the great and delicate art of interpretation.

His theological standpoint was determined by his profound sense of the unity, and the uniqueness, of the Bible Revelation. His interest in the New Testament was hardly less keen and scholarly than in his own special province; and in the Bible as a whole, he found the complete expression of the knowledge of God on which the religious life is based. He was very chary of admitting the intrusion of foreign influences in the religion of Israel, preferring to explain all its developments in the light of its own fundamental principles. Nor was his attitude towards modern scientific and philosophical speculation much more sympathetic, when they encroached on the sphere of religion, and confused the deeper intuitions of the spirit. Philosophy has one view of the world and the Bible has another, and these can no more conflict than the statement that the world is round conflicts with the other statement that it is green. But religion lives upon the scriptural view, and that view he expounded with a directness and a force that were at times startling. Criticism was to him no concession to an alien and irreligious tendency of mind; it was a product of the true religious spirit; it was the effort of exegesis to be historical, 'just' that we may trace God's historical fellowship with mankind.' But when science professed to explain away such moral mysteries as death and sin, his resistance was scornful and uncompromising. And he had no overweening anxiety to 'harmonize' the dictates of religion with the teachings of science; he was not afraid of a paradox. 'It is no sign that you are wrong,' he would say, 'when you come to a precipice in religion': adding, however, in a characteristic aside, 'it's a sign that you're wrong *if you go over*.'

With all his religious idealism, and all his refinement and scholarly self-repression, there was visible in his work at all times the play of a strongly marked and racy individuality. The caustic humour of his northern birth could not be hidden; and sometimes it made strange play with the abtruse matters that emerged in a critical discussion. One might have trembled for the effect on rigid dogmatists of some of his more daring sallies: as when he compared the Satan of the Book of Job to a sheep-dog, over-officious in his calling; or declined to settle a difference of opinion between the same Satan and Professor Budde, having too much respect for the acuteness of both; or twitted Wellhausen for saying that Jahveh was a Being subject to unaccountable humours, by hinting that His servant in Göttingen was hardly the man to throw stones. No one was ever hurt by these rapier thrusts, and few misunderstood them. They did not disturb the fundamental seriousness, the absolute intellectual sincerity, of his work. And it counted for much in the influence he exerted that men had unbounded faith in his veracity, and knew that his matured conclusions were uttered without reserve or fear. If he did not speak out everything that passed through his mind, he taught nothing that was not the genuine expression of his own thinking. He has been blamed for excessive reticence in the disclosure of his views, especially his critical views; and it is true that he both hated controversy and showed considerable adroitness in keeping out of it. But when one considers that for forty years this man was in his place, quietly disseminating principles whose vitality none knew better than himself, retracting nothing and explaining nothing, though he witnessed the theological transformation he was bringing about, one will be little disposed to speak of diffidence or timidity: one will rather admire the high courage, the simple loyalty to truth, which enabled him,

through good and ill report, to hold on the even tenor of his way.

What Dr. Davidson was to his intimate friends, the writer, who knew him but slightly and chiefly in his later years, cannot tell. He did not go out of his way to form personal attachments with his pupils; and probably few were ever admitted to the sanctuary of his inmost thoughts. But it can truly be said that even a slight acquaintance with him was more than most men's close companionship. There was always something elusive about his personality; and intercourse with him involved a series of surprises. But every fresh glimpse of his nature revealed something that was attractive: he was so genuine and unassuming and kind, so ready to help, so generous in his appreciation of other men's work. Even more than the charm of his conversation, one loves to think of his genial homely ways, his simplicity of mind, his humility, his wondering what made people so good to him, his sympathy with common folk, his fondness for little children: these and a hundred kindred traits of character will long be talked of by many firesides, when men name with reverence and affection the greatest teacher they have known.

'Prayer in Early Christendom.'

By the Rev. Canon E. R. Bernard, M.A., Salisbury.

A new book on this subject has recently appeared in Germany.[1] It is a book of much interest and of permanent value. The matter is well arranged, and the style lucid and attractive. The aim which the author sets before him is not merely critical or antiquarian investigation, but something deeper as well. He studies the prayer of early Christendom as an expression of its special religious life. Hitherto, he says, there has been a reluctance to enter on this aspect of the subject. There have been preliminary questions to be settled, and, further, it is a subject which requires special delicacy in its treatment. It may be said without hesitation that the author has this delicacy of sympathy and appreciation. The tone of the book throughout, and especially of the part of it which relates to the prayer life of Christ, is reverent and full of feeling. The critic speaks, but it is the devout critic.

On the other hand, it is clear from the first that the writer is a disciple of Harnack, and the book is dominated by a conception of the Person of Christ similar to his, appreciative, enlightening, as far as it goes, but, as we believe, wholly inadequate. The Fourth Gospel is regarded as emanating from the circle of the disciples of St. John. The narratives of the Synoptists are very freely criticized; and the Pastoral Epistles, which afford so much light on the subject of early prayer, are dated in the generation after St. Paul.

Considering the extent to which our knowledge of the inner life of Christ depends on the Fourth Gospel, it might be supposed that the refusal to acknowledge the historical character of that Gospel would vitiate the whole inquiry. But this is by no means the case. He grants that the writer had access to oral or written sources of information of the highest value. So far does he go in this direction that he loses scarcely anything of importance by his formal abandonment of the Johannine authorship. One may almost say that he privately forms a conception of the character and aims of Christ from a study of this unhistorical document, and then coming back to his source, naïvely confesses that although the narrative is unhistorical, yet it is an admirable presentation of what Christ really was.

The strongest instance is the sympathetic treatment of the prayer in Jn 17. It is, he says, a free composition by the author of the Gospel. It is quite impossible to say how much of it is genuine. It defies analysis. [Cp. p. 234, where he says the author forgets in 17^3 that he is representing the Lord as the speaker.] And yet he proceeds to say (p. 31), 'One cannot fail to recognize that nowhere else in the New Testament is the inner relation of Jesus to His Father, and to

[1] *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit.* Von Eduard Freiberrn von der Goltz. Leipzig, 1901.

those who believe on Him, characterized with such tenderness and appreciation.' And he goes on to point out, in a passage of much beauty, how precisely the leading thoughts of the prayer fit the moment and circumstances to which they are attributed. The same kind of acknowledgment is made with regard to the words of Jesus to the woman of Samaria (Jn 4^{21-24}). There he fails, as he does with regard to 12^{27-28}, to see the precise fitness of the words to the connexion in which they stand, but of the words themselves he says: 'Whether the words of Jesus (Jn 4^{21-24}), on worship in spirit and in truth are in this form an original saying of Jesus or not, at any rate they express what is most essential and important in the actual teaching of Jesus respecting prayer' (p. 54).

In short, we have to thank the author for bringing out the truth and beauty of the portraiture of Christ in the Fourth Gospel, though he is precluded by his doctrinal preoccupation from realizing the full value of his own work. No writer has better shown how much the life of Jesus was a life of prayer, and how essential to Christian prayer is the conception of the filial relation to God, which was shown and taught by the Lord to His disciples. The treatment of the Lord's Prayer in pp. 43–53 is admirable. One point must be specially mentioned. He shows the wonderful capacity for expansion possessed by the Lord's Prayer. 'The Lord puts in the mouth of His disciples only what is most natural and most simple, what from their conditions and their circumstances must be the wish of their hearts. And yet there lay in the same words for the Lord Himself much more than the disciples could then understand; the whole depth of His own religious consciousness, so far as He could communicate it to others, found simultaneously its expression therein' (p. 43). The prayer is an expression of the innermost feelings of the believer at the most different stages of religious apprehension. The simple surface sense of the petitions and the profound developed sense are equally true. Again, he points out with truth that in the three first petitions there is no essential difference in the contents, but merely a change of the aspect in which the things of God are regarded. His suggestion that the words ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν κ.τ.λ., are to be regarded as a warning to the worshipper and not a part of the prayer, seems unnecessary. In St. Matthew's form the clause is not a claim of merit, but merely states the necessary condition for forgiveness as having been fulfilled. Attention should also be called to the fearless and devout exposition (p. 60) of the great promise to prayer (Mk 11^{23} f.).

The treatment of prayer in the name of Jesus is, as might be expected, unsatisfactory. It is not merely reduced to an appeal to, or commemoration of, Jesus as the teacher by whom the new spirit of filial prayer had been taught; but it is actually suggested (p. 124) that the growing practice of using the formula of prayer in the name of Jesus Christ, led the author of the Fourth Gospel to ascribe the command to use it to the Lord Himself (as in Jn 15^{16}). The real origin of the usage is, we are told, to be traced to the personal experience of St. Paul, whose whole relation to God was conditioned by 'the day of Damascus,' and the revelation then made to him. To most English readers this will seem a strange inversion of the facts. In the same section there is what may appear a slight inaccuracy, but is nevertheless an important one. 'Until now, He (Jesus) had prayed with them and for them.' There is no record of the Lord having prayed with His disciples. His teaching them the Lord's Prayer cannot rightly be so understood. The absence of any notice of prayer with the disciples is remarkable and deeply significant.

Later on in the work the author returns to the subject of the Lord's Prayer in connexion with his leading idea of the freedom of prayer ('das freie Gebet') till far into the third century (p. 181). His frequent insistence on the view that the Lord's Prayer was intended as a lesson in prayer and not as a formula, though he admits that its certain use as a formula must have been foreseen, may appear exaggerated. But it is part of a spirit of protest against the mediæval notion of prayer, which is as necessary to-day as it was at the Reformation. The ideal for worship is prayer in the Spirit, in which the words uttered correspond precisely to the mind of the worshipper, or of the congregation united in the Spirit. Human nature being what it is, forms of prayer were, of course, inevitable and indispensable, as the author fully confesses; but they were a declension from the original ideal, and it is a merit in the book to press upon us the conviction that they were such.

The question of prayer to Jesus during His life on earth is treated in pp. 68–78, and is closed with the sound observation that the question of the justification of prayer to Jesus is not decided when it has been established that Jesus Himself has nowhere said anything about such prayer.

The second chapter deals with the prayers of St. Paul, and does full justice to the position of the apostle in the development of the Christian life (pp. 83–84). But the failure to recognize the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles leads to a strange misapprehension of the apostle's mind towards those who lay outside the Christian circle (pp. 117, 118). The severity of St. Paul which he refers to was to save the Church, and not from disregard of the individual.

The chief interest of this chapter lies in the full investigation of the Pauline use of κύριος, ὁ κύριος. The author is largely indebted to Dalman's *Worte Jesu*; and for a clear understanding of the difficulties which beset the use of these terms in the Synoptists, the original investigation in *Worte Jesu*,[1] pp. 266–272, should by all means be consulted. But the examination of the Pauline use is von der Goltz's own work. He concedes all that Christology requires as to the implication of Deity in the Pauline use of κύριος. It was for the apostle very nearly equivalent to the later phrase of Greek Christians, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν. It was the name for the revealed God on His cognizable and visible side (p. 98). But instead of drawing the natural inference that St. Paul regarded Christ as truly God, he proceeds to explain away his concession very much in the manner of Harnack and Herrmann. The conception of a vague appeal to Christ in prayer really directed to God, which is all that the author acknowledges to be found in the Pauline Epistles, has already been well analysed by Seeberg (*Die Anbetung des Herrn bei Paulus*, p. 50 ff.), and von der Goltz has done nothing to meet Seeberg's criticisms. It is interesting to note that the author takes the verb in 'Maranatha' as imperative, and accepts this formula as one of the earliest beginnings of prayer to Christ. Seeberg has shown that this is almost certainly the true interpretation, and thus Rev 22^{20}, ἔρχου Κύριε Ἰησοῦ, appears to be the Greek equivalent of the Aramaic phrase 'Maranatha.' It must, however, be allowed that, although direct prayer to Jesus is fully justified by N.T. usage, there is a practical danger of such prayer 'putting, as it were, into the background the glory and love of the Father' (Bishop Westcott, *Lessons from Work*, p. 53). The bishop has in view, especially, 'modern hymns addressed to Jesus,' and to this we may add modern manuals for communicants.

In the third chapter we pass from St. Paul to a general survey of Christian prayer in the apostolic and sub-apostolic age. Here we find an examination of the phrase, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα, which had been dismissed in a summary way in the preceding chapter. The author's endeavour is to give it such a wide and general sense as may invalidate its evidence for direct prayer to Christ. But Seeberg's full and careful examination of the phrase in relation to the O.T. (*op. cit.* pp. 35–46), appears to establish the contrary. He claims to have proved that, 'in LXX language, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι is the specific expression for calling on Jahweh, and that the cases where the word is otherwise applied are only rare exceptions' (*op. cit.* p. 40). The force of his argument depends largely on the amount of credit given to the early chapters of Acts. For those who accept them, the quotation of Jl 2^{32} may well seem to be the turning point in the meaning of the phrase, 'to call upon the Lord.'

There are interesting passages in this chapter (3rd) on early forms of doxology (p. 158), on the use and misuse of Amen (p. 160 f.), followed by an able survey of the first beginnings of the inevitable declension from the standard of primitive prayer (p. 161 and *passim*). Next we come to 'Das freie Gebet,' which is, as has already been observed, a ruling idea in the book as a characteristic of early Christianity. He considers that the variants in the text of the Lord's Prayer point to an absence of any sense of an obligation to an exact repetition of the Lord's own words. It is satisfactory to observe the warm appreciation which he shows throughout for Dr. Chase's 'excellent' work on the Prayer. Space forbids notice of the interesting observations on the prayer in *Clem. ad Rom.*, and on the Eucharistic prayers in the *Didache*. The latter are especially suggestive and original. Of prayer and praise in the Apocalypse, he says that the book, instead of being a type for Christian worship, is itself dominated by the impression created by the contemporary worship of the early Church.

[1] This work will shortly be published in an English translation by T. & T. Clark.

The fourth chapter surveys the evidence as to Christian prayer in the end of the second century and in the third century. Here he can only rely on 'occasional statements in Christian writers or on the wearisome, and always insecure endeavour to ascertain which are the older elements in the liturgies of the fourth century.' The Canons of Hippolytus, and the Prayers of Serapion, however, form a happy exception. The chapter contains a full and interesting account of Origen's beautiful treatise on Prayer, which exhibits clearly its apologetic purpose, and its consequent weaknesses, especially in the exposition of the Lord's Prayer. But when all is said, Origen has done more to meet the philosophical difficulties attaching to prayer than any one has done since.

An appendix (pp. 328–353), gives the more important texts which have been dealt with in the course of the book.

It has not been possible in this brief review to give an adequate idea of the abundance of suggestive thought, and the thoroughness and honesty which characterize the work. A sense of its defective Christology has necessitated what may appear to be depreciatory criticism, and one cannot but feel that there was scarcely need to give the question of Prayer to Christ so predominant a position. The vigorous and eloquent defence of such prayer by Th. Zahn, which stands first in his *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche*, will surely hold its ground against our author's comments. It would well repay translation into English.

But we have no desire to depreciate the valuable contribution to theological literature which von der Goltz has given us, and must again express our sense of the insight, reverence, and ability with which he has performed his task.

The Great Text Commentary.

THE GREAT TEXTS OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

ACTS I. 8.

'But ye shall receive power, when the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be My witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth' (R.V.).

EXPOSITION.

But.—Instead of the useless knowledge they had asked, 'You cannot *know* the future, but you can *make* it.'—PELOUBET.

Ye shall receive power.—This power includes: (1) the power of working miracles; (2) personal, moral, and spiritual power in the conflicts and temptations of life, and especially in bearing suffering and persecution for Christ's sake; (3) power in the ministry of the word.—ABBOTT.

When the Holy Ghost is come upon you.—This clause describes the method by which they were to receive power, namely, by the Holy Ghost coming upon them. It contemplates, not a single outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, as the Authorized Version implies, but a new dispensation of the Spirit, whose indwelling presence should become a continuous power within them.—RENDALL.

And ye shall be My witnesses.—'My (not μοι, 'to me,' but μου, 'of me,' with the best MSS) witnesses'—not only witnesses to the facts of their Lord's life, but also *His* witnesses, His by a direct personal relationship.—KNOWLING.

DOCTRINA et sanguine.—BENGEL.

THE more special theme of their witness is to His resurrection: see 1^{22} 2^{32} 3^{15} 4^{33} 5^{32} $10^{39\text{-}43}$ 13^{31} 22^{15} 26^{16} (the last two referring to Paul).—BARTLET.

THE 'apostles' are simply 'witnesses of Jesus' (as the Lord's own work was to bear witness to the truth); and as the resurrection was the crucial fact which proved the divine sonship of Jesus, an 'apostle' is in particular one who can bear witness that with his own eyes he has seen the risen Jesus, and it becomes a criterion of an 'apostle' to ask, Has he *seen* Jesus our Lord?—RACKHAM.

Both in Jerusalem, etc.—The Acts themselves form the best commentary on these words, and the words themselves might be given as the best summary of the Acts. We have first the preaching of the gospel in Jerusalem until the martyrdom of Stephen; then the dispersion throughout Judæa and Samaria (8^{1}); Philip going down to Samaria (8^{5}); and afterwards Peter and John (8^{14}); then the conversion of Paul, the 'Apostle of the Gentiles,' and the vision of Peter; finally, a full account of the missionary labours of Paul and others, culminating in the establishment of the gospel in the capital of the world.—PAGE.

EXEGETICAL NOTE.

Power.

In v.7 the word is ἐξουσία (R.V. 'authority'), in v.8 δύναμις. The former is authority either as delegated or unrestrained, the liberty of doing as one pleases (ἔξεστι);

the latter is natural ability, inherent power, residing in a thing by virtue of its nature, *or*, which a person or thing exerts or puts forth.—KNOWLING.

THE SERMON.

Spiritual Power.

By the late Canon Liddon, D.D., D.C.L.

It is difficult for us to enter into the bewildering sense of desolation which the apostles must have felt on the eve of the Ascension. They had received a commission to make disciples of all the nations. But they seemed to lack nearly all the conditions of success, and the Lord Himself was about to leave them. He promises that they shall be strengthened for all that lies before them: 'Ye shall receive power when the Holy Ghost is come upon you.'

1. What was this power? We see it best at work in the earliest history of the Church. (1) Was it political power? The Church of Christ did in course of time acquire something very like the power of the sceptre. But at the beginning it was not so. It was not so when she worshipped in the catacombs, and bled in the amphitheatres. Political power is always a clumsy instrument for achieving spiritual success. (2) Was it intellectual power? The gospel has undoubtedly lightened man's understanding and fertilized his thought. Our Lord had dwelt on the illuminating office of the Comforter—'He shall guide you into all the truth.' And perhaps the first apostles needed this assistance and profited by it in a special manner. Yet this was not the chief element of the promised gift, for the gospel is meant for the whole human family and not many learned were called. (3) Was it the faculty of working miracles? This was promised—'Greater works than these shall ye do because I go to My Father.' It was realized in a remarkable way upon the gift of the Holy Ghost. Almost every step of early Christianity is preceded or accompanied by miraculous manifestations. Yet miracle was not the essence of the promised power. The evidence of miracle can easily be evaded. Something more constantly available and more nearly irresistible was needed. (4) It is spiritual, it is personal, it is moral power. And spiritual power may be felt rather than described. It is nothing else than Christ's spiritual presence, mantling upon His servants; they live in Him; they lose in Him something of their proper personality; they are absorbed into, they are transfigured by a life higher than their own. This dated from the gift of Pentecost. A power was abroad in the world and men began instinctively doing homage to its silent influence.

2. This power may be known by two leading symptoms:—(1) *Consistency*. The whole life is of a piece. Thought, feeling, action are in harmony. Throughout the life there runs a line of manifest persistent continuity of purpose. (2) *Sympathy*. Not merely fellow-feeling with those who suffer pain or experience pleasure, but the power of entering with intelligence and tenderness into the inner life and circumstances of others, however remote from us. Education may make men large-minded, but sympathy is the creation of religious conviction, and without sympathy religious influence is scarcely possible.

3. Three words of exhortation. See in the text: (1) a *ground of confidence*; (2) a stimulus to *continuous effort*; (3) a preservative against the *snare of spiritual self-conceit*.

Witnessing.

By F. N. Peloubet, D.D.

1. Witnessing is still the most effective way of preaching Jesus and His gospel. The great Psalms, the great poems that reach the depths of the soul, grew out of the experiences of those who wrote them.

2. The witness is to what Jesus has actually done for us, to the fulfilment of His promises, to His conscious presence, to His power to save from sin, to help in trouble, to the transformations he has wrought in character and life.

3. The witness is borne (*a*) by words, for there is much which can be made known only by expressing through speech the inner thoughts. (*b*) By life, deeds, conduct, and all outward expression of the inner character under various circumstances.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Two slight changes may be made in the wording of the text to bring it yet nearer to the Greek: 'Ye shall receive power *by the coming of the Holy Ghost upon you*; and ye shall be *My witnesses*.' Thus read, the sacred promise seems to present two additional points of truth. First, the 'reception of power' is practically identified with the 'coming upon you of the Holy Ghost'; it is not merely its sequel, it is its other side. Then, the 'witnesses' are not only, as of

course they are, 'unto Me'; they are also 'Mine.' They belong to Him to whom they testify. They testify because they belong. They belong that they may testify.—H. C. G. Moule.

I shall never forget seeing some four hundred men and boys, some of them very little boys, turn out of a mine, each, every one, with a candle stuck in the front of his cap—all light-bearers. This is our need—for *all* the church to witness for Christ.—R. H. Lovell.

Once I had a series of meetings for any who wished to see me for individual counsel, which of course could not be given in the usual service of the church. Many remained spontaneously, and requested to be talked with. We had twelve church-officers, as good and true Christian men as ever church had; they sympathized with and helped the meetings, but when I asked them to go and speak to the anxious, and pointed out that they might give their own testimony if nothing else, the reply was the same from all: 'We will do anything else, but this we do not like to do.' I repeat that not preaching, but personal testimony, is our great need. And I urge you, if Christ has done anything for you, to tell it! Tell it! Oh, tell it!—R. H. Lovell.

I saw the other day a numerical calculation in which I was greatly interested, and which is fitted to affect us deeply. Assuming the unevangelized population of the globe to be one billion and a seventh, and the number of true followers of Jesus Christ to be ten millions, allowing that each Christian were from this time forward to make one convert each year, within eight years from the present time the whole population of the globe would be at the foot of the Cross!—C. H. Parkhurst.

As Dr. Dale once pointed out, 'preaching about Christ is not preaching Christ.' When Leonardo took some one to see his great work of the 'Last Supper,' the first remark of the visitor was, 'What a beautiful communion cup it was in front of Christ!' The artist at once took his brush and painted out the cup. 'Nothing,' said he, 'should ever divert attention from Christ.' When I have seen a mother holding her child for its likeness to be photographed, I have often been delighted to notice her ingenuity in getting behind the child and concealing herself, giving up the whole picture for her loved one. Oh, that we could all live and so preach that men never saw, never heard, never thought about us, but only saw and heard and admired Christ—'witnesses for *Him!*'—R. H. Lovell.

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Patrick Walker.

By the Rev. Adam Philip, M.A., Longforgan.

We admire the enterprise and the national spirit that have led to the publication of this work.[1] Little can Patrick Walker, in his humble shop in Bristo Port, have dreamt that well on to twenty editions of some or of all his writings would be issued, and that the latest, published in 1901, would be the most sumptuous and appreciative of all.

It was in 1724 that his first brochure, *Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr. Alexander Peden*, appeared. This has been reprinted again and again. In 1727 he issued *Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr. John Semple, Mr. John Welwood, Mr. Richard Cameron*, and five years later appeared the sketches of Cargill and Smith. In 1827 the Edinburgh firm of Stevenson put out a collected edition of Walker's writings, with some additional

[1] The title-page of the two volumes of which we propose to speak reads: *Six Saints of the Covenant: Peden, Semple, Welwood, Cameron, Cargill, Smith, by Patrick Walker. Edited, with Illustrative Documents, Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary, by D. Hay Fleming, and a Foreword by S. R. Crockett.* London: Hodder & Stoughton.

matter, under the rather pretentious title *Biographia Presbyteriana*. Ten years later it was reissued in almost identical form. These have been superseded by the appearance recently of Dr. Fleming's edition. It is a pleasure to handle the volumes, which are similar in appearance to the Edinburgh edition of R. L. Stevenson's works.

Dr. Fleming is *facile princeps* our authority on 'Covenanting lore,' and it is scant praise to say that his workmanship is masterly. Within the compass of about twenty pages he has given us an Introduction crowded with facts and ripe judgments. The index is a model in fulness; the glossary is good; his remarks on the various editions of Walker, and other bibliographical matters, erudite; and his notes, covering more than a hundred pages, are a mine of curious and helpful information about books and pamphlets, about men and movements. Compare, for example, his succinct sketch of the progress of the Marrow Controversy (ii. 121), and his delightful note on the origin of the word 'cant' as a term of reproach (ii. 156–157). Dr. Fleming hazards the suggestion that it perhaps owes its present use to the signature of some of the Archbishops of Canterbury. Parker, for instance, signs himself sometimes as 'Matth. Cant.' What could be more natural, Dr. Fleming asks, than that the disaffected should irreverently appropriate the most abbreviated title of the head of the English hierarchy as a suitable synonym for hypocritical or affected talk?

Of one other note we must make mention, that referring to the parentage of Donald Cargill (ii. 199–203). As an example of patient investigation, skilfully grouped facts, and sifted evidence, nothing could be finer. The result is that Dr. Fleming has made a real contribution to the elucidation of the matter.

Of Patrick Walker little need be said. According to the *Biographia Presbyteriana*, he was born between 1650 and 1660. This, however, is a mistake. For, in 1684, he is described in the *Register of the Privy Council* as 'but a boy of eighteine years of age.' So that, probably, he was born in 1666, the year of the Pentland Rising. He seems to give us a glimpse of his parents when he writes: 'I have had the happiness to be a hearer of the gospel from my infancy, in fields and houses.' He was possibly present at Bothwell Bridge in 1679. Three years later he was denounced as a rebel at Edinburgh. In 1684 he was brought before the Privy Council, and received sentence of banishment to America. The sentence was not carried through, but other cruelties met him. In all, he was examined eighteen times. If not the first, he was one of the first to be tortured in 'the thumbekins' described by the lords of council as 'a new inventione and ingyne' which was likely to be very effectual 'for expiscateing of matters relateing to the Governement.' For a time he was a prisoner in Dunnottar Castle, shut up in a vault with eight score persons, 'without air, without ease, without place either to lie or walk, and without any comfort save what they had from heaven.' Still later he was brought back to Leith, whence he was to be shipped to New Jersey. But he escaped, and finally joined Renwick. He hailed the Prince of Orange as a deliverer, but was far from being satisfied with the Revolution, and he was displeased with the Union.

Walker is commonly described as a pedlar; 'a Cameronian pedlar,' the 'half crazy,' 'murderous pedlar,' Mark Napier politely calls him. Dr. Fleming doubts the accuracy of the 'pedlar theory,' which, in spite of his interesting comment, will probably continue to live. The point, however, is of little importance.

Walker lived a good deal in Edinburgh, at one time within Bristo Port, at another in Candlemaker Row, where doubtless his window overlooked the churchyard of Greyfriars, in which so many of his comrades had been laid. He seems to have died in 1745, at the age of seventy-nine.

Of the value of his work the most contradictory opinions have been expressed. Between Walker and Wodrow there was no love lost; and Wodrow's references to him in his *Correspondence* are no more flattering than are Walker's allusions to Wodrow.

The younger M'Crie speaks of his rude ungainly style, observing that it is hardly possible to read his vulgar and gloomy pages without an occasional feeling of disgust.

To these and such judgments the present edition of Walker is answer. And throughout it, notably in Mr. S. R. Crockett's Foreword, there is evidence of the persistent power that Walker's pages have been exerting. Mr. Crockett tells us how they were the delight of his childhood. He carried them about in his blouse, he took them to bed

with him, he stored his mind with them, and wherever he goes he takes them with him still. 'I can see, of course,' he says, 'all the narrowness and occasional bitterness of the creed he expressed so admirably in the most vivid and distinctive Scots (of the biblical sort) ever written.' Again: 'Any gift of understandable writing which I may have attained since has been first of all owing to this rugged, vehement, discursive Patrick.' 'About much of the writing of this unlettered packman there seems a natural melody and fervour—like that of a linnet singing on a twig, a moment's burst and no more.'

Once again he writes: 'I have always thought that a great deal of the incision and directness of the late Mr. Stevenson's style in narration could be traced to his familiarity with Patrick Walker's account of the death of John Brown.'

R. L. Stevenson himself tells us that when he was a child, indeed until he was nearly a man, he consistently read Covenanting books. 'Now that I am a grey-beard,' he writes in one of his letters, 'I have returned, and for weeks back have read little else but Wodrow, Walker, Shields, etc. . . . My style is from the Covenanting writers.'

The Pentland Rising and *Thrawn Janet* are steeped in the spirit of Walker's pages, and elsewhere in Stevenson are words and turns of expression that recall the Cameronian.

Of this influence too much may be made, and also too little. It is not claimed that Stevenson formed his style on the model of Walker. Walker was an uneducated man. His spelling was bad, albeit better than the spelling of Claverhouse. Some, he tells us, quarrelled with his life of Peden for its want of grammar, although others who knew Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, had fathered it upon him. He sometimes commences sentences and does not finish them, leaving them standing, as it were, on one leg. But a writer is to be judged by his best, rather than by his worst. And Walker at his best can scarcely be matched. A competent critic asserts that the most moving passage in Homer—the speech of Priam to Achilles—is not more moving than Walker's account of the death of John Brown.

But there are many passages which for force, directness, simplicity, and pathos will not easily be surpassed. Amongst these we would name his account of the death of Peden (i. 97); of Peden's interview with Renwick (i. 108); of Cargill rebuking Sir George Mackenzie (ii. 55); of Samuel Rutherford and the Parliament (i. 359). And we take it from Stevenson's lips as true that it was through Walker and his comrades that he was impelled, perhaps unconsciously, to seek the qualities of style that have given him his supremacy.

In the preface to the *Biographia Presbyteriana*, the writer refers to three grounds on which Walker's writings may be reckoned of value.

1. They are valuable to the writer of fiction as containing much outline of character, and innumerable incidents illustrative of the manners of the time. That this is so, is evidenced by the extent to which our two foremost Scottish novelists have been influenced by them. We have referred to R. L. Stevenson's indebtedness to them. Not less, perhaps, was Sir Walter Scott's. According to Mr. Andrew Lang, Patrick Walker is the original of Davie Deans, and some of the best-known passages in the *Heart of Midlothian* are founded on Walker, while Scott has reproduced some of his phrases. John Glas of Tealing, for example, is described by Walker as 'a gazing glancing glass who loves to hear himself speak and the world to notice him.' Scott makes Davie Deans speak of 'gazing glancing-glasses,' and he took part of Davie's tirade against dancing from Walker. One of the fine bits in the *Heart of Midlothian* is where Deans speaks to Reuben Butler of his wife's death, and in it he attributes the saying about the banks of Ulai to Carsphairn John (Semple), instead of, as should be, to James Welwood of Tundergarth, the father of John Welwood. In his notes Scott repeats the error, which double inaccuracy is to be noted in view of charges that are flung at Walker. In John Welwood's life we are told how Welwood said of a person: 'He's a round-spun Presbyterian.' Scott makes Saddletree recommend Mr. Crossmyloof the advocate to Deans as 'weel ken'd for a round-spun Presbyterian.'

But let these instances suffice.

2. They are valuable to the historian, containing many minute facts for which, though huddled together without method and order, we may elsewhere search in vain.

One of the services which Dr. Fleming has rendered, has been to trace to their source many of Walker's statements, with the result that while some have been disproved, others have been

notably confirmed. He has found his quotations 'fairly accurate' and his dates 'on the whole amazingly correct.' About the encounter at Ayrsmoss, Sheilds and Walker are more accurate than Wodrow, Thomson, and Herkless.

'When he records,' writes Dr. Fleming, 'what he had personally seen or heard, his statements may, I think, be taken as absolutely truthful, subject of course to some allowance in details for lapse of memory.' If this be a just judgment, it is remarkable, and has a close bearing on the truthfulness of his description of the death of John Brown.

But accurate or not, Walker both has and gives us his views of the leaders of the day, on the side of the Covenant and against it, and there are also in these volumes many curious glimpses into the religious life of Scotland during the earlier part of the eighteenth century. One such is Walker's own appearance at Kinross in 1737, to lodge objections at the Associate Presbytery against their first two divinity students. (Cf. Andrew Clarkson and Patrick Walker, 1737. Vol. ii. 235. The *Illustrative Documents*, published for the first time, are full of interest.)

3. They are valuable to the lexicographer as containing words and phrases peculiar to the country at the period in which he wrote.

We pick the following, almost at random, from the glossary:—Bauchle, brat, coldrife, deaved, dissle, feelless, fell, ferly, gollerings, grat, hag and hash, letten, shoot the shower, wersh, wisned, to vaige.

With words like these leaping from his pen it need not be said that his style is strong; and while some of his descriptions are rude, unreasonable, and harsh, others are quaint, pithy, and forceful. He describes Sharp as 'that compend of wickedness' (i. 157); he speaks of 'wisned, warsh, coldrife, formal sermons,' of 'liths and nicks of the gospel,' of 'feeble, feelless fingers,' etc.

There is often a quaint humour in what we find. To restrain vanity, we should remember that 'the sheep's old clothes are our new' (i. 161). 'When we were poor and had wooden cups at our sacraments, we had golden ministers; but since we have turned rich and have gotten golden cups, we have wooden ministers,' etc. (i. 184).

But the most valuable service which Walker has rendered, is to give us what, quite apart from the accuracy of particular incidents, is a living picture of great and, in the main, noble men and stirring movements. We have an atmosphere. We have what was talked of and thought of in the moss-hags. We have the speech and the thoughts of the people by one of the people. And if it is true, in any sense, that the local paper reveals the inner life of the country better than the larger journal, it is equally true that we get from the pamphlets and broadsheets and minor poetry of a people, glimpses of men which the stately historian may fail to catch. We should say that a good deal of insight into sides of Scottish life in the eighteenth century is to be got in *Scotland's Glory and her Shame*, doggerel though the verses be. And in Walker we have what none but one who had been hunted and tortured, who had passed through the tribulation of those days, could do more than suggest. 'I for one,' says Dr. Fleming truly, 'would rather forego whole volumes of commonplace histories written or revised "by men of sound judgment," than give up Patrick's lifelike sketches of the weird Peden, the resolute Cameron, the devoted Cargill, and the lovable Renwick—the hunted leaders of what seemed to all but themselves and their followers, a forlorn hope and a lost cause.'

Lives seem often narrow on account of their surroundings. And we all share to some extent the prejudice and superstition of our time. But the test of a life is its persistence, its fidelity, its aspirations, its flights. And what is certain is that few men have stood more bravely in Scotland for what they judged to be the will of God, or ruled their lives in view of loftier truths. What if it be that there is not in their lives the culture, the quiet, the beauty, the richness that themselves are an adorning? Were they not saints? We trow they were; and perhaps among the noblest. They had the strenuousness of the saints, the patience of the saints, their passion for Christ and their invincible faith in His triumph: 'They overcame by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death.'

'Pray meikle,' said Peden; 'it is praying folk that will win through the storm.' When Vilant was told of Cargill's courage in preaching at every hazard, he said, 'What needs all this ado? We will get heaven, and they will get no more.' On this being repeated to Cargill, he answered

superbly, 'Yes, we will get more; we will get God glorified on earth, which is more than heaven.' Take this from his last testimony: 'I have followed holiness, I have taught truth, *I have been most in the main things*; not that I thought the things concerning our time little,' etc (ii. 9). Elsewhere he says that he 'never durst undertake to preach Christ and salvation to others until he was sure of his own' (ii. 56).

Renwick would say that he was never satisfied with himself unless his forenoon sermon 'was upon the doctrine of the gospel,' and his afternoon 'upon the way of bearing the cross' (i. 168). And listen to John Welwood: 'I have no more doubt of my interest in Christ than if I were in heaven already,' and almost his last words were: 'Now, eternal light, no more night or darkness to me' (i. 216).

Let any one read Peden's prayers or his letters to the prisoners at Dunnottar and he will know what kingly men they were. 'It is easy for Christ to be holden busy in dividing the fulness of His Father's house to His poor friends; He delights not to keep mercy o'er night.' And so on in this strain. Or take this from Cargill, Tennysonian in its figure: 'Fear not, and the God of mercies grant a full gale and a fair entrie into His kingdom, that may carrie sweetly and swiftly over the bar that you find not the rub of death' (ii. 20).

There are questions that occur to any one reading those sketches which can scarcely be answered. What are we to make of their prophecies? It was just as if they had second sight—such was their prevision of the future. We do not need to credit everything that is attributed to Peden and Semple and Cameron and Welwood, and yet much remains unexplained. Something may be put down to superstition; something to imagination; something to clear-sighted judgment on the issue of events. But there is an element beyond, as if in those stormy days the grace that seized them acted like a new sense.

In certain quarters, it is held that Dr. Fleming, though erudite as a historian, is biassed in favour of the men of the Covenant. In so far as enthusiasm for heroic character and deeds may bias, he stands condemned. Yet it can hardly be gainsaid that he always brings a stern array of facts to sanction his judgments, whether of praise or blame. As one illustration we would refer to his capable analysis of Mr. J. Drummond's argument about *The Bluidy Banner*, said to have been used at Drumclog, and his well-marshalled facts to explain the story of the banner. Another illustration is his note on the death of John Brown. Writing in the *Athenæum*, Mr. Lang contests his position, adding, however, that on this point alone, his note is inadequate. It is possible that the final word has not been spoken on this incident. But in a couple of pages (ii. 135–137), Dr. Fleming has carried the story up to its earliest reliable sources, he has exposed the sorry blunders of Aytoun, discovered the taint in Mark Napier, and indicated why the statement of Claverhouse, written on the back of the event, is open to suspicion.

It will be remembered that after testing Patrick Walker in every conceivable way, Dr. Fleming came to the conclusion that when he recorded what he had personally seen or heard, Walker's statements might be taken as absolutely truthful, subject of course to some allowance in details for lapse of memory. Patrick, it is clear, asserts that he got the story from John Brown's widow 'sitting upon her husband's gravestone.' It is not to be expected that Claverhouse should have detailed the story of Brown's death. He simply writes to Queensberry, that having 'found bullets and match in his house, and treasonable peapers, I caused shoot him dead; which he suffered very inconcernedly.' But how much even seems to be covered by those words, 'which he suffered very inconcernedly.'

Beyond this the Drumlanrig papers show that, especially in 1684, the atmosphere was one of falsehood and suspicion. At times Claverhouse was only too anxious to vindicate his fidelity. We find him, for example, writing in that year that those who thought to misrepresent him would find themselves mistaken, 'for both in the King and churches interest, dryve as fast as they think fit, they will never see me behynd.' In December he was in a state of irritation. He had declared that he would never again plead for any one. There is coarser speech than this in his correspondence. So far as we see, there is nothing in his letters to discredit the story of Brown's death, while there is much in the treatment of his nephew to discredit himself.

Mr. Lang thinks that John Binning (i. 297), who was hanged by Drummond at Mauchline on

the 6th of May 1685, was Brown's nephew. Dr. Fleming, notwithstanding the *Despot's Champion*, leaves Binning unidentified. He calls attention to him, but commits himself to no precarious ground.

It is in this spirit, with care for facts and accuracy, that the volumes have been prepared.

The reference in the note, vol. i. p. xx, should be i. 363, not i. 163.

And who is correct about Marion Kinloch? Dr. Fleming or Walker? Cf. i. xxxix and i. 285.

We venture to express the hope that the volumes will be reissued in a less expensive form.

Recent Foreign Theology.

Herrmann's 'Ethik.'[1]

It is a token of the merits of this treatise that it has, within so short a time, attained to a second edition. All the more striking this is, because it is one of a series of handbooks dealing with all the theological sciences. No doubt individual books in a series are helped by the series, but it also happens that individual books are heavily weighted by the series. But the *Ethik* of Herrmann has found its readers, and has deserved to find them, speedily. It has those characteristics which have established a lasting bond between Herrmann and his readers, and makes them feel as if they and he were on terms of personal friendship. Certainly his readers rise from the perusal of his books strengthened and refreshed from contact with a man of such simplicity of aim, fervour of character, and clearness of thought. They may differ from him in many ways, may hold that metaphysics has its share in legitimate human thought, and that epistemological problems may obtain a solution, but they cannot fail to profit by his strenuous insistence on the necessity of having regard to experience in morality and religion. Many other elements of worth in his writings might be mentioned were there time, but we need all our time to give some account of the work before us.

The Preface to the second edition contains a brief description of the attitude of the author towards the sciences and towards metaphysics. He affirms that the scientific view of nature has become part of our mental and spiritual life, and that it is really a revelation of the eternal God. We sympathize with this attitude of mind, and are glad to meet with any vindication of science as a means of enabling us to understand the earlier revelation of God, to wit, that revelation which He has been able to put into His works. But after all, the works of God are but a very partial revelation of Him. Herrmann declares that he does not know a metaphysic that is helpful as science is helpful to man. He proceeds to his work without any metaphysical presupposition; at least, he says so, and he means what he says. We are not sure that he has succeeded in avoiding metaphysics. In fact, the resolution to avoid metaphysics implies a metaphysic, at least of a negative kind. These perennial questions about the nature of things, about God, man, and the world, that press on every generation, and which will not leave men alone, can a writer on ethics pass them by, or neglect them? Do not the sciences leave the fundamental question of their foundations to metaphysics? and must we not at one stage or other raise the ultimate questions involved in the possibility of experience and of knowledge? Our author has his metaphysic after all, as might be easily shown.

The first part of the treatise deals with ethics generally, and the second part with Christian ethics. An Introduction sets forth the problem of ethics, and describes the method of ethics. After the statement of the problem and the description of the method of ethics, we enter on the task of ethic proper. 'Natural Life and a Moral Thinking' (*Denken*) is the title of the first part. Life controlled by natural impulse and how it is transformed into a life regulated by moral considerations may be roughly indicated as the thesis of the first part. A series of sections lead us

[1] *Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften: Ethik.* Von D. H. Herrmann, Professor der Theol. an der Universität, Marburg. Zweite Auflage. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr. Price M.3.60; bound, M.4.60.

easily and in a most interesting way along from the mere self-preservation of a creature, on through a description of desire and will to the conception of self-control. At this point emerges the moral problem, properly so-called. The moral problem is set forth, and the growth or emergence of the moral out of the natural is described, and we have two sections on individual eudæmonism and social eudæmonism. Many questions are left on one side; he will have nothing to do with determinism or indeterminism. Hedonism in all its forms is rejected; and he will not lay stress on anything which he cannot verify by an interrogation of the individual moral consciousness as it exists in a society which may be regarded as normal. It is wonderful how much he has accomplished by this method, and how fruitful are the results he has won. The root of all ethical life he finds in the trust which is evoked in us by intercourse with our fellow-men. Through that trust we win the great moral ideas of the worth of persons, the independence of persons, and the infinite character of obligation. Here comes a characteristic reconciliation of egoism and altruism. Self-assertion must be suppressed so far, at least, as to enable us to have moral communion with other people.

Moral thought in its historical reality is well set forth in a number of sections which lead us over important ground. The beginning of moral life, the moral law, the significance of moral law for the personal life of man, freedom in the moral meaning of the word and the world into which freedom leads us, the dualism of moral thought, moral evil, the feeling of guilt and the perfection of moral thought, are themes discussed luminously, and on them much might be said in approval and, perhaps, in dissent were there time; but there is no time.

The second part has for theme the Christian Moral Life. Moral life is the direct outcome of Christian life, in fact it is the direct expression of that life. The first section deals with the origin of Christian life, and the second deals with its development. Through various subsections we are gradually led, and each part adds distinctly to the wealth of a highly interesting and important argument. 'Redemption through Christ Jesus,' 'Christian Faith,' 'Christian Faith as the Consciousness of Divine Forgiveness,' 'Christian Faith as the Power of doing Good,' are the names of sections which lead to Christian faith as communion, and the description of moral law as set forth by Christ. Under the title of 'The Development of Moral Life' he treats of the service of God first in those institutions naturally constituted. Thus we have lucid accounts of the service of God in the family, in culture-fellowships, and generally in the state. There is a fine and beautiful description of the function of a Christian man in the world. Sections on the Christian Character, Virtues, and Duties complete an edifying and instructive book.

We are glad to have the opportunity of calling attention to this significant book and to its importance. Christian ethic in the proper sense of the word has been late in its appearance in the Christian world; at all events, in the world of Christian literature. The specific task of it was set forth first by Schleiermacher. And it is only since its statement by him that it has won for itself a place among the theological sciences. Many treatises have been written on Christian ethics in Germany; in English we cannot remember half a dozen. Happily, theologians have awakened to the need of a Christian ethic. We owe much to Germany, but we must, after all, write our own theology. For German theology cannot be transplanted bodily. It may be assimilated, but there are German peculiarities and provincialisms which will always appear strange to us. While we are thankful for all they teach us, we must do our own work, and in no sphere is this so needful as in Christian ethics.

J. Iverach.

Aberdeen.

British Philosophy of Religion.[1]

Marshall's book on present-day tendencies in our philosophies of religion is a very interesting and creditable work. But it is not possible to regard it as a wholly satisfactory performance. It deals with the second half of the nineteenth century. Yet the treatment leaves the first half of that period practically a total blank. Its list of the literature relied upon by the author is as remarkable for what it includes as for what it omits. Not even German thoroughness—were it more in evidence than it is here—could make the handling adequate

[1] *Die gegenwärtigen Richtungen der Religionsphilosophie in England und ihre erkenntnistheoretischen Grundlagen.* Von Newton H. Marshall. Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1902. Pp. vii, 136. M.4.50.

with such evident gaps in knowledge. Notwithstanding this unhopeful aspect, the author shows himself, within his somewhat limited and stereotyped range of writers and themes, in the main a careful and capable thinker.

Marshall treats the subject under three types: (1) Naturalism; (2) Objective Idealism; (3) Idealism of Freedom. He adopts Professor Dilthey's definition of each of these types. Professor Fraser, in less pronounced form, adopts this method. It has, no doubt, the merit of simplicity. But if Religion be, as our author says in his introduction, the most complex product in the development of human life, then it becomes very questionable if such division can be adequate or serviceable. Some fuller scheme, like that of Dr. Caldecott's recent work, is likely to be more useful. Marshall follows the peculiarly German mode of considering the epistemological principles involved, in each of the three cases or types, after which he examines the religious contents of each. One of the best and freshest features of the book is its occasional grouping of theories and tendencies.

His criticisms of Huxleyan teaching and Spencerian doctrine carry nothing new, but his arrangement and way of stating the case have their interest. The religious content of Naturalism is dealt with in a way too discursive and slight to be of value to English readers.

Objective Idealism opens with a discussion of Bradley's *Appearance and Reality*, and its criteria of reality and truth. This is one of the best parts of the book. It will not be without interest even for such as may have read Professor de Sarlo's fine critique in Italian on Bradley, or that in English by Professor Pringle Pattison. Good also, but at points not so fortunate, is the handling of the religious content of Objective Idealism. He sees no escape for Cairdian philosophy from the brand of Pantheism.

Passing to the Idealism of Freedom, we have Martineau taken as chief representative. There is nothing remarkable in the treatment of this part of the subject, which betrays a too implicit or exclusive reliance on one or two authorities. Indeed, the author's insufficient knowledge of the recent British literature of the subject becomes at times painfully evident. A certain lack of range, justice, variety, and up-to-dateness is the result. This is a pity, for the author has a genuine love of his subject and an undoubted fitness for his difficult task, and it is to be sincerely hoped he will one day, with wider knowledge, erect this book into the notable achievement it might very well become. The style is much to be commended. But is it not a pity that the conclusion of the whole matter to which he has come should be so negative? His findings are: (1) none of the three forms of religious content is satisfactory, the epistemological base being in every case untrustworthy, and metaphysical moments vitiating the religious result; (2) the need is for a surer epistemological basis on which to rest scientific theology in the future. But who would not prefer to stand with those great minds in Germany itself to whose clear vision larger truth, reality, fruitfulness, and inspiration present themselves in British philosophy of religion to-day than have been garnered by our author?

JAMES LINDSAY.

Kilmarnock.

The Nineteenth Century.[1]

THIS is a great book on a great subject. It is nothing less than a well-planned attempt to review the progress of the world from 1800 to 1900. One man could hardly accomplish the task, even if such a review were within his power, until the succeeding century was well advanced; but it has been done to date, and well done, by a band of thirty-two writers, each taking up one aspect of the movement of the world. The separate articles are introduced by a general review of the whole century from the pen of Vicomte Eugène-Melchoir de Vogüé. They are concluded by an appeal towards unity, under the sheltering wings of the (Roman) Catholic Church, by His Eminence Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris. The work has been published by a Committee working under the presidency of Monseigneur Péchanard. It has the rare privilege of bearing on its front page a dedication graciously written by His Holiness Leo XIII.: 'Regi Saeculorum Immortali, Honor et Gloria.'

The writers are mostly men of note, and a few

[1] *Un Siècle.* Mouvement du Monde de 1800 a 1900. Huitième mille. Publie par les Soins d-un Comité sous la présidence de Monseigneur Péchanard. Paris, Rue de Mezières 10. H. Oudin, Libraire-Éditeur.

of them bear names well known beyond France. With all the lucidity and charm of French writing, they tell us how the world has fared during the last one hundred years. In general, their point of view is twofold—as Frenchmen and as Roman Catholics. As is natural and inevitable, the importance of the French Revolution and the work and influence of Napoleon I. are widely recognized, but with a wise discrimination. A very interesting parallel is drawn between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, showing how thought and life in both have been affected by the new knowledge of the world and its laws. Like all Gaul, the subject of this work is divided into three parts: (1) the Political and Economic Movement, (2) the Intellectual Movement, and (3) the Religious Movement. Under the first division we find such subjects as the Work and Influence of Napoleon I.; the Growth of Nationalities; Methods of Government and Legislation; the Partition of the World; then War, Commerce, Literature, and the Social Question in the Nineteenth Century. In the second section there are reviews on such matters as the Press, Education, Criticism, Philosophy, Literature, Music, etc. Under the third head are treated Religion and Religions, Non-Christian Religions, the Expansion of the (Roman) Catholic Church, and other cognate subjects. It is not easy to characterize each article in this remarkable volume, but for general interest we may specially commend those on the Partition of the World, by M. René Pinon, and on Literature, by M. F. Brunitière.

In the third division, which deals with the religious history of the century, we have an exceedingly interesting account of the Tractarian Movement, from a Roman Catholic point of view. The strength of the present Catholic tendency in England is recognized, but the proofs of it which are given, are not those to which we are accustomed. It is the imitation of the Constitution of the Roman Catholic Church, not the imitation of its forms of worship which is noticed. 'The Pan-Anglican Synods of Lambeth were intended to be Universal Councils. . . . One could even believe for a moment that Anglicanism was going to have a pope. Its head, the Archbishop of Canterbury, endeavoured to secure a supreme jurisdiction over the 162 Anglican bishops of the whole world, and over the numerous missionary societies, . . . but this attempt at "popery" did not succeed, and the rights of individualism regained the upper hand. . . . The English Church remains what it has always been, "a juxtaposition" of believers, over whom there is only the political power of the Crown.' This declaration, however, should be noted: 'When the prodigal son returned to his father's house, he confessed and deplored his errors. The English must repeat the "*Peccavi*" before re-entering the pale of the Church. . . . Such is the opinion which has prevailed in the councils of the Sovereign Pontiff' (p. 763).

In a work like this it is inevitable that the place and work of Great Britain in the last century should receive prominent notice. If, however, the opinion of intelligent contemporary foreigners is the nearest approach to the judgment of history, it is to be feared that our sentence will not be one of honour. But as we read this tentative estimation of what we have done, we begin to hope that when present jealousies and prejudices are forgotten, our place and work in the world will appear in a better light. There are, we think, indications of prejudice against us in some portions of this work. For instance, it is acknowledged that the first serious step towards the suppression of slavery was taken when Britain secured the insertion of an article in the Treaty of Paris in 1815, by which the signatory Powers engaged themselves to suppress it; but this admission is introduced by the statement that Britain's interest in this case found itself in accord with humanity (p. 100).

We are not proud of the Crimean War, but we were under the impression that our soldiers did more than is allowed them here. 'At Balaclava the English cavalry sacrificed themselves with their traditional bravery; at Inkerman, where the English were surprised and surrounded, Bosgnet came up with his zouaves and released them' (p. 100). The pacific conquests of Christian missionaries are attributed, above all, to the labours of French Catholic missionaries, for 'English missionaries have too often been instruments of politics or commercial agents' (p. 144). Again, they 'propogate with Protestantism the political and economic influence of the mother-country' (p. 763). Is it not prejudice which allows such a statement as the following to appear in a sober review: 'Gordon was left to perish without help; was it not necessary that the whole of the Soudan should belong to the Dervishes, that it might

afterwards become English by the right of conquest?' Or, that the ruin of Abyssinia and the Boer States seems resolved on from to-day. 'The hour is marked by the hurrying watch (*à la montre impatiente*) of Mr. Chamberlain' (p. 114).

A partisan newspaper might write of the South African war that 'all right and honour are on the one side, and all injustice and villainy on the other' (p. 54), but such a sentence is out of place in a work which aims at an unbiassed review of the world's history. Our Colonial expansion and success are accounted for as follows: 'An identical policy persisted in for a century carried out by men of the first rank; an undisputed naval pre-eminence; the possession in all the seas of the great junctions of international commerce; and also, it must be said, the total absence of every scruple of international probity—these are the causes of the success of the English expansion.'

JOHN REID.

Dundee.

Point and Illustration.

Prayer is High Work.

The Personal Life of the Clergy (Longmans).

THOSE who pray much are increasingly convinced that *Prayer is high work.* Have we not been guilty of making a serious mistake in the way in which we have sometimes allowed ourselves to speak about prayer? How common it is to hear it suggested, 'If you cannot do anything else, at least you can pray.' Surely that must be wrong. Surely it would be more true to say, 'If you can pray, if you have in any degree acquired the holy art, then for God's sake and man's sake do not do anything else. Give yourself to it; continue on the mount with hands upraised. There will be no lack of fighters down below, who will triumph by the help of your prayers.'—A. W. ROBINSON.

An Examination Paper.

The Personal Life of the Clergy (Longmans).

ON the closing page of the Gospels there is contained what we might not inaptly describe as an examination paper intended to test proficiency in discipleship. It consists of but three questions, and they are all alike: 'Lovest thou Me?' Christianity can only have its perfect work in us as we set ourselves to learn the lesson of absolute devotion to our Lord.—A. W. ROBINSON.

And I Work.

Thoughts for Everyday Living (Scribners).

'MY Father worketh hitherto, and I work.' And I work! Say that too. If you destroy the sequence, life loses heart, and joy, and meaning, and value. Swing into line with the eternal energy, be a force among forces, a toiler, a producer, a factor, and life never loses its tone and flavour, its bead or glamour. There is no real taste to bread nor bliss in sleep for the idler. He is the doubter, the sceptic, the unhappy man. His idleness proclaims him diseased and decaying.—MALTBIE D. BABCOCK.

Self-Betrayal.

Thoughts for Everyday Living (Scribners).

'EVERY man imputes himself,'—so Tennyson once said. It is a startling thought. Judging is self-betrayal. By the judgment with which we judge, we are ourselves judged. By our words we are justified or condemned. We should be more slow to judge if we realized that the judgment we utter transfers us instantly from the judge's bench to the prisoner's bar.—MALTBIE D. BABCOCK.

A Whole Crown.

Gipsy Smith (Law).

MY father was on one occasion preaching in the open air to a great crowd at Leytonstone. A coster passing by in his donkey-cart shouted out: 'Go it, old party; you'll get 'arf a crown for that job.' Father stopped his address for a moment, looked at the coster, and said quietly, 'No, young man, you are wrong. My Master never gives half-crowns away, He gives whole ones. "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."'

The Giver or the Gift.

Gipsy Smith (Law).

MY wife and I took our children to the bazaar, and there I encountered my good friend Mr. Byrom—a bachelor he then was. My daughter Zillah was hanging around me, and I was delighted with her love and sweet attentions. But I was afraid that she might worry my bachelor friend, unaccustomed to children: so I took some money out of my pocket, and displaying it in the palm of my hand, said to my little girl, 'Zillah, take what you like and go and spend it.' Her big, dark eyes filled with tears. She looked up wistfully at me, and said, 'Daddy, I don't want your old money, I want you! You have been away from us for seven months; do you know it?' I felt that my little girl had justly rebuked me, and I felt at that moment how different she was from many people in the world who are willing to have the gifts of God, and yet do not recognize Him as the Father.

Where are you converted?

Gipsy Smith (Law).

HE marched boldly forward and knelt down at the penitent-form. He came back to his aunt and said, 'I have

been down there. I have knelt, and it is all right now. Of course it is: I am saved.'

A few days later, entering the house, I found a great commotion was proceeding. Albany and the maid had fallen out, and he was giving her a very lively time. I called the little rebel to me and said, 'Albany, what is the matter?'—'I am in a fearful temper.' 'So it seems, but you must not get into a temper. They tell me you went forward to the penitent-form the other night?'—'Yes.' 'I am afraid, then, you are a backslider to-day.'—'No, I am not; I am not a slider at all.' 'But when people are converted their temper gets converted too. Come, let us consider the matter. How do you know you were converted? Where were you converted?' The poor little fellow looked at me for a long time in deep puzzlement, casting his eyes up to the roof, then down to the floor, and round the room, racking his little brain to discover in what part of him conversion took place. At last an inspiration visited him. 'Daddy, I am saved all round my head!' I am afraid that Albany's case is the case of a great many people; their religion is in their heads; and that means that it is too high.

We in Him and He in Us.

Gipsy Smith (Law).

My father has an alert mind, and some of the illustrations in his addresses are quaint. During my mission at the Metropolitan Tabernacle, he spoke to the people briefly. His theme was 'Christ in us and we in Christ,' and he said: 'Some people may think that that is impossible; but it is not. The other day I was walking by the seaside at Cromer, and I picked up a bottle with a cork in it. I filled the bottle with the salt water and, driving in the cork, I threw the bottle out into the sea as far as my right arm could send it. Turning to my wife I said, "Look, the sea is in the bottle and the bottle is in the sea." So if we are Christ's, we are in Him and He is in us.'

Christ's Treatmen of Indignation.

A STUDY IN CHRISTIAN ETHICS.

By the Rev. John R. Legge, M.A., Buckhurst Hill, Essex.

It has been said that our age 'has lost the genius of indignation.' If so, it is a grievous loss. For the instinct of indignation has a holy root. It is 'a spark that disturbs our clod.' It is an indication of the 'divine root of the human pedigree.' The man and the people that have little of it are morally anæmic.

A study of the Gospels to see how Jesus deals with the manifestation of indignation will initiate us into the secret and method of Jesus. An hour in the divine academy will be an hour well spent. It will pass in the company of the Master, and it will show us 'the training of the twelve' going on under His hand.

i. Taking passages in the evangelists and one other passage in the Epistles, where persons are seen 'moved with indignation,' it will be found that there was an educational curriculum in the treatment of this feeling which involved uprooting on the one hand, and included the planting and the nourishing on the other, of the Christian temper of indignation in the heart of humanity. For this flame of feeling, this tongue of fire, this flash of the warmth of the soul, which we call Indignation, shot across the life of the Saviour of the world. In the sky of that life its jagged and forked streaks of light and its waves of heat vibrate, circulate, and dart forth like the undulations of the 'Northern Streamers' in the skies of winter. And at the first gleam of them it is not always easy to say whether they have been set on fire of hell or are heaven-kindled.

Flash the first (not in order of time but of treatment) is seen in Mt 21^{15} to be issuing from the stony-hearted chief priests and scribes. It is the spark out of the flint, struck out of the flinty souls by the clearing of the temple courts of money-changers and dove-sellers, by the wonderful works which He did on blind and lame, and last, but not least, by the shoutings of the little ones which prolonged yesterday's echoes of the acclaiming multitudes. The men of the flinty hearts were exasperated, and they took to bullying the bairns and the Master. Whence this flash came is all too clear; who stoked its angry fires is beyond all doubt.

Flash the second, in Mt 20^{24}, gleams in another atmosphere. Not foes of Christ, but friends of His, are on fire with it. It shoots up in the midst of the memorable scene when the mother of the two sons of thunder asks for front reserved seats near the throne in the kingdom of heaven. Mother-like, she thinks her sons equal to that high station. But Jesus tells her that He cannot

make a free gift of such seats. All this the ten heard, and felt very sore. Every word was fuel for their fire of indignation. Whence this flame? Was it wholly pure? Was it burning brightly unmixed with unworthy elements? Wait and let the treatment of Jesus answer.

Flash the third glitters in Mt 26^{8}. It leaps out amid the courtesy and hospitality of the house of Simon the leper. Again it is the disciples who are the sinners. And the alabaster box with its costly unguent of anointment is the occasion of their sin. The lavish outlay of the woman made them indignant. They were not equal to 'consuming their own smoke.' The fire flamed out in the question, 'To what purpose is this waste?' And the muttering grew to a grumbling, and that to a mighty rumbling. This is luxury. This is extravagance. We do not and cannot approve. Judas 'drew out the damper' to let those flames roar. As to what Jesus thought let His treatment show.

Flash the fourth is a jet of anger that Luke alone has made note of—Lk 13^{14}. A poor woman long tried by a spirit of infirmity comes to Jesus for relief. He called her to Him in the synagogue, bade her leave her pew and come to the front and be loosed from her infirmity. She came, was loosed from her infirmity, and glorified God. Then the ruler of that synagogue was moved with indignation. He took it as a personal insult that it should have happened in his church. He resented such desecration of the Sabbath and the sanctuary. His tongue was set on fire of hell. He began to make a speech and lay down the law that there were six other days (places he does not number) for people to come and be healed. What a spitfire, what a firebrand of a minister!

Flash the fifth is found in yet another Gospel. It is discovered in the pages of Mark (10^{14}). And it is not the Master's foes nor His friends in whom it shines out like the sun in a lowering and threatening sky. It is the Master Himself who is moved with indignation. And He showed that quality and degree of moral heat in a scene, than which none is better known, none is more valued in all the world. It is when the rebuked mothers bring their little ones for Him to touch that the flash of indignation shot from the eye of Jesus, and His whole being was stirred and rocked to its centre by the conduct of His disciples. It was so heartless and, besides, so full of *gaucherie*, that in the pure and holy fire of His indignant love He burnt up all their remonstrances in words which are the children's charter of the kingdom, 'Suffer the little children to come unto Me.' His heart was hot within Him. That was 'the wrath of the Lamb.'

Flash the sixth and last is in an Epistle (2 Co 7^{11}) not in an evangelist. Here it is: 'Behold this selfsame thing, what earnest care it wrought in you! what clearing of yourselves! *yea, what indignation,*' etc. It is Paul who writes, but it is Christ who kindled that fiery heat of indignation. It is a wonderful flash, a supernatural flame. It is alight in a Christian Church. It is not a tongue of fire in a single foe or friend. It is a whole Church that is lambent with the sacred flame. It shone in men and women who did not know Christ after the flesh, but only in the spirit. And this is what the knowledge has wrought: Christ in the heart of His own has kindled even the Church of God in Corinth into one body of indignant, because holy, love. Let this suffice for the series of flashes.

ii. Such are some of the smoking wicks with which the Son of man had to do the best that He could. Let us study His treatment of the fire of indignation. What does He do with flashes 1 to 4 and the people who have such a talent—if not genius—of indignation, who are as combustible as tinder and whom the least spark sets on fire? Jesus rebukes them. So much of common treatment they get. Yet distinctions exist. Flashes 1 and 4 belched forth from foes; flashes 2 and 3 were emitted from the defiled hearts of friends. The children who sang Hosanna had their part taken by Him. Against priestly flames of anger He defended them, and gave a sharp thrust at both priest and scribe for not reading the Old Testament to better purpose (Mt 21). The testy and fiery ruler of the synagogue had his challenge at once taken up. He and his supporters were told that they were hypocrites, and that they cared more for the comfort of an ox or an ass than for the release of a poor woman from her prison of pain. Indeed, the Master's own indignation scorched His adversaries. And in both instances Jesus laid bare the inhumanity of the indignant foes, who were cruel to women and children.

Next look at the Master dealing with indignant

friends. While the displeasure of 'the ten' was blazing at Salome's sons, Jesus began to speak to them. He opposed the ideal of greatness in the Gentile kingdoms to the ideal of greatness in God's kingdom, and in which He showed that it was 'a more excellent glory' to be serviceable than to be served. He instructed them in 'the true knighthood of humanity.'

Thus, again, in the dining-room of Simon, when He beheld their frowning faces, He said, 'Why do you trouble the lady? Why are you so lacking in chivalry? Why are you so narrow in your judgment? It is a good work that has been wrought.' When they had come to see that, there would be no such escape of indignation, as there had been. It would find quite another safety valve. But it is when 'Mothers of Salem their children brought to Jesus' that we best see what treatment He is dealing out. It is in studying the direction in which His own indignation spent itself that we are guided into the way in which He wished to conserve this spiritual energy and what channels of transference He would provide for the force of indignation when at white heat. His holy fire of indignation at the exclusion of the children is just that sacred flame of love which Jesus kindled on the earth, and would keep burning. Many a time has 'the cry of the children' entered into the ears of later disciples of the Lord, and many a time has it roused their holy burning zeal against those who have wronged 'these little ones.'

To sum up Christ's treatment of indignation, it may be said that the Master found it a wasting and a wasted fire. It was exceptional for inhumanity to be rebuked—hence a wasting fire. It was the rule to find that which was worthy condemned. Therefore it was part of the work of Christ's redemption of man to make it impossible for His friends to be full of indignation after the fashion of the flinty-hearted priests or that firebrand of a synagogue ruler. It was His hard but noble task to take this misdirected energy and to make it into 'a flame of the Lord,' kindled against the wrongs of man to man, not a fiery dart of the devil, striking neither at women healed of infirmity nor at children in their mothers' arms. 'Fire,' it is said, 'is a bad master but a good servant.' It was part of the wisdom of the work of Jesus to make this moral fire and spiritual heat a good servant of humanity.

The significance of the Pauline Epistle is the undesigned witness that it gives to the success of the methods of Christ's treatment of indignation. It shows us 'Christian ethics' in the making. 'The Church of God in Corinth, grand and joyous paradox,' says Bengel. Yet it is there, in the Church of Christ, that the extraordinary exhibition of indignation is seen. The hearts of the Christians are like 'a field that some fire runs through.' Not a man of them has known Christ after the flesh. But their hearts have been captured by Christ glorified by the Holy Ghost. Paul has charged them with being indifferent to the purity of Christian character and fellowship. That has awakened a passion of indignation. They repudiate the charge with a heat that glows in Paul's own words. They intensely disapprove of his saying and writing that they are not grieved that disgrace has besmirched the life of their Church.

Now the vehement heat of their indignation is a measure of the height to which the moral thermometer has risen *within* the Church, as compared with the city without. How is that rise to be accounted for? It is the virtue that went out of Christ, it is the Holy Spirit as Fire that explains this new creation. This short study in a great subject conducts us to a whole Church with 'a genius of indignation,' when it is charged with indifference to Christian standards and ideals of life. That Church was an apostolic one. 'There were spots in its feasts.' But in her membership were those who longed for the beauty of the Lord to be on her and to see her keep her garments unspotted from the world. It is the glory of Christ that He has kept alive the fire of holy zeal in his Church, as the sacred fire burnt on in the Temple of Vesta in Rome. It is the glory of His Church that at times she has felt that God was in the midst of her as a consuming fire, and, 'as it were, a burning fire shut up' in her bones, so that she became weary with, and went forth to find fuel for her fires of indignation in all who enslaved their brother man, in all who showed no chivalry to woman, and in all who were 'deaf to the cry of the children.'

It is the abiding glory of the Church of God to be His instrument for the solution of some problems, which are like some metals, refractory to low temperatures, but which 'dissolve with fervent heat.' One form of that heat raised to a high power Jesus conserved and transformed in His treatment of Indignation.

At the Literary Table.

THE EVOLUTION OF IMMORTALITY.

THE EVOLUTION OF IMMORTALITY. By S. D. McConnell, D.D., D.C.L. (*Macmillan.* Crown 8vo, pp. 204. 1901.)

To those who followed the interesting discussion between Dr. Petavel and Professor Agar Beet on the above subject, the altogether admirable book of Dr. S. D. McConnell will prove opportune and instructive. The writer's theory, briefly stated, seems to be this: Man is not immortal; but some men are. The attainment of immortality is conditional, but the line which separates mortal from immortal is not clearly defined; on the contrary, it is an indefinite line passed by each individual when, in a state of moral evolution, he ascends into the higher and spiritual life. The condition of immortality, according to Dr. McConnell, is goodness. Evidently the largest interpretation must be put upon this statement. The condition of life appears to be the adaptation of the organism to its environment. The regeneration and the new birth include the gift of immortality, which is conditioned by moral development or growth in goodness, but it is not he who is good, but he who is in fellowship with the Father, who receives both goodness and immortality from Him whose gifts they are. According to St. Paul, 'the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ.' Some such supplementary statement appears necessary from the Christian standpoint, and doubtless Dr. McConnell implies as much in his significant use of the word 'goodness.' Clearly the divine method is not to make immortal those who have first been made worthy, but, on the contrary, to make worthy those who have first been made immortal. The spiritual organism in the new birth is adapted to its environment, that environment is the Divine Spirit; and the condition of life must be sought in the ever-growing consciousness of harmony with spiritual surroundings.

Dr. McConnell, in a luminous and suggestive passage, makes a valuable and original contribution to theological thought. He writes: 'It may be ages before we recover from the misfortune of having had the truth of Christ interpreted and fixed by jurists and logicians instead of by naturalists and men of science.' From the days of St. Augustine the Gospels have been interpreted in terms of law. This is a parallel case to the ordinary method of treating Biblical Psychology, which consists either in fitting the ideas of the sacred writers into the dogmas of a philosophy or else in first propounding definitions and theorems of one's own, and then trying to recommend them on the authority of Scripture. This attitude to the Bible is that of a judge to a witness and not that of a disciple to a teacher. It distinguishes a dead positivism from a spiritual comprehension and a living reproduction of Scripture truth.

Similarly, the legal interpretation of the words of the Divine Redeemer has led to the hard forensic attitude of mind in which the forgiveness of sins is regarded as synonymous with the remission of penalty and the atonement as the imposition of that penalty upon an innocent victim. Dr. McConnell believes that the language of the New Testament, and therefore of Jesus Christ, is biological rather than legal. It would be a distinct gain to Christian thought if this valuable suggestion led anyone familiar with the principles of biological science to apply this method to the interpretation of Scripture. In a word, to render to biblical exegesis the service which Beck, in 1843, sought to render to biblical psychology.

Meredith J. Hughes.

Bryn-y-Maen Vicarage, Colwyn Bay.

THE MINISTRY OF GRACE.

THE MINISTRY OF GRACE: STUDIES IN EARLY CHURCH HISTORY, WITH REFERENCE TO PRESENT PROBLEMS. By John Wordsworth, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Salisbury. (*Longmans.* 8vo, pp. xxiv, 486.)

'The Law (says St. John, 1^{17}) was given by Moses, the Grace and the Truth came into being by Jesus Christ.' So the Bishop of Salisbury, after Westcott, translates the passage. He finds a

contrast in three particulars. Moses is a servant, Jesus Christ a Son; Moses gave an external code of rules, Jesus Christ brought God's message to bear on the whole inward life of the believer; Moses gave his code once for all on Sinai, Jesus Christ brought His message gradually as man's need required.

The Grace and the Truth, says Dr. Wordsworth, are Christ's gifts to the Church. They are given gradually as the Church requires them and can receive them. And they are distinct. The Grace is seen in the Church's organization and rites; the history of the Truth may be traced in her doctrine, together with her moral and social progress. To write the history of the Church of Christ is therefore to write the history of the Grace and the Truth which came into being by Jesus Christ. And he alone is the true historian who has them both in view. He may deliberately write of one, even of a part of one—Dr. Wordsworth deliberately confines himself to the history of the Grace, and of only part of the Grace, the organization of the Church—but he must have the whole in mind as he writes, else is he sure to mistake the temporary for the eternal, the local for the universal.

Dr. Wordsworth writes only of the organization of the Church. That is why he calls his book *The Ministry of Grace*. He hopes by and by to write another book, which he will call 'The Means of Grace.' And these two will cover the half of the history of the Church—its organization and its sacramental rites. He will leave the other half, the history of doctrine, with its issue in moral and social progress, to others.

He carries his history down to the year 425. He writes it out of the literature of those years, not out of modern books. And he furnishes, first of all, a clear convenient summary of what the literature is and where it may be found.

Now we need not trouble to ask what ground Dr. Wordsworth has for identifying the Grace which came into being by Jesus Christ with the ministerial organization and the sacramental rites of the Church. It is more important to ask what ground he has for believing that Christ left any organization at all, or even contemplated its coming into being. This question is central. Because by organization Dr. Wordsworth means something very definite. He means an organization resting upon a ministry which starts with the apostles, and continues through their successors to the end of time. And he has a generous conception of the length of that ministry. He sees that the Church has already lasted some two thousand years. It is a long period. But he counts it probable that a far longer period of existence is before her. What ground has he then for believing that our Lord contemplated such an organization in the hands of the apostles and their successors throughout the history of the Church?

Christ came to found a visible Church, not to create a school of philosophy. That is clearly suggested by His constant use of the term 'Kingdom of Heaven,' even when that term was likely to cause suspicion and jealousy. It is suggested also by His acceptance of the title 'King' when Pilate ironically bestowed it upon Him. For Dr. Wordsworth observes that the words 'My Kingdom is not of this world' (Jn 18^{36}) mean 'My Kingdom has not its origin from (*ex*) this world.' Now a Kingdom needs external organization, and Dr. Wordsworth believes that our Lord arranged for that external organization after He rose from the dead and before He ascended to the Father.

For in that interval He renewed the Commission which He had already given to the apostles. And now He removed the limits which He had previously set to their activity. He gave them the world for their sphere. He commanded them to go and make disciples of all the nations. He sent them forth into the world as His representatives also, bidding them wait for the Holy Spirit to enable them to become His witnesses (ἔσεσθέ μου μάρτυρες, Ac 1^{8}). Further, He put new means into their hands to accomplish this work. At first they were ordered to heal the sick and cast out devils. Now these miracles and gifts of healing, though not withdrawn at once, were counted subordinate to the preaching of repentance and the forgiveness of sins. And this was definitely connected with the Sacrament of Baptism.

And all this was clearly meant now to be permanent. He gave the new commission to the apostles, but He looked forward to a continuance of their ministry to the end of time. The Spirit was granted them to make them witnesses in every generation. The Sacrament of Baptism was not confined to the first disciples. And besides the Sacrament of Baptism, another Sacrament was instituted, 'to render permanent and continuous

those spiritual blessings which the presence of Christ on earth had made so precious to His disciples.' It is a double Sacrament. The Sacrament of His Body supplied the place of His healing, strengthening, vivifying touch, such as He had shown it on earth in cleansing the leper, lifting up Peter's wife's mother, raising Jairus' daughter. The Sacrament of His Blood was interpreted by Calvary and the Ascension. It bore historic witness to the Atonement and the Saviour's perpetual pleading in heaven.

That is the way in which the Bishop of Salisbury defends Apostolic Succession. Not that he is anxious to defend that or anything else. He is not an apologist. But he believes in Apostolic Succession. He believes that Christ contemplated Apostolic Succession and called it into existence. He thinks that our Lord's commission made it at least inevitable that a single officer (they called him bishop afterwards) should arise in every Christian community, and become its head in nearly every function of the ministry. And although the steps are hard to trace, he thinks that that was brought about in the following way.

As long as the apostles lived, they would be able to supply general control, so as to make it unnecessary for each community to have an independent and permanent head. But unity must be maintained—unity of doctrine, unity of administration, and unity of worship. And on the death of the apostles it would be felt that unity in the faith, in the face of abundant heresy, unity of administration as the community grew in wealth and came in contact with the civil power, and unity of worship, could best be secured through a tradition handed on by a single responsible leader, in constant communication with similar colleagues in other Christian communities.

As regards unity in the faith, Dr. Wordsworth counts this advantage of the Episcopate self-evident. It is the point singled out by 'the able writer now generally called Hilary the Deacon' as leading to the differentiation of bishops from presbyters—'that the thickets of heresies might be rooted out' (*In Titum*, i. 5). And he notes that Episcopacy grew up faster or slower according to the greater or less opposition of heretical teaching.

As regards administration, there was a maxim of Roman law requiring every corporate body to have its *actor* or representative. And although Christian bodies did not become corporate so soon as Jewish, they would be anxious to do all they could to acquire corporate rights.

As regards unity of worship, Dr. Wordsworth has more difficulty. Why should a special head be necessary to secure unity of worship which was not already secured in unity of faith? He even sees that it opened the door to great abuse. For although he finds no wrong in the special priesthood of the bishop, he acknowledges that it has not always been kept from obscuring either the unique High-Priesthood and Mediatorship of our Saviour or the priestly character of the whole congregation. And he also acknowledges that the priestly character of the bishop was the latest to emerge.

The Bishop of Salisbury's theory of the origin of Church organization, then, is this: Christ founded a Church, not a school of philosophy, and a Church or Kingdom needs organization. Christ must have contemplated—'made provision for'—such organization. For various reasons the organization must be centred in one. That centre and representative was at first called apostle, afterwards bishop. Christ must have contemplated that the apostle or bishop should be the representative of the Church through all generations—the one succeeding the other by what is usually known now as Apostolic Succession.

But the Bishop of Salisbury goes on to show, frankly enough, that the facts do not correspond with his theory. The apostles were not set over separate communities of Christians as their centre and representative. The Church did not recognize any intention of Christ's to have one centre or representative as a successor of the apostles over each Christian community. The organization of the Church was for some time in the East, and for a longer time in the West, in the hands of a college of elders or presbyters, of whom one, who at first was merely chairman, gradually rose to be president, and then to be recognized as separate from his brethren. The rise of the bishop proper was due, says Dr. Wordsworth, not to Christ's intention (that is only the theory), but (this is the fact) to the need of a central capable administrative authority and representative as doctrinal and political difficulties grew with the growth of the Church.

THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

THE SAINTS IN CHRISTIAN ART.

Mrs. Arthur Bell has made herself a name among the multitude, as Mrs. Jameson among the learned, by her studies in Christian Art. Her range is wider than Mrs. Jameson's. She has written much on art and artists outside the sphere of religion. But her studies are less original and less severe.

In the new volume there is found the same unpretending narrative of fact. The writing may be read to children. It is simple, dignified, and reverent. And yet the utmost care is spent on the effort to tell the truth and that alone. The chief value of the book lies in the readiness with which it can be made use of by the preacher. It is full of good points. And the artist is frequently called in to illustrate and impress. There are fifty full-page illustrations, reproduced with skill from rich soft photographs. Most of the early painters are represented, and some of the latest find an honourable place beside them. Burne-Jones' 'Nativity,' Holman Hunt's 'Flight into Egypt,' Millais' 'Christ in the House of His Parents' follow one another.

There is no fine writing after the guide-book manner. The great pictures are described, but simply, locally, their artistic and religious import being left to the maturer student and to other books. This reticence is one of the chief attractions of the book. The volume, which is itself an artistic success, is published by Messrs. George Bell & Sons.

SCOTTISH MEN OF LETTERS.

Having won great fame (and some opprobrium) by his *Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, Dr. Graham has quickly followed it with another book on the intellectual life of the same period. He has called it *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century* (A. & C. Black). It is one of the notable books of the season. Imposing in appearance and illustrated with thirty-two fine portraits, it has all the expectation of the most solemn scientific work, and yet it is highly entertaining from cover to cover. Dr. Graham's own style has much to do with its good cheer. He gathers good stories, but he makes them better by the telling. More than that, he believes these century-old men and women were men and women of like passions such as we are, and he gives them leave to live and move before us.

How old-fashioned their names are; of the eighteenth century, they seem much older than the men of letters of the sixteenth. We have forgotten them. It is only for a moment perhaps. We shall return to them and make them our friends for ever. But they are too recent to be worshipped, they are too ancient to be familiar with.

Dr. Graham begins with Allan Ramsay and ends with Dugald Stewart. Within that compass there came David Hume and Adam Smith and Robert Burns, who are already placed among the immortals. But Dr. Graham deals with them as with William Wilkie and John Skinner. They are all 'Scottish Men of Letters of the Eighteenth Century.' He is as daringly familiar with the gods as with the little fishes. He stands so little in awe of Hume, for example, that one marvels at his hardihood, and wonders if the great could have sometimes been so little. Is it a portrait of Hume? or is it only glimpses of him—snapshots, to use the new and melodious word—in the few moments in his life when Homer nodded? Was Hume really so fat that children had to hold on by his buttons to keep upon his knee? Did he wonder with such complacent wonder at the flutter he caused among the duchesses? Was Lord Saltoun right, 'David, maun, you'll believe onything except the Bible'? And did he think himself supremely orthodox, complaining that he was 'called a drunkard because he had been found fuddled once in his lifetime'?

The most difficult of all these men of letters to keep from caricaturing is James Boswell. Who has described him truly? Dr. Graham scarcely finds his greatness, his space being done before he is done with his foolishness.

In many respects it is a book to shake the head at, but it is to be read from cover to cover.

BAEDEKER'S 'EGYPT.'

'Baedeker' has a good market in Britain. He may be somewhat pressed in these days by native publishers, but he is resolved not to be beaten off. The *Egypt* has entered its fifth edition. It has been remodelled. It contains in one the two

volumes previously known as *Lower Egypt* and *Upper Egypt*. This has been accomplished by condensing the material rather than by enlarging the volume. Travellers are more in a hurry now than they used to be. They have not time to climb ladders and look behind the carved leaves of a Corinthian pillar. They want the striking objects pointed out to them, and they want them at once. The new Baedeker supplies them with the information which they must know, and lets them hurry on. Maps, plans, pictures, everything is done to arrest the eye as well as the ear. And if the traveller does not know the language, enough is furnished to enable him to find his breakfast and his bed, and even enter on a little human intercourse. Marvellous is the amount of matter that is compressed within the compass of this volume, which could almost be got into a lady's pocket. It will be interesting to see whether this volume holds its own or loses in the race with Macmillan. Knowing that so much depends on the maps of a guide-book, the editor has had all the maps revised for this edition, using for that purpose the latest published and some unpublished material. Baedeker is published by Messrs. Dulau.

THE MISSIONAR KIRK OF HUNTLY.

This is the ancient and honourable name which Mr. Troup chose for a series of articles contributed by him to the *Huntly Express*, and now republished by the capable editor of that newspaper at his office in Huntly. It is just such a record as one should so gladly see written for every historical congregation in the land. This is often done for parishes, it is rarely done for congregations. Yet it is in the congregation that the centre of human interest in the parish is found, as Mr. Barrie of Thrums has not been slow to perceive. It may be that few congregations possess so honourable a history as this, whether spiritually or intellectually. It is George MacDonald's congregation, the congregation he was 'brought up' in. It is the congregation to which belonged also Dr. Milne and Dr. Legge, both of China. And above all, it is the congregation of the Rev. George Cowie. Mr. Troup has enabled us to see how great this man was, and surely now the most stiffnecked among us will be willing to recognize it. His history is a miniature of the history of the whole Church of Christ. From the beginning even until now the policy of the Church ecclesiastic has been the 'Ca' canny' policy; and it was because George Cowie would be up and doing that they cast him out. What were the charges brought against him? They were these: First, he helped the London Missionary Society with money. Secondly, he held a monthly meeting for prayer and allowed laymen to pray publicly. Thirdly, he encouraged laymen to teach in Sabbath schools. And fourthly, he received itinerant preachers and ate with them. For these things the Anti-Burgher Presbytery cast Mr. Cowie out, and sent him with God's blessing, though not with theirs, to build 'The Missionar Kirk of Huntly.' It is a book to be much sought after, especially by antiquaries and ecclesiastics.

THE TEACHERS' COMMENTARY ON THE ACTS.

Mr. Frowde has published at the Oxford University Press the second volume of Dr. Peloubet's series of commentaries for Sunday-school and other teachers. It is the volume containing the Acts of the Apostles. As it was in the first volume, as it will be in all the volumes, the text used is a combination of both English versions, with the marginal references of the Revised edition. Both features are as nearly perfect for their purpose as we can get them. The commentary itself is full, and special attention is given to illustrations. The most available literature has been consulted, and there is no reluctance to accept critical results. In this respect Dr. Peloubet has made an advance upon popular commentaries. His scholarship is good, his proof-reading careful. Without the claim to much original research—frankly disclaiming it, indeed—he has produced a commentary on the Acts which will find an honourable and most useful place even in the crowd of good commentaries which have lately been provided. Without reserve we recommend it to the teacher as the best for his purpose at present.

GREAT RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD.

The great religions dealt with in this volume (which is published by Harpers) are Confucianism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Brahminism, Zoroastrianism, Sikhism, Positivism, Babism, Judaism,

Christianity, and Catholic (*i.e.* Roman Catholic) Christianity. And these great religions are dealt with as they manifested themselves in the nineteenth century. It is their present position, their recent progress, their immediate future, that the authors of these essays have laid before us. The authors are all men of commanding authority. Dr. Herbert Giles writes of Confucianism, Mr. Frederic Harrison of Positivism, Dr. Washington Gladden of Christianity, and Cardinal Gibbons of the Roman Catholic Church. Their faculty for clear thinking is less uniform than their capacity for knowing, and still less equal is their skill in forceful expression. Perhaps Mr. Harrison knows his subject best and writes about it most forcefully. Dr. Gaster is, however, the chief surprise. His power of comprehension is as amazing as his boundless confidence in the future of Judaism. His language is strong and free. He claims that in England the sympathies of the masses are with the Jews. But it is not so in any other European country, and least of all in Germany. There 'Nationalism—*i.e.* egotism in its most brutal form—has taken the place of humanitarianism; seclusion that of expansion; personal interests that of general welfare; and all together have produced and still produce a spirit of bitter jealousy and envy, of hatred and persecution against anything and everything that runs counter to the new racial and national prejudices, which are set up as the only standard of true patriotism. . . . This is the psychological origin of the new moral disease known under the name of Anti-Semitism. Born and bred in Germany, it was nurtured there, and has spread like a plague from country to country, following in the wake of militarism, despotism, the brutalization of the masses, false patriotism, greed, and jealousy.'

It is altogether a notable book, not to be neglected by the statesman or the student of religion.

RELIGION IN RECENT ART.

This very artistic volume is at last a worthy casket (as the old writers would have said) for so beautiful a gem. It contains Dr. Forsyth's Lectures on Rossetti, Burne-Jones, Watts, Holman Hunt, and Wagner. The former volume was not worthy, but now all that paper and binding, all that printing and engraving can do, have been poured out unsparingly. The lectures are unaltered. To alter would have been to rewrite. For Dr. Forsyth could not insert new sentences undetected, so far has he travelled since this book was first published. And Dr. Forsyth could not have rewritten them now. Something else he could do now, something more penetrating than this, but not this. He could not let himself go now and scatter his gladness and his praise as he does here. So this for this purpose is best. It scarcely could be better. We should be glad to see the book that will more readily give young men and maidens a glimpse of the Holy of Holies in Art or more abidingly. There are eight full-page illustrations and they are very good. The publishers are Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton.

GIPSY SMITH.

Did St. Peter write the Epistles we know by his name? No. For how could an unlettered fisherman write such excellent Greek? And so Dr. Selwyn turns to St. Luke and thinks *he* was the actual author. But turn to Gipsy Smith rather. Born a Gipsy, brought up a Gipsy, unable to read one word of English as he entered man's estate, he writes this book in the prime of his manhood, and it carries you away with the vigour and felicity of his language. There is no experience he cannot record, there is no emotion he cannot awake. He has passed through life believing in miracle, receiving and doing miracles himself, but no miracle is greater than this, and it lies unmistakable and undeniable before our eyes. 'We are God's workmanship'—*poem* is the literal word. What a poem this man's life is! It is all of God's shaping. How can a man doubt 'the second birth' who reads a book like this? How can he miss the demand for it? No doubt the book will be read by many for its good stories—but it is greater than its stories. Its title is *Gipsy Smith: His Life and Work*, by Himself. Its publisher is Mr. Thomas Law of the Memorial Hall, London.

HANDBOOKS FOR THE CLERGY.

Messrs. Longmans have commenced a new series in practical theology. It is to be edited by the Rev. A. W. Robinson, B.D., and to be called

'Handbooks for the Clergy.' The first volume has been written by the general editor. Its subject is *The Personal Life of the Clergy*. A more fitting subject with which to open such a series, or indeed a more fitting volume, could scarcely be conceived. Mr. Robinson's manner is quiet and impressive. He recognizes the greatness of the high calling with which the Christian minister is called, and demands a great devotion. Taking his note from the first Earl of Selborne, he gathers all his demands into one word, spirituality. He will have nothing in the place of that. And it does not seem so hard to reach that when he points the way. He says that the difficulty of getting some men to speak on spiritual things is often due to the fact that a spiritual attitude was not adopted with them at the first. He adopts it with us at once, and he maintains it easily to the end. There is nothing that a Church need fear whose clergy hold before their eyes such ideals as this.

CHRISTIAN ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

Messrs. Macmillan are issuing a series of 'Handbooks of Archæology and Antiquities.' Some volumes of classical interest are already out. The first that seeks the ear of the theologian is a volume on *Christian Art and Archæology*, by Walter Lowrie, M.A. It is a book of the finest quality of workmanship, whether we think of its research, its scientific exposition, its rich and choice illustration, or its artistic production. It stands alone. No other book exists for the student beside it. For the wealthy and the luxurious there are more sumptuous and more ponderous works; for the casual reader there are more sketchy and popular writings; there is nothing for the student but this.

The period in the history of the Church which Mr. Lowrie covers is that which commences with the second century and ends with the sixth. His subjects are Christian Cemeteries (within which are described the Catacombs), Christian Architecture, Pictorial Art, The Minor Arts, and Civil and Ecclesiastical Dress. There is no effort at exhausting any of these subjects; nor is there any straining after an originality of handling them. It is the student's wants, not his own reputation, that the author has studied. The illustrations are all selected from books, and the books are named; the letterpress is all dependent on literature or living authorities, and the literature is mentioned also. But thus each is thoroughly representative and thoroughly trustworthy.

Occasionally points of wider interest emerge. We recall how poetically Matthew Arnold uses the fact that the Good Shepherd is represented sometimes with a kid instead of a lamb upon His shoulders. Mr. Lowrie gives us the prose of it. 'The fact that it is sometimes a kid instead of a lamb is probably not significant.'

REGNUM DEI.

After the Person of Christ, the most glorious subject of human study—and the most difficult—is the Kingdom of God. For its difficulty as well as for its glory Dr. Robertson chose it as the subject of his Bampton Lectures for 1901. The Bampton Lectures have now been published under the title of *Regnum Dei* (Methuen).

Dr. Robertson has worked his great subject after the historical method. In that method he still has implicit confidence, after all that Canon Moberly has said. It does not go all the way, but so far as it goes it leads aright. It leaves many questions half solved, but they are known to be only half solved, and the other half cannot be solved by any process of guessing, but only by waiting for more facts. Canon Moberly may call his guessing deduction, but it is deduction *before* the facts are gathered, and Dr. Robertson will have none of it. His method is the historical one pure and simple, for the historical method has given us all our gains in theological as in physical science these many days, and we are not lightly to let it go. In his first lecture he seeks out the references to the kingdom of God in the Old Testament, classifies them, and draws their meaning forth. In the next two he similarly deals with the New Testament, separating the Epistles from the Gospels, and taking each New Testament writer by himself. And thus he works right on through the history of the Church, till in the eighth he comes to 'The Kingdom of God in Modern Thought, Work, and Life.'

Dr. Robertson distinguishes the three expressions: Church, Kingdom of Christ, Kingdom of God. He believes they are kept distinct in the teaching of the New Testament generally. He puts his distinction in various ways, for it is a characteristic of his style as a teacher to repeat his thought in a variety of language and send it gradu-

ally home. In one place he says: 'The Church is *becoming* the Kingdom of Christ, and the Church in her glory to come would seem to rise to the full height of the perfection of the Kingdom of God.' Elsewhere he says that the Church is the Nurse and Home of the Kingdom of Christ, and the Kingdom of Christ is the present incomplete reign of Christ which reaches its perfection in the future, when God's will is perfectly done on earth and in heaven and the Kingdom of God is realized. Thus the Church is imperfect in growing tares as well as wheat; the Kingdom of Christ is also imperfect, though it grows only wheat, in that it is not yet fully realized; when the final and perfect state of the Kingdom of Christ has come, it is called the Kingdom of God.

Respecting the Millennium, Dr. Robertson doubts if we have data enough to come to a decision. There are three questions. They arise and have to be settled before we discuss the question of pre- or post-millenarianism. Is the expression 'a thousand years' to be taken literally, as Justin and Irenæus take it? Or is it to be taken in a semi-realistic sense, as a prophecy respecting the Roman Church, as many 'millennarians' apply it? Or is it, finally, to be regarded as a concrete image for a spiritual truth, the truth that the reign of Christ is found in hearts hid with Christ in God, and that this inner relationship to Christ can only be *ideally* exhibited on a great scale on earth? With Augustine, Dr. Robertson inclines to the last of these positions.

Such matters indicate the scholarly, capable, independent, reserved character of this book. It is not a popular book. It will, however, be found for many a day at the hand of the most serious students of the 'things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.'

THE RELATIONSHIPS OF LIFE. By C. Silvester Horne, M.A. (*Allenson*).—There is a spirit of quiet encouragement in these sermons. They seem to say that Mr. Horne remembers his fellow-Churchman's advice — the advice of Mr. Jowett — to let the winning element prevail in preaching. Parents and children, brothers and sisters, lovers, husbands and wives, masters and servants are encouraged to serve one another in love. There is a beautiful chapter on the true gentleman. And always strong common sense is touched with earnest Christian piety.

BLACKWOOD'S PHILOSOPHICAL CLASSICS. — The new edition of the Philosophical Classics is now complete. It is a great opportunity which the publishers have afforded to students of philosophy. There is no other way in which a vivid conception of the great modern philosophers can be so easily obtained. And the volumes are written with the very object of urging the student to further reading. Not a few owe their earliest love of philosophy to these beautiful volumes.

THE MEDICI AND THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE. By Oliphant Smeaton, M.A. (*T. & T. Clark*).—Mr. Smeaton has given himself to this difficult period—perhaps the most difficult in all the series of 'World's Epoch-Makers'—with his whole strength, and he has produced a book that will live. Who knows this subject enough to be independent of a guide? Who dares be ignorant of it? Mr. Smeaton has been patient and discriminating, not scattering praise or blame, but seeking motives, seeing providence, and making his book a contribution to history. He has had to correct some predecessors, even great ones, here and there, but with good reason and much reverence. His picture of Lorenzo is a great success. Nowhere has 'the Magnificent' been better set forth in short space than here.

THE RIGHTS OF MAN. By Lyman Abbott (*Clarke*).—Dr. Lyman Abbott lives in his own time. He loves to read about Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but he would not dwell in tents with the patriarchs. He has the sense of right and wrong, but he rejoices most in advocating the rights of the horny hands around him. He is most in love with modern life, and he is most at home there. This is one of his best books. It is good throughout. Here Dr. Lyman Abbott speaks of the things that have made America great, and he speaks well, for he heartily believes in them and in their future. 'There is certainly no people on the globe, except, perhaps, the equally democratic communities of Australia and New Zealand, where happiness is so general as in America.' The things that have made America so happy he sums up under the one potent name 'Democracy.' He believes that 'Democracy in some form is the ultimate and permanent form of government.'

THE TEMPLE BIBLE (*Dent*).—The first two volumes of this series were published in a most attractive leather binding, the three before us are in ordinary green cloth. This is the more regrettable as half the charm of the Temple Bible lies in its 'get up.'

The first volume is Professor J. H. Paterson's *Leviticus*. It is popular, but it is popular with precision. To give us more than a dainty book on Leviticus within this space seemed scarcely possible, but Dr. Paterson has also given us an insight into the origin and the ethics of the Mosaic ritual, and he has shown us the roads that lead to deeper study.

Dr. Wilson Harper knows his subject (*Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther*) better than Canon Benham seems to know his (*The Johannine Books*), but he has been mercilessly hampered for room.

Each volume opens with an appropriate etching. And the etching alone is worth the price of the volume.

THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS. By E. T. Campagnac, M.A. (*Frowde*).—Oxford and Cambridge have begun to dwell at peace. 'They hang the trumpet in the hall and study war no more.' At the Oxford Press is published a most enthusiastic estimate of the Cambridge Platonists. Mr. Campagnac did well to go to Oxford with his book, for Cambridge could not have welcomed him with a more beautiful binding, and he has been able to show that Benjamin Whichcote, John Smith, and Nathanael Culverwel are now of the wide world. His Introduction is racy yet sympathetic. His quotations are chosen with great discretion. Who will admit ignorance of the Cambridge Platonists after this?

A HEBREW AND ENGLISH LEXICON (*Frowde*).—This part carries the alphabet into *Q*; another should finish the work. When finished it will be the most serviceable Hebrew Lexicon in existence. The more we use it, the more we rejoice in its accuracy, accessibility, and completeness.

THE CENTURY BIBLE: THE ACTS. By J. Vernon Bartlet, M.A. (*Jack*).—This, even within the compass of a small and beautiful book, is the commentary of a scholar and fit for scholars' using. Some volumes in this dainty series we like to look at; we shall have to use this one. On all the problems it has a short incisive word. On some of the phrases it throws the light of recent discovery or original thought. The study of the Book of Acts is made more difficult by this book, but that is necessary in order that it may become more profitable than it used to be.

THE THINGS ABOVE. By G. G. Findlay, D.D. (*Kelly*).—Professor Findlay's sermons are the delight and the despair of all earnest preachers. Their scholarship is so exact and so full of surprise, their unction is so irresistible. In this volume of ten sermons there is no effort after such originality as makes the hearer say, 'How clever!' but there is throughout the felt breath of that originality which is the peculiar possession of the Christian, the newness in Christ. 'Oh taste and see that the Lord is gracious; blessed is the man that trusteth in *Him*.'—that is not one of the texts, it is the spirit of all the sermons.

Two more volumes of the series entitled 'Books for Bible Students' have been published by Mr. Kelly. Mr. Pope's *Timothy and Titus* is the third small commentary on the Pastoral Epistles issued within three months. It is for education; its audience is the Bible class; it is the fruit of much experience. Dr. Townsend's *The Great Symbols* explains in the traditional manner the prophetical meaning of the Tabernacle and its Furniture. There is as little straining as possible, there is very much spiritual edification.

Mr. Kelly has also published the twelfth volume of *The Preacher's Magazine*, being the volume for 1901, which is edited by Dr. A. E. Gregory with more appreciation of the needs of the preacher and more consideration for his self-respect than ever.

ST, LUKE THE PROPHET. By Edward Carus Selwyn, D.D. (*Macmillan*).—This is the most original book of the month. Dr. Selwyn seems determined to turn all our histories of the Early Church into waste paper. When a man appears in our busy streets clothed in originality as in a Celtic garment, we usually pass him by as an eccentricity. We cannot pass Dr. Selwyn by. He is too good a scholar for that. He has too much insight into the heart and soul of early Christianity. And besides all that, we ourselves are too well aware that we know very little indeed

of the sub-Apostolic Church. It is startling enough to be told that St. Luke was (under St. Peter's direction) the writer of the First Epistle of St. Peter, and that St. Luke is Silas, and Silvanus St. Luke. But there are great results that follow, if we can be persuaded. For then it is easy to understand how St. Peter, who (says Canon Armitage Robinson), 'could not write or preach, even if he could speak at all, in any language but his mother tongue, the Aramaic of Galilee,' could nevertheless be the 'author' of both the First and the Second Epistles which go by his name.

STANLEY'S LIFE OF THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., 'Teachers' Edition, with a Preface by Sir Joshua Fitch (*Murray*).—'I should describe him as a great prophet among schoolmasters rather than an instructor or educator in the ordinary sense of the term . . . the secret of his power consisting not so much in the novelty of his ideas and methods, as in his commanding and magnetic personality, and the intensity and earnestness with which he impressed his views and made them—as a prophet makes his message—a part of the living forces of the time.' That estimate of Arnold is quoted by Sir Joshua Fitch, in his preface to this new and most convenient edition of *Stanley's Life*, from a private letter of Bishop Percival of Hereford—'one of the most distinguished of Arnold's successors at Rugby.' Its truth is unchallenged. Dr. Thomas Arnold was one of the latter-day prophets. The very familiarity of his ideas testifies to it. They have become part of our common everyday stock. And yet reading the book again (for this edition would draw the dullest to the reading of it), we found no lack of interest. If the ideas were less striking, the man was more. No wiser act was ever done by the Board of Education than when it 'departed from tradition and precedent' and prescribed this volume as part of the curriculum to be followed in the preparation of candidates for the Teacher's Certificate.

THE THIN PAPER SHAKESPEARE (*Newnes*).—There is nothing connected with the production of books that has made greater progress within recent years than leather bindings. Their beauty and their cheapness are the marvels of our day. It does not seem possible that at its price a more beautiful edition of Shakespeare could be published than that which Messrs. Newnes have issued in their 'Thin Paper' edition. Where have they got this miraculously thin and yet opaque paper? It used to be considered the monopoly of the Oxford Press. Its great value is to do away for ever with the small type of the old editions. This edition is in three volumes, and although each volume contains close on a thousand pages, it is yet of quite convenient pocket size.

THE TITLES OF JEHOVAH. By the Rev. H. W. Webb-Peploe, M.A. (*Nisbet*).—Mr. Webb-Peploe is not a Higher Critic. In this volume of sermons he ignores the Higher Criticism entirely. He therefore accounts for the sudden introduction of the name LORD God (Jehovah Elohim) at Gn 2^4 in this way. The title 'God' expresses the general ideas of greatness and glory, while 'Jehovah' represents self-existence and unchangeableness. It is therefore fitting that throughout the story of the lower creation the name 'God' should be used, but when man is introduced with his capacity to apprehend the Infinite and Unchangeable, the title 'Jehovah' should be added. And he says that 'Jehovah' seems always to be used in connexion with beings who can apprehend and appreciate the Infinite. Well, it is much more attractive than the critical theory of a new document beginning in that verse, and a new writer using his own favourite name for God. It is more attractive, whether it is truer or not. The other great titles of God are discussed in the same spiritualizing, allegorical, almost mystical manner. It is a notable book of its kind, representative of our most popular devotional literature.

S.B.O.T: THE BOOK OF PROVERBS. By A. Müller, Ph.D., and E. Kautzsch, D.D. (*Nutt*).—This is the latest volume of the Polychrome (or Rainbow) Bible in its Hebrew edition. Fifteen volumes of that edition are now published, and other two are announced as nearly ready, namely, Smith's *Deuteronomy*, and Stade and Schwally's *Kings*. Very little colouring is required in this volume. The notes are rigidly textual, but within that title lie many interesting suggestions and much marvellous ingenuity. As before, the general editor's initials are often seen, and are always as welcome as anything in the book.

THE METROPOLITAN TABERNACLE PULPIT. Vol. xlvii. (*Passmore & Alabaster*).—What is it that gave Spurgeon his immortality? All the gifts he received seemed to be for the day. We found him orator, pastor, homiletical provider. But he lives. He lives in those sermons which seemed to owe their popularity to their absolute adaptation to the moment. It must be the Gospel that is in them. It must be that beyond other men Spurgeon got at the heart of the gospel of the grace of God, and gave it forth. Here is another big volume, and it comes to us as fresh and moving as though it had been spoken yesterday.

THOUGHTS FOR EVERYDAY LIVING. By Maltbie D. Babcock (*Scribners*).—There is only one way of reviewing a book like this. That way is by quoting some of its 'Thoughts' entire. They will be found under the heading 'Point and Illustration.' Let it be said here that the little book has the severe simplicity so much admired in American binding. We love a gaudier style on this side, but we may learn.

TWO TREATISES ON THE CHURCH. By Thomas Jackson and Bishop Sanderson (*Stock*).—Besides the two Treatises, the volume contains a 'Letter of Bishop Cosin on the Validity of the Orders of the Foreign Reformed Churches.' The documents are all well known to students of English Church History; they are found here most conveniently. The present volume is a reprint of the 1843 edition.

THE GREATEST THINGS IN THE WORLD. By R. A. West (*Stockwell*).—It is a volume of short sermons. The greatest theme is the salvation of the Lord; the greatest treasure is the Word of God; the greatest question is, What think ye of Christ?

THE DIVINE IDEA OF PREACHING. By G. J. Kelly (*Stockwell*).—Mr. Kelly's chapter-headings are captivating. They are (1) Preaching, a Message-Bearing; (2) Preaching, a Wooing and Pleading; (3) Preaching, Fearless Personal Witnessing; and (4) The Preaching of the Life. These are so good that we are not surprised to find them followed by earnest candid speaking. The book is too short for the deepest impression, but it will give some an idea of what it takes to be a preacher.

SCENES AND CHARACTERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By the Rev. Edward L. Cutts, B.A. (*Virtue*).—Mr. Cutts has set out with the purpose of making the life of the Middle Ages intelligible to ordinary English readers of the present day.

His method is to select the most characteristic scenes and the most representative characters, and let them tell their own story in simple language, with the aid of original woodcuts. No effort is made to write strikingly. Every effort is spent on getting out of sight, that the mediæval saint or sinner and not the modern author may be seen and heard. The book is divided into seven parts. The first part describes the Monks, the second the Hermits and Recluses, the third the Pilgrims, the fourth the Secular Clergy, the fifth the Minstrels, the sixth the Knights, and the seventh the Merchants.

Mr. Cutts has gone to the most picturesque sources. Chaucer is leading favourite. One might even say that this pleasant book is a good and easy introduction to the study of that 'Well of English undefiled.' There is a quaint old-worldliness about the narrative, either the result of unconscious imitation or of consummate art, like the atmosphere the lotos-eaters breathed, charming us into appreciation.

STUDIES IN THE TEACHING OF JESUS AND THE APOSTLES. By E. T. Bosworth (*Intern. Com. of Y.M.C.A.*).—The Teaching is divided into four parts, namely, Jesus' Conception of Himself and His Mission; the Apostolic Conception of Jesus and His Mission; Jesus' Conception of the Disciple and his Mission; the Apostolic Conception of the Disciple and his Mission. Each part is much subdivided. And then on each subdivision are given minute directions for study. Thus on 'Jesus' Conception of the Kingdom of God,' the Fourth Day begins with: 'Notice the fundamental condition implied in Mt 7^{21} and compare it with Mt 6^{10}. What is the relation of this condition to 'repentance,' the condition discussed yesterday?' It is all methodical, searching, unsparing, and it is bound to bear much fruit.

A SHORT HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY. By John M. Robertson (*Watts*).—This volume is issued by the Rationalist Press Association. Its aim is to account for Christianity, its origin and

its history, without the aid of the supernatural. The difficulty is at the start. Mr. Robertson's method of accounting for the early belief in the supernatural is to see in all the miraculous incidents copies of heathen myths. 'The resurrection of Jesus is made to take place like that of Mithra, from a rock tomb. . . . Christ is made to turn water into wine, as Dionysos had been immemorially held to do; he walks on the water like Poseidon; like Osiris and Phœbus Apollo he wields the scourge. . . . Above all, the Christ has to be born in the manner of the ever-cherished Child-God of the ancient world; he must have a virgin for mother, and he must be pictured in swaddling clothes in the basket manger, preserved from immemorial antiquity in the myth of Ion and in the cult of Dionysos, in which the image of the Child-God was carried in procession on Christmas day.'

After that, things are easier. The rest of the book can be read with simpler faith, and it never fails to interest, it rarely fails to instruct. There is no natural affection for the Church, for ecclesiastical things of any form, but there is honesty of purpose, and even in things hostile on the whole are discovered elements of truth and of beauty. The monks were no better morally than other men, but they kept learning and philosophy alive; Luther and Calvin were alike bigots, as little disposed to religious toleration as the papacy ever was, but the Protestant movement, in Geneva as well as Germany, was essentially one of a moral and intellectual revolt, 'certainly fanatical, but in large measure disinterested.' Mr. Robertson seems to us sometimes to confuse philosophy with history, his own ideas with the turn of events, but he is not singular in that respect. It would be either a very wise or a very foolish man that could learn nothing from his clever unsparing pages.

The Books of the Month include also:—*The Touch of Faith*, by Arthur F. Winnington-Ingram D.D., Bishop of London (Wells Gardner); *Reminiscences of a Long Life*, by the late President W. D. Killen, D.D., LL.D. (Hodder & Stoughton); *The White Stone*, by John M'Gaw Foster (Longmans); *The Social Gospel*, by the Rev. T. Rhondda Williams (Lund); *The World and the Individual*, being the second series of the Gifford Lectures delivered at Aberdeen by Josiah Royce, Ph.D., LL.D. (Macmillan); *Life Everlasting*, by the late John Fiske (Macmillan); *Elisha the Prophet of Vision*, by the Rev. F. S. Webster, M.A. (Morgan & Scott); *The Story of the Calabar Mission*, by Jessie F. Hogg (Oliphant); *Scripture Beatitudes*, by the late Rev. R. A. Mitchell, M.A. (Oliphant); *Human Nature in its Fourfold State*, by Thomas Boston (R.T.S.); *Notes on the Round Table*, by the Rev. N. Dimock (Stock); *Jesus Christ, Memorials and Miracles*, by Alfred Starkey (Stock); *Sermons on the Book of Ruth*, by the Rev. Henry Briggs (Stockwell); *Some Unique Aspects of the Baptist Position*, by E. C. Pike, B.A. (Stockwell).

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Contributions and Comments.

The Aprons and Handkerchiefs of St. Paul.

What were the aprons of St. Paul, Ac 19[12]? Σιμικίνθιον, *semicinctium*, seems to be a rare word. Blass quotes Martial. 14, 153, Petron. 94. The patriarch Severus of Antioch,[1] put ὠράρια and ἐγχειρίδια; both words are translations of Hebrew פְּחִיל, Gn 38[18] (see Field's *Hexapla*, which is to be corrected in this passage). A gloss in Cod. Barocc. 76 of the Bodleian Library declares σιμικίνθιον τὸ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας σανδαλίον (*sic*; see Coxe's *Catalogus*, I. 129). In the *Dictionary of the Bible* it is said that 'the apron of Ac 19[12] was a wrapper of coloured cotton, in shape and size resembling a bath towel, worn by grocers, bakers, carpenters, and craftsmen generally as a protection to their clothes from dust and stains, and as something to wipe their perspiring and soiled hands upon. St. Paul would wear an apron when making tent-cloth. Handkerchiefs and aprons were chosen because they were light and portable and of the same shape for all.'

I don't think that this explanation does full justice to the context. The people of Ephesus wished to have pieces of clothing which were in immediate contact with the very body or skin of St. Paul (ἀπὸ τοῦ χρωτός), and not an apron worn over the regular clothes. Now compare with the meaning σανδάλιον, given above, the passage from the *Martyrium Polycarpi* (13, 2), where it is told that when the pile was ready, he took off his garments, loosened his girdle, and tried to unshoe himself, ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ ὑπολύειν ἑαυτόν, while hitherto he had not done this himself, μὴ πρότερον τοῦτο ποιῶν, because always everyone of the faithful was hurrying (διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἕκαστον τῶν πιστῶν σπουδάζειν) who might first touch his body (or skin) ὅστις τάχιον τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτοῦ ἅψηται. And compare, further, the fact that up to the present day in Roman Catholic circles *stockings* worn by the holy Father are considered as especially helpful against gout and all kind of diseases. There is another gloss quoted in Matthew Pole's *Synopsis*, which renders σιμικίνθιον by ὑπόζωμα, whatever the meaning of the latter word may be. At all events, it seems to me that σ. must mean an underwearing, and not an apron worn above the regular clothing.[2]

Eb. Nestle.

Maulbronn.

[1] Quoted on the margin of the so-called *Philoxeniana*.

[2] The *sudarium* is, according to the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthæus, chap. 40, worn on the head: Jesus said to Joseph, Tolle sudarium quod est super caput tuum et vade et pone illud super faciem mortui . . . et sudarium quod habebat super caput suum, posuit super faciem eius.

'Our Lord' in the Lewis Palimpsest.

In The Expository Times for February Mr. Bonus has drawn attention to the peculiar distribution of those passages in the Lewis Palimpsest which substitute the term Maran ('our Lord') for the more usual 'Jesus' of the canonical Gospels. According to his investigations (and the statistics are certainly valuable) 'we are confronted with the very curious fact that in two well-defined sections of Mt and Jn, Lp [the Lewis Palimpsest] employs the expression "our Lord" persistently to the exclusion of the name "Jesus," but that elsewhere Lp reads "our Lord" with no special frequency.' The two tracts of the Gospel text over which the substitution is found are Mt 8^3–11^7 and Jn 1^{36}–6^5, as may easily be verified by the student. Mr. Bonus goes on to say that in these sections the substitution referred to has no support either in the Curetonian (Sc) or in the Peshito (P). In order to establish more clearly that the singular phenomenon is confined to the regions in question, or almost entirely so confined, he gives a tabular statement of the occurrences of 'our Lord' in the narrative of the Gospels[1] outside these sections, and comes to the conclusion that the Palimpsest has the term elsewhere 8 times as against 12 times in Sc and 11 times in P. I propose to show that these figures are incorrect, and that the matter requires to be re-stated. In order to establish this, I reprint below the tabular statement as given by Mr. Bonus in The Expository Times, p. 237.

At first sight the table seems to bear the interpretation put upon it by Mr. Bonus, but a closer examination shows that in a number of cases the expression 'our Lord' is not a substitution for 'Jesus,' but an attempt to translate ὁ κύριος so as to escape from the sense which the word normally bears in the O.T. Quite rightly the rendering is given as 'our Lord.' But these are not cases which come under the definition of Mr. Bonus in his collation, 'Lewisianum ܡܪܝ pro ܝܫܘܥ persaepe legere.'

For instance, the last four instances on the list must be removed; so must Mk 16^{20}, Lk 10^{39} 11^{39} 12^{42} 16^8 17^5 18^6 19^8 22^{61bis}.

Lp.	Sc.	P.
Mt 4^{18} omits.	'our Lord.'	omits.
14^{31} 'Jesus.'	'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'
Mk 12^{24} 'our Lord.'	lost.	'Jesus.'
16^{20} wanting.	Lord (*i.e.* God).	'our Lord.'
Lk 8^{40} 'our Lord.'	'Jesus.'	'Jesus.'
10^{39} 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'our Lord.'
11^{39} 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'Jesus.'
12^{42} 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'Jesus.'
14^{16} 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'Jesus.'
16^8 Lord (*i.e.* God).	'lord' (of the steward).	'our Lord.'
17^5 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'our Lord.'
18^6 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'our Lord.'
19^8 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'Jesus.'
22^{25} omits.	'our Lord.'	'Jesus.'
22^{31} omits.	'our Lord.'	'Jesus.'
22^{61} 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'Jesus.'
22^{61} 'Jesus.'	'our Lord.'	'our Lord.'
Jn 8^{34} 'our Lord.'	lost.	'Jesus.'
11^{44} 'our Lord.'	lost.	'Jesus.'
12^{16} 'our Lord.'	lost.	'Jesus.'
13^{23} 'our Lord.'	lost.	'Jesus.'
20^{18} 'our Lord.'	lost.	'our Lord.'
20^{20} omits.	lost.	'our Lord.'
21^7 'our Lord.'	lost.	'our Lord.'
21^{12} omits.	lost.	'our Lord.'
8	12	11

Then we must remove from the list Mk 12^{24} where the reading of the Palimpsest has been wrongly given in the published text. Again, in Jn 13^{23} the reading is not clearly established. We must also remove Mk 4^{18}, for there is no name given in the Greek, and so, although Sc has added 'our Lord,' there is no evidence that it is a substitution for 'Jesus.'

Three further cases occur, which are a little more doubtful: they are Lk 14^{16} 22^{25} 22^{31}. In all these cases there does not appear to be any name in the original Greek, and it is doubtful whether the name and title inserted are more than independent attempts to fill up an ambiguous lacuna. If we omit these cases we are left with the following statistical result of the substitutions of 'our Lord' for 'Jesus.' The Palimpsest has three passages, namely, Lk 8^{40}, Jn 8^{34}, Jn 11^{44}; the Cureton text has none; and the Peshito only one, namely, Mt 4^{18}. Nothing could express more clearly the fact which Mr. Bonus wishes us to notice, that the substitution of 'Maran' for 'Jesus' belongs to two regions of the Lewis Palimpsest and practically nowhere else, and as far as these two regions are concerned, Mrs. Lewis

[1] Mr. Bonus has taken, as he says, 'no notice of the use of the phrase "our Lord" by *speakers* in the Gospel narratives, *e.g.* as in Mt 28^6, for these cases stand on a different footing.' I do not understand the distinction. The reference to Mt 28^6 is peculiarly unfortunate.

was surely right in describing them as of a later type than what corresponds to them in the Cureton text. For this is an evident consequence from the two statements, that the Cureton Gospels have a common origin with the Lewis Gospels, and that the 'Maran' readings have come into the Lewis Gospel as corruptions.

Now the occurrence of these two groups of readings has really nothing to do with the genealogical tree of the Syriac versions, not even if the readings should be proved to be due to the influence of the Tatian Harmony; for, as we have shown, in the Lewis texts they are an intrusion, and in the Cureton and Peshito versions they do not exist; at least there is no sufficient proof of their existence, as regards these versions, when we are discussing the problem whether we should read 'Maran' or 'Jesus.' And it only tends to obscure the problem when Mr. Bonus introduces, in connexion with the 'Maran' readings the question of the antiquity of the Peshito. I perceive that Mr. Bonus regards the controversy over the relative ages of Sc and P as a slumbering question, which he or someone else is going to reopen. However, on this point he will probably see reason, before long, to retrace his steps, as there is no road that way. And recent investigations into the supposed antiquity of the Peshito will probably deter any further attempt on the part of scholars to find or force a path. As to the way in which the 'Maran' readings came into the Lewis text, the steadiness with which they occur shows them to be the result of deliberate art. The region Mt 8^3–11^7 is almost exactly that occupied by four leaves of the actual MS., for fol. 11^r begins with Mt 8^3, and fol. 14^v ends with Mt 11^1. (The objection arises that the leaf before fol. 11 is missing, and consequently the region is not accurately defined in which the phenomenon occurs.) Mt 1^1 begins on fol. 3^v, and allowing for one blank page at the beginning, this is eight leaves before the four 'Maran' leaves. The suggestion is that, in the archetype or ancestry of the Lewis text, a single quire (namely, the third) was 'Maranized.' Will this, however, explain the tract Jn 1^{36}–6^5? We find that fol. 120^v begins with Jn 1^{36}; that is suggestive: Jn 6^5 is near the end of the first column in fol. 129^r; that is, the space covered is a column short of a region of nine leaves. This is a little more than we expected; if it had been eight leaves, we should have said at once that a couple of quires in the early part of John had been 'Maranized.' Now we are, of course, in the dark as to the previous history of the text of Lp. We are assuming the pages of the archetype were something like the present pages, and that the archetype was arranged in groups of four leaves. It is impossible to do more than make a guess; but we suggest that from the fact that the second region is very little more than double the first region (it should be remembered that the definition of the regions is only made by the nearest 'Maran'), it is probable that a scribe introduced the word by which we made the delimitation into two quires of John and one of Matthew. It is only a conjecture; but the data do not admit of anything stronger. We do not even know that in the archetype the Gospels followed the same order as in Lp.

Last of all comes Mr. Bonus' suggestion that perhaps the scribe was under the influence of the *Diatessaron* in making the change from 'Jesus' to 'Maran.' For this, however, the proof is not yet forthcoming; and it appears unlikely, in view of the defect of similar phenomena in Sc and P. We should rather be disposed to think that the same tendency which we find in the later Gospels, to write 'our Lord' or 'the Lord' for 'Jesus,' had begun to colour Syriac speech and literature, and so had become reflected on to the texts of the Gospels from the minds of the Scribes: but here we are still in the dark and can hardly venture so much as a conjecture.

Mr. Bonus deserves our thanks for drawing attention to the matter of the distribution of the term 'Maran' in the Syriac Gospels; but I cannot help wishing that he had presented the statistics (*a*) more completely, (*b*) in a form more suitable for drawing critical conclusions. In a private communication he informs me that it was not his object to draw any conclusions at all, but only to present the facts. I am sorry if I have not sufficiently recognized the limitations under which he was working, and if I have appeared to criticize him for doing what he had never attempted.

J. Rendel Harris.

Professor A. R. S. Kennedy's Article 'Money': A Correction.

In last month's issue (p. 220b), in a review of the new edition of Schürer's *G.J.V.*, I called

attention to his complimentary references to Professor Kennedy's article 'Money' in vol. iii. of Dr. Hastings' *D.B.* By an unfortunate slip of the pen Dr. Schürer was made to describe the article as a 'sehr gute Zusammen-*setzung* (*i.e.* 'collection,' or 'compilation'). Of course it ought to have been 'Zusammen-*fassung*' (*i.e.* 'résumé'). A more unsuitable term than 'compilation' could not be found for an article which is not only 'sorgfältig' (I have quoted Schürer correctly this time), but marked by the highest originality and independence, qualities which will be found to characterize also Dr. Kennedy's article 'Weights and Measures,' and, above all, his article 'Tabernacle' in the forthcoming volume of the *D.B.*

J. A. Selbie.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

The True Meaning of Arpakshad.

It had long been conjectured that Arpakshad meant 'boundary of the Chaldæans,' and the Arab. word *urfa*, 'border,' 'district,' had even been cited by way of comparison. But, unfortunately, the existence of a word *arpu* in Bab.-Assyrian with this sense was not demonstrable. The latest attempts to explain the word were by Canon Cheyne (*Expositor*, February 1897, pp. 145–148; Arpakshad = 'Arpak, Keshad,' *i.e.* Arrapachitis and Chaldæa), and by myself (*Anc. Heb. Trad.*; Ar-pa-kshad = 'Ur-pa-kshad' = Ur Kasdîm, *pa* being the Egyp. article). Both these, however, which were merely last resorts, must be definitively abandoned now that I have succeeded in adducing from *W.A.I.* vol. ii. pl. 9, lines 20 and 37, a Bab. *arpu* as a synonym of *ṭiḫû*, 'bordering,' 'neighbourhood.' The corresponding Sumerian is *kar*, 'rampart,' 'embankment,' 'dam'; and there could be no more suitable synonym for 'border,' 'district,' than a word which, like *kar* (Semitic *kâru*), signifies 'bank-wall,' 'dam,' 'boundary wall.' The circumstance that *kar* is represented elsewhere by *narrubu*, 'flee' (Nifal of *arâbu*, Arab. *hariba*) does not necessitate reading *arbu* instead of *arpu* (cf. *e.g. šag* = both *damâḳu* and *temêḳu*, root עמק), as is done by Frd. Delitzsch (*H.W.B.* p. 128). Moreover, the context of *W.A.I.* ii. 9, 37 ('this *arpu*, he gave it to his father, and he caused him to enter into that which he had in possession') points clearly to such a sense as 'district'; cf., further, Eth. *araft*, 'wall,' and Arab. *muârif*, 'neighbour.'

Fritz Hommel.

Munich.

P.S.—I have just observed that Professor Sayce (The Expository Times, xiii. p. 65f.) has already sought to explain 'Arpakshad' by the Bab. *arpu* = *kar*, 'wall,' 'rampart.' He writes:—

'I have assumed that Arphaxad is a representative of the Western Semites. It has long since been recognized that the name is a compound of Chesed, and of all the attempts that have been made to explain the first element in it that of Schrader [*K.A.T.*² p. 113, cf. also Hommel, *Semiten*, i. p. 431], which connects it with the Arabic *arfah* [read *urfah*], Eth. *arfet* [read *araft*], "a wall" *or* "rampart," is the most plausible. I believe that I can now give Schrader's etymology its needed confirmation. In the recently published *C.T.B.T.* xii. pl. 11, lines 21 ff., *kar* "a wall" *or* "rampart," is explained by *arpu*, *narrupu*, and *irrupu*. Whatever may be the meaning of the last two forms, *arpu* has nothing to do with *arâbu*, "to destroy" [so Delitzsch, *H.W.* p. 128], and is, I believe, the *arpha* of "Arphaxad"; the latter name, consequently, will signify "the wall of Chesed."'

Thus Professor Sayce. The lines cited by him (*kar* = *arpu*) are found in the lexicographical list 83–1–18, 1330, col. 4, ll. 21 f. (see, already, Meissner, Suppl. p. 15, where *narrubu* is given correctly as infin. Nif. [to the ptcp. *munnarbu*] = 'flee,' but its connexion with the Arab. *hariba* is not yet recognized). In any case *arpu* is to be kept distinct from *narrubu*; there was in Sumerian a *kar* = 'flee' as well as a *kar* = 'wall,' 'boundary' (whence also *kar* = *etêru*, 'protect,' 'shelter,' 'spare'). The decisive passage for the latter sense (*kar* = *arpu*), derived, too, from a continuous text, and not a mere lexicographical list, has now been adduced by me from the above *W.A.I.* ii. 9. 20 and 37, and thus the final proof has been offered of the correctness of the interpretation already put forward by Professor Sayce.

On Certain Isaian Questions.

I desire to put briefly before your readers, most of whom have not seen my article which Professor König has criticized in so kindly a spirit (The Expository Times, November and December 1901), the chief points of that article.

1. Although not a professor, as Dr. König calls me, I have studied the Book of Isaiah long and carefully, and I hope to set the younger generation of biblical students at work upon problems which cannot be fully solved at present. Recognizing later interpolations in the book, I yet hold to its essential unity. The trend of Isaian criticism for the last eighty years reminds me of a road which bifurcates, the right-hand path constantly ramifying, till it loses itself in a labyrinth. It is time to go back to the fork of the road.

2. Gesenius (1821) exercised a reasonable criticism in dividing the Book of Isaiah; we should do the same if we had only his light. Though he had predecessors, he was the first to bring the world of scholars to believe in the exilian origin of Isaiah 40–66. But his chief bulwark, the historical situation in the time of Cyrus, we now perceive to rest on a misreading of the facts of history. The inscriptions of Cyrus and Nabuna'id show that Cyrus was no monotheist; that he never laid siege to Babylon; that the city welcomed him as a deliverer; that he worshipped its idols and ascribed his conquests to Marduk, not to Jehovah.

Among the burning questions yet to be settled are these: Did Cyrus do anything whatever for the Jews? Was there any return from Babylon before Ezra's? Was there even such an exile as tradition supposes?

3. Is 38 and 39 are generally held to precede chaps. 36, 37; hence 40 directly follows 37, and naturally refers to the same historical situation, which indeed it admirably fits. Jehovah comes to comfort Jerusalem after Sennacherib's devastation of the *cities of Judah* (compare his inscriptions). The prophet, as usual, addresses Jerusalem (40^9); his standpoint is there. The exiles accosted throughout 40–66 are not simply in Babylon, but in the four quarters of the earth ($43^{5f.}$ 49^{12}, cf. 11^{11}). That dispersion, begun long before Hezekiah's time, was in full progress during his reign. There is no occasion to postulate a miraculous prediction of events 170 years in the future, or to abandon the historical tradition as to authorship.

4. The polemic against idolatry in 40–48 well suits the period of Hezekiah's reforms, of which Isaiah was doubtless the chief organ. This remains true, whether those reforms marked the end or the beginning of the reign; but the parallels are striking if we assume with most recent critics that they followed the overthrow of Sennacherib.

That very juncture, too, was singularly apt for setting forth the mission of Israel as the servant of Jehovah. Professor König seems not to grasp my view of the course of thought in 41^{1-8}.

5. Chaps. 57, 65, 66 furnish another historical point of contact with the times of Isaiah. The division of parties in Northern Israel (2 Ch 30), and the influx of foreign colonists (2 K 17), seem to account for the various elements in those puzzling chapters.

Parallels may be adduced in this as in other cases from later times, but the time of Isaiah has the right of way.

6. The name Cyrus occurs but twice: 44^{28} 45^1. The latter is generally recognized as an interpolation, while the former verse is probably a variant plus a gloss. The Babylon passages are explicable in various ways, *e.g.* 43^{14} and 46^1 are remarkably paralleled in Sennacherib's account of his campaign of 700 against Merodach-Baladan. No one who holds, with modern critics, that the older prophecies were adapted by later interpreters to their own circumstances, can prove that the Book of Isaiah belongs to several authors, instead of to one author and a few editors.

7. The arguments from style and diction depend upon the ability to appreciate minute and characteristic resemblances and differences, and cannot be exhibited in a summary. Suffice it to say that the strength of the combined results of many recent and independent investigators, who have favoured Isaiah's authorship of some or all of the disputed passages, has been strangely overlooked.

8. As Professor König makes no allusion to my final topic, 'Isaiah's Place in the World of Thought,' let me quote a few sentences from it:—

'If their race is not extinct, the masters of general literature will some day be heard from on this question. I do not refer to masters' apprentices or literary dilettanti. I mean men of power, like Coleridge and Emerson; men who combine a taste as delicate as Sainte-Beuve's with an insight as keen as Browning's. They recognize a kindred spirit when they meet it; they know that the good God has sent to this planet a few men of towering literary genius, and that Isaiah was one of them. The great masters may ignore historical constructions; they will be indifferent to literary skirmishes on the outposts; but the moment you begin to argue that Isaiah having written A, could not have

written B, having soared to this height could not reach that depth, or even the common level between, they will exclaim "Hold! that is our province. Face to the right about and retreat." For no argument that would shatter Shakespeare and dismember Dante will have a feather's weight with such men.'

WILLIAM H. COBB.

Boston.

Inter Alia.

THE death of Professor A. B. Davidson of the New College, Edinburgh, is the sorest loss that biblical scholarship could sustain. His health had not been good for some time; the sudden flush, so characteristic of his face, betokened a heart weakness; and perhaps we ought not to have been taken by surprise. But his mind was as vigorous as ever, his interest in men and books was as fresh; he was investigating the oldest problems with the old zest, and reading the latest German brochure on them; and just before this session began he told us that he was preparing some new work for his students this year.

Estimates of his work and himself have appeared in the *British Weekly* and elsewhere; we offer one also by one of his most distinguished pupils. But every writer feels the impossibility of reproducing on paper the effect of his personality. Perhaps Professor Driver of Oxford comes as near as any. He has written at the request of the editor of the *Guardian*, and has kindly furnished us with a proof of his paper, from which we quote two paragraphs. For ourselves, we feel as one of the *children* in the house.

> For by the hearth the children sit
> Cold in that atmosphere of Death,
> And scarce endure to draw the breath,
> Or like to noiseless phantoms flit:
>
> But open converse is there none,
> So much the vital spirits sink
> To see the vacant chair, and think,
> 'How good! how kind! and he is gone.'

This is what Dr. Driver says of Dr. Davidson's work: 'Professor Davidson was a man of rare powers, and of still rarer qualities of mind. Whatever subject he touched, his treatment of it always displayed two qualities—it was *masterly*, and it was *judicial*. No one had a better power of penetrating to the heart of a subject; no one was more skilful in the discovery and delineation of the characteristics of an age, the drift of an argument, the aim of a writer; no one—witness his *Job*—could more powerfully analyse moral feeling or exhibit the conflict of motives in a difficult moral situation. His mastery of a subject was always complete; he grasped it firmly, he saw it under all its bearings, he expounded it with clearness, and he enabled his reader to see it with him. And his discussion of it was, moreover, always *judicial*. He weighs reasons, he balances opposing considerations, he is never carried away by a brilliant but hazardous speculation, he can always distinguish the certain from the hypothetical. His native caution, shrewdness, and insight never fail him. If his final judgments seem sometimes to show indecision, it is because indecision is warranted by the facts. His exegetical works are of the very highest quality; one reads them with the feeling that whatever he says is the result of long and mature study, that he has considered his subject from every point of view, and applied the best available methods with the single object of getting precisely at what his author thought and meant. And so one feels that his interpretation of a difficult passage, or conclusion on a controverted question, has an antecedent presumption of being the best attainable.'

This again is what Dr. Driver says of Dr. Davidson's influence: 'His lot was cast in a time when influence and guidance were greatly needed. Professor Davidson supplied both. He moved circumspectly: but he was gifted with openness of mind; and when he saw the way clear, even though it might be a new way, he did not hesitate to follow it. The judgments of a man whose temper and habits of mind were such as Professor Davidson's were well known to be,

naturally commanded confidence; and he was instrumental in leading many safely through a difficult and trying transition. His work was always spiritually fruitful. He deepened and enlarged the spiritual perceptions of his students; he illuminated and widened their mental view; many parts of the Old Testament he placed before them in a new light; and he set the whole upon a far surer foundation than it occupied before. The loss of a teacher thus highly gifted may well be deemed irreparable: but Professor Davidson will still live for long in the grateful memories of his pupils and friends; and by his writings, and the writings of those who, in the formative period of their lives, imbibed his principles and methods, he will continue to teach many generations of readers.'

In the article from which we have quoted Professor Driver expresses the hope that some of Dr. Davidson's promised work will yet see the light, especially his *Theology of the Old Testament*. We believe that that hope will be realized.

Another volume which has been long looked for, and almost as eagerly as Dr. Davidson's *Theology of the Old Testament*, is Principal Rainy's history of *The Ancient Catholic Church*. Happily it has been published, and its author is still with us. How like its author the book is. We hear his voice in every sentence. Some of the words are so associated with his speech that they might have been coined by him. The whole volume, however, is a characteristic product of his peculiar genius. It begins slowly, it moves slowly for a time, every word right, every sentence telling, the whole picture clear and memorable. Then it suddenly awakens emotion, deep thrilling emotion, we hold our breath, we seem to watch the speaker's lips again, we resent the slightest sound near us, we are ready to cry 'Well done, well done'; we have had an experience which is more than memorable, an experience which has gone to the making of our life. When the book has once got hold it does not let us go. Surely those who never read the history of the Church of Christ will read it now.

The title which Sheriff Guthrie has given to the little book which he has prepared for the 'Young People's Commemoration Day' is *Our Scots Reformers and Covenanters: Their Humanity and Humour* (Oliphant). It is a right well-chosen title. It is the title of a most opportune and happy little book. Led by the great wizard, who never did a sorrier service, the novelists and even the historians have taught that the noble forefathers of religious Scotland had neither humour nor humanity. Here is the abundant and triumphant refutation of the ghastly calumny. Let Englishmen especially seek this morsel of good reading—it costs but three halfpence—and learn how John Knox loved England and distrusted France, and never wavered, for had he not an English wife to love most dearly and never lose the memory of her sweetness?

In the *Auburn Seminary Review*, Professor A. T. Robertson of Louisville reviews Deissmann's *Bible Studies*, and says that it marks an epoch in the study of New Testament Greek. The phrase is sometimes used foolishly, here its use is quite accurate. For Deissmann's book marks the change that has come over the study of New Testament Greek from the evidence of the contemporary inscriptions.

The Testament of our Lord is now ready. Professor Cooper and Dean Maclean have spent much pains upon the translation, notes, and introduction. It will be one of the greatest books of the spring.

The *Guardian* receives Dr. Ball's book on St. Paul and the Roman Law as Professor Robertson receives Deissmann, saying that his 'most useful suggestive studies' illustrate the fact that 'the language of the Greek Testament and of Dogmatic Theology is charged with associations which can only be fully understood in the light of a larger knowledge of contemporary philosophy, law, and literature.'

Printed by Morrison & Gibb Limited, Tanfield Works, and Published by T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, Edinburgh. It is requested that all literary communications be addressed to The Editor, St. Cyrus, N.B.

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

In his recently published Life of Christ, entitled *The Man Christ Jesus*, the Rev. W. J. Dawson suggests an interpretation of the scene in the house of Simon the Pharisee (Lk 7^{36-50}) which seems to be new.

Mr Dawson suggests that 'the woman who was a sinner' entered the banqueting hall according to a carefully arranged plot of Simon's. He says that the whole occasion was part of a stratagem to entrap Christ. Simon wished to place Him in a false position, to compromise both His reputation and His influence. And 'the means by which this piece of astute malignity was to be achieved was a woman.'

The woman came to the banquet, says Mr. Dawson, on Simon's invitation. She was accustomed to attend banquets. That was her trade. She brought fragrant oils and essences to anoint the hair and brows of the guests. The custom was really a Roman one, and Simon, 'in his pride of wealth, was merely imitating the manners of the conquerors of his country.' It would be this woman's duty to anoint the head of Jesus. Every one would see her play her part. If Jesus resented her touch, then He was a prophet; if He did not, then 'Simon's banquet would long be remembered for its complete exposure of the prophetic claims of Christ.' For this woman 'was a beautiful daughter of shame.'

Simon was disappointed. 'This woman, full of gaiety and loveliness and youth, draws near the long divan on which the guests recline, to fulfil the duties of her calling. She is all smiles; she knows her beauty; she is conscious of the admiration it attracts; she is glad to find herself conspicuous, and there is no thought of shame or sadness in her mind. She approaches Christ with careless grace, and, behold, she stands suddenly arrested as by some unknown force, silent as a statue, with all her smiles frozen on her mouth.'

The interpretation seems to be new. But it is not credible. It falls to pieces over the single circumstance that Simon was a Pharisee. No Pharisee, however wealthy, would be found 'imitating the manners of the conquerors of his country.' He was a Pharisee just because he refused to do any such thing. It falls to pieces over its own unnaturalness also. The story in the Gospel is natural and consistent; it is spoiled of both by this supposition. And it falls to pieces over the notion that it was because she was 'a beautiful

daughter of shame,' that Christ was blamed for allowing her to touch Him.

In the last respect Mr. Dawson is at one with the most ordinary and orthodox interpreters. It is taken as quite an undisputed fact that this woman is called a 'sinner' because she was a prostitute. It is taken for granted that the objection to Christ's allowing her to touch Him was because she was so bad.

But was that an objection? Would any one at the feast have been offended at Christ's allowing a 'bad' woman to touch Him? Would Simon? Simon did not care how bad she was. What he cared for and considered was that she was a 'sinner.'

For the word 'sinner' carried a technical and universally understood meaning. There were two classes of persons in Palestine at the time—the righteous and the sinners. They were quite distinct. They had no social intercourse. They were almost, if not altogether, as separate from one another, as were the whole race of the Jews from the Samaritans. No righteous person would sit at meat with a sinner. When Jesus entered the house of the 'sinner' Zacchæus (all the publicans were 'sinners'), none of the righteous persons (most of whom were Pharisees) entered with Him. They would not allow a 'sinner' even to touch them.

Now Jesus belonged to the righteous class. He knew the Law. He was not one of 'this people that knoweth not the Law' and is accursed. And the great offence which the righteous persons found in Him was that He would not keep away from the sinners. Their continual complaint was that 'He ate and drank with publicans and sinners.'

Well, this woman was a 'sinner.' She belonged, not to the 'righteous,' but to the 'sinner' class. If she had been as bad as we make her, she would not have been more offensive to Simon. What he considered was not her badness but her class. He knew that she belonged to the sinner class, because she lived in his own city. Jesus presumably did not know that. But then, reasons Simon, if He were a prophet, He would know, and would not let her touch Him.

But was she as bad as we make her? The proof is supposed to be conclusive. On examination it breaks down altogether. 'A woman which was in the city, a sinner,' — to quote the Revised Version, after what is supposed to be the best attested text (γυνὴ ἥτις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἁμαρτωλός), — there is nothing, as we have seen, in that. Besides that, there is the phrase, 'who and what manner of woman this is' (τίς καὶ ποταπή). But these words carry nothing by way of description, and they are Simon's words. They express exactly Simon's astonishment, not at the badness of the woman, but at her class distinction. As the latest scientific expositor puts it, though he holds the ordinary and orthodox doctrine, the word translated 'what manner' *always implies astonishment, with or without admiration.*

And more than all, we lose the meaning of our Lord's rebuke if we do not see that the woman was simply one of the sinner class, as Simon was one of the righteous. No doubt the sinners were on the whole worse behaved than the righteous. In the parable of the Prodigal Son, the younger son, who represents the sinner class, goes farther astray than the elder, who represents the righteous. And so here. The woman owes, as it were, five hundred pence, Simon only fifty. But what of that, when neither has a penny to pay? It must be a matter of grace with both. Both must be frankly forgiven. Then their positions will be reversed. For Simon thinks he owes little, if he owes anything at all. The woman knows that she owes much, and when she is forgiven she will love much.

Who was this woman that was a sinner? What was her name? We cannot tell. Mr. Dawson

thinks St. Luke concealed it out of courtesy, though it is possible that his Source had concealed it already. But many names are concealed where no courtesy can be thought of. Of all the demoniacs who were healed by Christ, there is one name given, and only one. If courtesy had ruled, that name of them all would have been concealed. For the name was Mary of Magdala.

Mary of Magdala. It is hard, Mr. Dawson must think, that her name should come down to history. But how much harder that it should come down as that of 'a beautiful daughter of shame.' For so the Church in its carelessness has treated her. She has been identified with this woman that was a sinner, and this woman that was a sinner has been counted 'a beautiful daughter of shame.' Mary Magdalene — her malady was sore enough no doubt, for she was possessed by seven demons, but to have been made 'the patroness of unfortunates' is surely harder still.

What was Mary of Magdala's misfortune? To be possessed with seven demons, what was that? It is a question few can answer. It is a question which few can even attempt to answer in the present day. But there has just been published a thorough examination of this difficult matter of Possession, and we turn to it with interest.

Mary Magdalene, says Dr. Menzies Alexander (his book is mentioned on another page), was probably a widow in affluent circumstances, like Lydia of Thyatira. Her appearance in the company of the wife of Herod's steward, and her ministrations to Jesus in life and death, confirm his conjecture, he thinks, as to her good social position. And the interest of the situation lies in its indication of the existence of mental disease among the upper classes of the Jews at this date.

But what was her disease? And what is it to be possessed with *seven* demons? Dr. Alexander understands the seven to be the number of completeness. In the Magical Texts of Babylonia, he says, the 'Seven Spirits' are of frequent occurrence. Possession by the seven spirits was of the gravest significance, necessitating an appeal to Ea, lord of spirits. The mention of the 'seven' thus attests the severity of Mary's disorder. Her ailment, says Dr. Menzies Alexander, was acute mania.

Is it possible still to believe that the Fourth Gospel was written by St. John? It seems to be difficult to believe it in Germany. In England it is not so difficult.

It is not so difficult in England, because the victory of the last generation in favour of the Johannine authorship was won in England, and we have some proper pride in seeking to retain it. And besides that, it is not so difficult here, because here we are less moved by prepossessions which tell against the authorship.

Is it offensive to speak of prepossessions? The offence is committed by the Bishop of Worcester. Now the Bishop of Worcester is the last man needlessly to offend. If he is candid, he is also considerate. It is only when he has carefully studied the Johannine problem over again, and has found that there is neither new discovery nor new argument to explain the strong tendency of recent criticism in Germany to deny the authenticity of this Gospel; it is only when he has perceived that many German critics start with premisses which make the authorship of St. John impossible; it is only then that he speaks of prepossession. And he seems to be entitled to speak of it then.

The Bishop of Worcester has written two articles for the *Pilot* on 'The Problem of the Fourth Gospel.' They follow his articles in the same journal on the Synoptics. Together these articles form a sort of *Apologia pro vita sua*. For Dr. Gore is a higher critic. As a higher critic he

made much sensation in England some years ago. Why is it, he has been asked, that he believes in the higher criticism of the Old Testament and not in the higher criticism of the New. These articles are his answer. And what these articles say is that Dr. Gore believes in the higher criticism of the New Testament just as he believes in the higher criticism of the Old; but whereas the evidence was to his mind against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the evidence is in favour of the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel. He is a higher critic throughout. But as a higher critic he considers it his business to approach the Old Testament and the New without prepossession, and to rest on the evidence alone.

So Bishop Gore warns us against prepossession. He has found English and French scholars ready to doubt the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel. He has recently been astonished on one or two occasions to find distinguished Roman Catholic scholars and priests speaking of the belief that St. John the Apostle wrote the Fourth Gospel as a position which has to be abandoned. And he cannot but think that this is 'largely owing to an undue deference to the supposed authority of German critics, without regard either to their fixed prepossessions or to the real weight of their arguments.'

The authenticity of the Fourth Gospel seemed to be established twenty years ago, why should it be abandoned now? There have been no new discoveries either for or against, there have been no new arguments. Unlike the controversy over the Synoptic Gospels, the problem of the Fourth Gospel has been stationary since the day, some quarter of a century ago, upon which its use by Justin Martyr and Basilides was finally established.

If there is any change at all, Dr. Gore believes that it is in favour of the authorship of St. John. The most significant fact is the admission by Harnack that the writer of the Fourth Gospel was probably a younger contemporary and disciple of St. John, and that he may have used memoranda of the apostle himself. The questions of keenest interest therefore, at present, are who this disciple was, and whether he was capable of that which is attributed to him.

Harnack says that he was John the Presbyter. Now whether John the Presbyter was or was not capable of writing the Fourth Gospel, we cannot tell; for we know nothing about him. But if he was, even with the aid of St. John's memoranda, then it is surprising in the extreme that we know nothing else about him. For he was certainly the most remarkable literary product of his day.

Tradition says that the Fourth Gospel was written by 'John.' If this John was John the Presbyter, then John the Presbyter was a more remarkable man that John the Apostle. For John the Apostle may be supposed to have had recollections to draw upon, but John the Presbyter had none. Now, says Bishop Gore, if John the Presbyter had been this isolated literary phenomenon, we must have known more of him than his bare name. What he contends for, therefore, is that (except by some hypothesis of a literary prodigy), 'the man of the memories' must have been also the author of the Fourth Gospel, and that can be none other than St. John.

But the Bishop of Worcester does not imagine that to be shut up to St. John solves all the difficulties of the Johannine problem. For then the question arises in its acutest form, How does it come to pass that St. John's Gospel differs so greatly from the Synoptics? Certainly Dr. Gore does not make light of the differences. He believes that they are chiefly due to two causes. The first is that St. John wrote to supplement the Synoptics. The second is that St. John was himself something of an idealist.

It is the supplementary character of St. John's Gospel that explains to Bishop Gore the omission

of incidents so significant as the birth of our Lord, His baptism, His temptation, His transfiguration, most of His familiar miracles and discourses, His institution of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper, and the rest. His Gospel being supplementary, and being known to be supplementary, St. John does not even mention these incidents. Doubtless he had taught them for many years, his hearers were familiar with them. But he sometimes supplies a narrative which presupposes the incident, as the baptism of Jesus in the first chapter; or a discourse which explains it, as the Eucharist in the sixth. Sometimes, again, he silently, but Dr. Gore believes deliberately, corrects a prevalent misunderstanding of the Synoptics. He corrects the impression that the Last Supper was the ordinary Paschal meal celebrated at the ordinary time, and (in 1^{33}) he perhaps corrects the impression taken from Mt 3^{14} that John the Baptist 'knew' Jesus before His baptism.

But the great difference between St. John and the Synoptists lies not in omissions or additions. It lies in the whole impression which is conveyed to us by the miracles which St. John describes and the discourses which he records. In the Synoptics Christ's miracles are mainly works of mercy or of judgment; in St. John they are mainly self-manifestations. The longer discourses in the Synoptics are parables of the kingdom and laws for the conduct of its subjects; in St. John they are largely revelations of Himself in His divine Sonship, with occasional plain assertions of His pre-existent being.

Well, on this Bishop Gore says, first of all, that the ideas of the early Church are unintelligible without some such teaching as we find in St. John. The Synoptics may be simpler and seem more primitive, but St. John sunk deepest into the mind of the earliest believers. Again, he says that great as the difference is, it is a difference more of impression over the whole than of separate contradiction. St. John asserts the divine supremacy, but so do the Synoptists. The 'son' of the parable is distinguished from the 'servants.' Christ is not merely David's son, but also his Lord. And apart from St. John's unique receptivity or other personal consideration, it has to be remembered that the discourses recorded by him are in inseparable relations to the ideas and thoughts of the contemporary Judaism of Judæa. If St. John chose to supplement the Synoptics by recording the Judæan ministry mainly, he had also to choose to record such incidents and discourses as were suitable to the Jews of Judæa.

But the form of the discourses is more difficult to explain than their matter, and Dr. Gore leaves that to the last. Here he admits a good deal of the pleading of his opponents. He has no doubt that the Synoptists give us the more accurate idea of our Lord's manner as a teacher. St. John's mind was more original. It caught and retained the rarer and deeper notes. But the more original a man's mind is, the less effectually it can merely report. 'In St. John's mind, then, what he had seen and heard and gazed upon and handled gradually shaped itself as a continued self-revelation of the Christ, the Son of God.'

Thus Dr. Gore 'admits,' and uses the word himself, that St. John was to some extent an idealist. Nevertheless, he does not admit that he had any of the faults of the idealist. His ideas are not general and abstract. On the contrary he has the greatest possible appreciation of individuality and of concrete events. His interest in particular persons and the divine dealings with them is at least as prominent as his interest in the divine self-manifestation generally. And his idea of the divine self-manifestation is attached indissolubly to particular scenes and incidents vividly remembered.

Then the Bishop of Worcester closes his papers with 'a real appeal to Englishmen' to use their own judgment on the Gospel according to St. John. The present excessive deference to 'critics,' he says, is a mere fashion. Let us not be carried

away with it. But if we must have contemporary intellectual authority, let us remember that 'there are no saner or fairer judgments to be found in the last generation of historical scholars or in the present than Lightfoot's and Sanday's.'

While Bishop Gore is writing on the problem of the Fourth Gospel and deploring our excessive deference to German criticism, there is published in English a contribution to the subject, which is the most original and most arresting of the last quarter of a century, and it is the work of a German critic.

In the year 1886 Professor Wendt of Jena published his *Lehre Jesu*. The first part dealt with the sources for the teaching of Jesus, and was not translated into English. The second part dealt with the teaching itself, and appeared in English in two volumes in the year 1892, translated by Dr. John Wilson, and published in this country, under the title of *The Teaching of Jesus*. In the first part of the German work Professor Wendt devoted one section to the discussion of the sources of the Fourth Gospel, and propounded a theory which at once attracted attention.

He has now removed that section and rewritten it. The years that have passed and the criticisms that have appeared since 1886 have convinced him of the correctness of his main position. He has found no hypothesis in any work on the Fourth Gospel that so well explains its phenomena. But he has found much in other works to support his own hypothesis, and even to render it necessary. He has therefore rewritten it and encouraged its translation into English. It appears under the title of *The Gospel according to St. John: An Inquiry into its Genesis and Historical Value*, published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark.

Professor Wendt's hypothesis may be stated in a sentence. He believes that St John's Gospel as we now have it consists of two parts: one part is the work of St. John himself, the other is the work of an editor. But easily as it can be stated, it is neither easily believed nor easily refuted. Dr. Wendt understands the conditions of the problem. He has many arguments, some of which are most impressive, and he uses them with consummate skill. Writing clearly himself, he has also been translated into nervous natural English. His book is at once the most important and the most attractive contribution to the subject which all these years have brought.

The difficulty which Professor Wendt has experienced is not in suggesting an apostolic source and an editorial redaction in the Fourth Gospel, but in distinguishing the one from the other. There are critics who are most dogmatic when the evidence is least convincing. Dr. Wendt is not one of them. He is never dogmatic; he often confesses doubt; he sometimes yields to despair. One example of his method may be given.

It has to do with the familiar sentence in Jn 3^5 about the necessity of being born 'of water and the Spirit' (ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος). Many are the attempts that have been made to explain the necessity of water in so spiritual an experience. Professor Wendt's explanation is that the words 'water and' (ὕδατος καὶ) are no part of St. John's original writing. 'Probably,' he says, 'they have been added by the redactor to the Source. For it is the birth of the Spirit only that is spoken of (vv.^{6} and ^{8}). This birth of the Spirit of God, which initiates a life, not of the flesh, but divine, comes to pass, in the meaning of the Apostolic Source, when man receives with faith the words of Jesus, which are spirit and life (5^{24} 6^{63}). It was, however, very natural to the redactor to think of the new birth to life eternal as happening specifically in baptism (cf. Mk 16^{16}), and, in order to make this relation to baptism clear, to denote it as a being born of water.'

The most obvious objection to this—it is also

the most obvious objection to the whole hypothesis—is that the critic who distinguishes apostolic source from redaction, must first have a conception in his mind of what St. John was likely to write. Where did Professor Wendt obtain this conception? Has he altogether escaped the charge which the Bishop of Worcester makes, the charge of 'prepossession'?

Dr. Hastings Rashdall has contributed an article to the *Journal of Theological Studies* on Dr. Moberly's theory of the Atonement.

Dr. Rashdall is glad that Dr. Moberly has written on the Atonement. For 'within the Church of England, as well as outside it,' an enormous but singularly silent revolution has taken place in the current conceptions of the Atonement. The most glaring sign of this revolution is in the subordinate place now occupied by the doctrine of the Atonement. 'In official pronouncements, in formal theological teaching, as well as in the pulpit,' the doctrine of the Atonement is ignored, the doctrine of the Incarnation has taken its place. But it is also seen in the new conception of the Atonement wherever it is touched. Dr. Rashdall derives the new conception from Maurice and Robertson. It has been accepted, he says, 'by the school who are looked upon (even more perhaps than they look upon themselves) as the disciples of Newman and Pusey.' He calls it 'the preaching of the Atonement as a revelation of the love and the character of God.'

Dr. Moberly is a disciple of Newman and Pusey. He, too, preaches the Atonement as a revelation of the love and the character of God. But Dr. Rashdall has observed that even accomplished writers and preachers are apt to repeat traditional formulæ, which they have no right now to repeat. They are apt to use language which implies a theory of Substitution where no real Substitution is intended. He attributes this contradiction to the bloodless nature of the revolution that has taken place. Having been accomplished in silence, there has been no occasion to distinguish battle-cries and sharpen verbal weapons. But the ghosts of dead doctrines are often troublesome. And Dr. Rashdall is thankful that in his now quite famous book, called *Atonement and Personality*, Dr. Moberly has come forward to put an end to vague thinking on the Atonement, and let us see how thorough is the revolution that has taken place.

Dr. Rashdall is at first well pleased with Dr. Moberly's book. He calls it 'a great advance upon any attempt to deal in a formal and systematic way with the doctrine of the Atonement, which has been made by any Anglican theologian of late years.' For Dr. Moberly recognizes that theology cannot be approached without first making terms with philosophy. Roman Catholic theologians, and even Protestant theologians on the Continent, usually recognize this. They usually have some philosophical basis for their belief. But 'there are whole libraries of modern theology, especially of Anglican theology, which betray not the slightest consciousness that they are discussing great problems of human thought, which form the subject of a science, or group of sciences, called Philosophy, and which have been treated by some of the greatest intellects of modern Europe.' Dr. Moberly appreciates the existence of such problems—witness his title, 'Atonement *and Personality*'—and he recognizes the need of determining one's relation to them before one can reach a scientific or rational Theology.

Dr. Moberly desires to reach 'a scientific or rational Theology.' He attempts to explain the doctrine of the Atonement in such a way as to reconcile it with 'the imperative demands of Reason and of the moral consciousness.' The value of his theory lies in that. In that lies also its invitation to criticism. And Dr. Rashdall proceeds to criticize it.

The first thing that Dr. Rashdall expects of a man who writes on the doctrine of the Atonement and appeals to 'Reason and the moral consciousness,' is that he should say where he finds his materials and what authority he accords them. Canon Moberly ignores that expectation. Dr. Rashdall thinks that he must know something about New Testament criticism. He thinks that he must have some theory of Inspiration. But Dr. Moberly lets no hint of belief or knowledge escape him. And when he writes he practically ignores the existence of all such questions. Dr. Rashdall finds that when he uses Scripture he uses it as the Schoolmen did. When the philosophical armour is getting a little thin, he takes refuge in an isolated text, torn from its context, without any attempt to ascertain its real meaning or the intellectual atmosphere of its author.

In this way texts from St. John's Gospel are used as if they were not even coloured by their author's own reflexion, but in every case were the *ipsissima verba* of the Lord Himself. And texts from St. Paul—sayings the most difficult to reconcile with his own general thought as well as with the general teaching of the New Testament (Dr. Rashdall refers in a footnote to 2 Co 5^{21}, Gal 3^{13}, Ro 5^{14}, etc.)—are treated as in their most obvious and literal interpretation, a conclusive and sufficient basis for a whole system of Doctrine, eternally binding upon the Christian Church.

But Dr. Moberly's deference to authority does not end with the Scriptures. He places the Church Fathers beside them. He uses the decisions of Councils, as if they carried with them not merely authority, but absolute infallibility. Fortunately this singular subservience does little harm, for there is little or nothing in the Church Councils that can be treated as a pronouncement on the doctrine of the Atonement. But Dr. Rashdall is surprised that a writer who seeks to commend his theology to 'Reason and the moral consciousness' should proceed with his work as though for him all that is implied by the phrase 'historical criticism' simply did not exist.

Still Canon Moberly has authorities and authorities. Some of his authorities have more authority and some have less. Great is now Dr. Rashdall's surprise to find that the Latin Fathers have more authority than the Greek.

In the discussion of the great doctrine of the Trinity, it has generally been supposed that the Greek Fathers struck out definitions by means of their pliable Greek tongue, which the Latin theologians could only seek in crude and bewildering efforts to imitate. Dr. Moberly does not think so. The great historical word *hypostasis* (ὑπόστασις) dissatisfies him. It is too impersonal. It is abstract rather than actual. There is something positive lacking to it, and that 'lack of full completeness' the word 'Person' supplied. So the true doctrine of the Trinity was never grasped, or at least not expressed, by Basil or the Gregories. It was left to be discovered by the Latin Fathers. With needless apologies and foolish confessions of its unsuitability, they translated the Greek *hypostasis* by the Latin word *persona*. And no sooner had they translated it than their word, Dr. Moberly holds, became eternally binding on the Christian Church. Or does he mean the Latin word *persona* after all? He uses the English word *person*. Does he understand (he tacitly assumes at any rate, says Dr. Rashdall) that the word which the Latin Fathers so wonderfully struck out had all the meanings and associations which gather round the modern idea of Personality?

What is eternally binding upon us, therefore, is this. Personality, in the modern use of that word, belongs to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. But elsewhere Dr. Moberly affirms Personality in this full sense of the God who is One in Three. He accordingly lands himself and all of us in an authoritative impossibility.

It is not the Trinity that is Dr. Moberly's

subject, however, and Dr. Rashdall passes from it. He passes from it with this significant word. Dr. Moberly's confusion on Personality is due to his very strength. It is due to his philosophical basis. But his strength is not strong enough. Like 'so many of our more thoughtful theologians, his philosophical equipment is a slight tincture of Hegelianism rather than a serious study of the one original modern thinker of the very highest rank, whose thought is profoundly and without qualification, Christian—Hermann Lotze.'

Dr. Moberly's subject is the Atonement, and Dr. Rashdall passes to that. He is greatly pleased with Dr. Moberly's recognition of the necessity of clear thought on Punishment, Forgiveness, and the like. Modern theologians do not recognize that. Even Ritschl does not. And he is well pleased with his theory of punishment. For Dr. Moberly distinctly declares that punishment by God can never be retributive or vindictive, but must always be remedial. Dr. Rashdall says 'Amen' most heartily. He has reached the heart of Dr. Moberly's subject and he is delighted.

But a difficulty arises. Dr. Moberly believes in a Hell. He says that when punishment fails to reform the sinner, we do not cease to punish him, we punish him only the more. Do we? asks Dr. Rashdall. For the protection of society we may, but Dr. Moberly is speaking of God. And now there arises the curious position that God's punishment is wholly remedial, and yet when remedial punishment fails, God goes on punishing. 'Such an astonishing combination of opinions has never, so far as I am aware, been held before.' What is its explanation? Its explanation is not far to seek. It lies in that potent monosyllable, Hell. Says Dr. Moberly: 'We dare not, until the possibility of Hell has been authoritatively explained away, deny the ultimate possibility of the idea of a punishment which is *not* restorative.'

Now Dr. Rashdall has no patience with this word Hell. The whole question of its existence turns, he says, upon the correctness of an evangelist's Greek translation of a single Aramaic adjective, and even on the correctness of the popular interpretation of that translation. For he doubts if it is possible to make *aionios* mean 'everlasting.' As for punishment going on after all hope of the sinner's amendment is abandoned, and going on to all eternity, he says it is a doctrine opposed to the reason and conscience with which God has endowed us, as well as to the conception of His nature which Christ has revealed to us. He asks whether Dr. Moberly can point to a single word in the teaching of St. Paul or St. John in favour of the doctrine of everlasting punishment. And yet he finds him willing to undermine his own conception of punishment and to land himself in an amazing contradiction, because this doctrine has been handed down to him by authority.

What authority? asks Dr. Rashdall indignantly. It is not the authority of Scripture; it is not the authority of Reason or of Conscience; it is not even the authority of the theologian whom Dr. Moberly is presumed most to follow. For Dr. Rashdall quotes some sentences from Dr. Pusey which seem to show that to him the doctrine of everlasting punishment was 'inconceivable unless we are prepared to resign our faith in One God and Father Almighty.' It is the authority of the *Quicunque Vult* perhaps. Dr. Rashdall passes on in silence.

Then he reaches Dr. Moberly's actual theory of the Atonement. It has been long in coming, but it has come at last. It lies in the chapter on Penitence. For Dr. Moberly holds—and he offers it as his contribution to the subject on which he writes, he writes on the subject because he holds it — Dr. Moberly holds that Christ's Atonement for sin consisted in His being perfectly penitent.

The purpose of punishment is to make us penitent — for in spite of his belief in Hell, Dr.

Moberly still holds that all God's punishment is remedial. Now, if we were perfectly penitent, we should be accepted. If we were perfectly penitent, we should not need an Atonement. We should by our Penitence make the Atonement ourselves. But we cannot be perfectly penitent. So Christ is needed as our Atonement. He becomes our Atonement by becoming perfectly penitent for our sin.

Dr. Rashdall calls this a surprising doctrine. He wonders how a sinner whose penitence is imperfect can be forgiven his sin. He wonders how he can be forgiven because some one else is penitent. He wonders how One who knew no sin can be said to be penitent at all. Dr. Moberly seems to answer that it all comes from the solidarity of the human race. 'Are we not after all,' he asks, 'much more of one piece than we are willing to recognize?' All humanity, he says, is found in Christ. Each individual may be imperfectly impenitent, but humanity is perfectly penitent in the perfect penitence of Christ, and receives the perfect pardon.

Dr. Rashdall calls it a surprising doctrine still. And he is not less surprised at it that he knows it is not new. He believes that Dr. Moberly has found it mainly in M'Leod Campbell. It has also been held by the Lutheran Theologian Häring in a form closely resembling Dr. Moberly's. But that only makes it the more surprising that Dr. Moberly holds it now. For he surely knows that in the form in which Häring held it Ritschl so answered it as to put an end, one had imagined, to its existence. Dr. Rashdall gives the reference to the English translation of Ritschl's *Justification and Reconciliation* by Mackintosh and Macaulay, the 553rd page.

With which Dr. Rashdall takes leave of Dr. Moberly's theory of the Atonement. He has found the theory wanting. He has found the book which contains it wanting also. For two great contradictions run throughout it. The one is a confusion between an effect on the character of the sinner and an obliteration of the sin or guilt which takes place independently of any such effect. The other is a confusion between the retributive view of punishment and the disciplinary.

Dr. Moberly has not discovered a doctrine of the Atonement. He thought he had. But then his mind is 'incapable of appreciating the fact that the gulf between fundamentally opposite and inconsistent modes of thought cannot be bridged over by a dexterous turn of phrase.'

The Historical Character of the Old Testament Narratives.

By R. Somervell, M.A., Assistant Master and Bursar of Harrow School.

In order to judge fairly of the character of any literary work, we must begin by asking what-sort of work it purports to be. We must not condemn a Waverley novel because it is not accurate from the point of view of the historian, nor judge a popular sermon as if it were a treatise on theology.

If we neglect this elementary canon of criticism, we shall inevitably blunder. We shall condemn works, which, judged from the standpoint of their own purport and object, we ought to praise. Scott was a great romancer, though he was not a historian. Savonarola and Spurgeon both knew how to speak to the hearts and consciences of men, —of Righteousness, Temperance, and Judgment to come,—though neither of them made any permanent contribution to theology by their sermons.

Such a mistake is, of course, far more serious

when it is made in regard to the books that compose the Old Testament.

And just such a mistake was for long made by the Church, in regarding their references to the physical world as a revelation of scientific truth. For example, up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, it was believed, almost universally, that the earth stood still in the centre of the universe, and that the sun and the starry heavens moved round it. Texts of Scripture, not a few, were quoted in support of this theory, and it had been raised to the rank of a theological dogma by St. Thomas Aquinas and other doctors of the Church.

Kopernik—whom we know better by his Latin name Copernicus—first stated the truth about the earth's motion in his book published in 1543, but died within a few hours of its publication. His work, however, was immediately condemned by the Church of Rome, and the faithful were ordered not to read it, under pain of damnation.

An answer to Kopernik was prepared by Fromundus. Fromundus declares that 'sacred Scripture itself fights against the Copernicans.' To prove that the sun revolves about the earth, he cites the passage in the Psalms which speaks of the sun 'which cometh forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber.' To prove that the earth stands still, he quotes the passage from Ecclesiastes, 'the earth standeth fast for ever.' To show the utter futility of the Copernican ideas, he indulges in scientific reasoning, as he understands it, declaring that if the hated theory were true, 'the wind would constantly blow from the east; we should with great difficulty hear sound against such a wind'; that 'buildings and the earth itself would fly off with such a rapid motion'; and greatest weapon of all, he works up, by the use of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas, a demonstration from theology and science combined, that the earth must stand in the centre and that the sun must revolve about it.[1]

Nor were the Protestants behind hand in declaring that the Bible was opposed to Copernicus. Luther said, 'People gave ear to an upstart astrologer, who strove to show that the earth revolves, not the heavens or the firmanent, the sun and the moon. . . . This fool wishes to reverse the entire science of astronomy. But sacred Scripture tells us that Joshua commanded the sun to stand still and not the earth.'

'Melanchthon, mild as he was, was not behind Luther in condemning Kopernik. In his Latin treatise on the *Elements of Physical Science* he says: "The eyes are witnesses that the heavens revolve in the space of twenty-four hours. But certain men, either from the love of novelty or to make a display of ingenuity, have concluded that the earth moves; and they maintain that neither the eighth sphere nor the sun revolves. . . . Now, it is a want of honesty and decency to assert such notions publicly, and the example is pernicious. It is the part of a good mind to accept the truth as revealed by God, and to acquiesce in it." Melanchthon then cites passages from the Psalms and from Ecclesiastes which he declares assert positively and clearly that the earth stands fast and that the sun moves round it, and adds eight other proofs of his proposition that "the earth can be nowhere, if not in the centre of the universe."'[2]

It being thus agreed on all hands that God had revealed in the Bible that the earth is immovable in the centre of the universe, and that the sun moves round it, it was not long before Giordano Bruno was burnt alive for reasserting the teaching of Kopernik.

'Within ten years after the martyrdom of Bruno, after a world of trouble and persecutions, the truth of the doctrine of Kopernik was established by the telescope of Galileo. Herein was fulfilled one of the most touching of prophecies. Years before, the enemies of Kopernik had said to him, "If your doctrine were true, Venus would show phases like the moon." Kopernik answered, "You are right; I know not what to say; but God is good, and will in time find an answer to this objection." The God-given answer came when the rude telescope of Galileo showed the phases of Venus.'

In the same way, even in our day, the conclusions of geologists and biologists were condemned as godless by many excellent men, on the ground that they did not tally with statements in the Bible.

This condition of things is passing, or has passed, away. We have learnt to admit that many of the expressions upon which a scientific meaning was fixed are of the nature not of science but of poetry, and to recognize that the inspiration under which the authors of the Bible wrote did not preserve them from scientific error.

While to those who still object, 'Is not the Bible then true?' we point out that the inquiry

[1] White's *Warfare of Religion and Science*, p. 29.

[2] White, p. 30.

involves the well-known logical 'fallacy of many questions'—the so combining two or three questions into one that no true answer can be given to it.

There are various kinds of truth, truth of natural science, truth of history, moral and religious truth; and the Bible, we say, was not given to teach us natural science.

It is well to recognize not only how complete and revolutionary is this change of view, but also how much the Bible and the Church have gained by it. To realize this will give us courage to face another problem which is indeed the special subject of the following pages.

Many who have abandoned the claim of the Old Testament to be a guide in matters of physical science, still uphold the claim of its narratives to be received as history.

Now in accordance with the principle of which I reminded you at the outset—that we must judge books, not by arbitrary canons of criticism, but by the aim and intention of their writers,—it is important to notice that the classification of books like Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles as 'historical' was quite unknown to the compilers of the sacred canon. In the Jewish Bible the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings belong to the prophets, and the book of Chronicles to the hagiographa or writings.

This fact, familiar enough no doubt to all of us, is very important. That the narratives of the Old Testament are not classed as history, suggests a doubt as to whether the writers or the compilers of the canon had any conception of history at all answering to our own; whether our careful classification of authorities, our distinction between legend and tradition and verified fact, are not processes and conceptions essentially modern, and foreign to the minds of the authors with whom we are dealing; whether as prophets they may not have written for edification, without caring or pausing to criticize their authorities, or to distinguish facts from legends and traditions. And if this be so, we are doing them a grave injustice and running the risk of missing the real importance of their work, if we approach it as history in the modern sense.

The question is one that admits of being brought to the test of facts. We are agreed, I take it, that the inspiration under which our authors wrote did not preserve them from errors in physics. Did it enable them to distinguish history from legend, or preserve them from historical errors?

To accumulate a mass of evidence upon this point would occupy too much time; nor indeed is it necessary. Let me, however, remind you of some examples, familiar enough no doubt in themselves, but from which perhaps we have never drawn the definite conclusion to which they point.

Few things strike one as more accurate and careful than the references in the Book of Kings to the length of each reign, and the year of the contemporary king of Judah or Israel in which each king began to rule. But when we examine these chronological references we find that between the accession of Rehoboam and the fall of Samaria, 255 years are assigned to the kings of Judah and 241 to those of Israel. Some writers assume periods of interregnum in the northern kingdom to account for the missing years. Others assume that in Judah father and son sometimes reigned together, and that fourteen years are thus counted twice over. But in any case, the writers who made and perpetuated the confusion were not thinking primarily of writing history.

Again, when the Chronicler tells us that 333,300 armed men came to Hebron to offer David the crown, and that this was only the nucleus of a larger body who went with him to find the ark, we are driven to conclude that he was not preserved from a serious numerical error in this instance.

Again, we have in not a few cases two stories told to account in different ways for the same fact. The names of Bethel and Beersheba have thus a double origin, and the proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' is connected with two very different events. Of the first appearance of David we have two accounts, in one of which he comes upon the scene as 'a mighty man of valour, a man of war,' and cunning in playing; and in the subsequent chapter, as a youth, too young to be sent to the war, and unknown by sight to Saul.

Of Saul's own rise to the position of king we have at least two accounts, in one of which the initiative is taken by Samuel, acting under divine guidance, while in the other the people agitate for a king, and incur the divine displeasure by doing so.

We now explain these contradictions, and I have no doubt rightly explain them, by saying that they are narratives of entirely distinct origin, preserved in older writings, and pieced together by a compiler. But both cannot be history, and the compilers who placed them side by side must have

had some object in view very different from that of a historian. And I think we can hardly escape the inference that the Bible is no more inspired history than it is inspired natural science.

When we are striving to reconcile the contradictory dates and statements of Jewish writers, we are sometimes tempted to wish that they had left us a mass of imperishable contemporary records like the Assyrian tablets. But we should make a poor exchange indeed if we were to barter the spiritual insight of these prophetic writers for a chronicle, however accurate, of mere events.

The early history of all peoples is full of matter of a legendary character, concerning which we may indeed ask, What kernel of historic fact does it enshrine? But we may much more profitably inquire, 'What light does it throw upon the ethical and religious ideas of those who wrote and received it?'

It is from this point of view, and not from the point of view of the mere political historian, that we should approach the narratives of the Old Testament. The Old Testament is primarily a record of the revelation of God. It is in the picture it presents of the growth of truer and loftier conceptions of the divine nature that its value consists. And thus to receive and to understand it is not only to abandon the attempt to regard it as inspired history; it is equally to part company with the attempt to escape from the difficulties of the record by rationalistic explanations. And this surely is a very great gain. Let me dwell upon this point for a moment.

Elijah, the story tells us, was fed by ravens. Rationalistic criticism, finding this incredible, points out that with the alteration of a single vowel in the Hebrew, we may read for ravens 'Arabs,' and thus maintains the accuracy of the historian by throwing blame on the carelessness of a scribe or interpreter. The more fruitful view appears to be to admit that the story is not history at all, but a legend bearing witness to the popular belief in the Divine Providence that guarded the life of the man of God; just as our own story of Alfred and the cakes, though we are forced to reject it as history, bears witness to the universal faith in the simplicity and humility of that great king.

So of the pillar of fire and cloud which appeared at the crossing of the Red Sea. Rationalistic criticism has resolved this into a dust cloud, raised by the wind and illuminated by the moon to the Israelites. But this, besides destroying all the poetry of the story, supplies no explanation of the cloud that abode upon the completed Tabernacle.

And now I would ask whether we ought not to try, with much care and tenderness and reverence to lead the minds of those we teach to this truer view of the Old Testament narratives. If it be asked, Is it worth while disturbing a simple faith in the old stories?—I would answer, It is worth while, because we can offer a higher faith in its place. And we have to consider not only those who accept as matter of fact whatever is in the Bible, simply because it is there, but the far larger number who quietly disbelieve, and, quite illogically perhaps, but not less certainly, feel a sort of uncertainty thrown over the whole Bible, over the claims of religion, even over morals, by the fact that they do not and cannot accept what it puts before them as sacred history.

I have been told that at a recent conference on Old Testament teaching, after much had been said about Assyrian inscriptions, geographical research, and higher criticism, an outspoken man got up and said, 'What I want to know is what am I to say about Balaam's ass?' As there is nothing like a concrete example for removing obscurity, I will try to answer this question, and I think I should do so as follows :—

Good men take, and have taken, very different views of this story.

Some accept it as history, and believe that the ass spoke, by a miracle—a divine interference with the ordinary course of nature. It seems probable that the writer who incorporated the story in his narrative so believed.

Others think that though the ass did not, and could not speak, Balaam fancied it did, and remained under the delusion, which he communicated to his friends. Others suppose him to have dreamt the incident, and that his dream was gradually transformed, by constant inaccurate repetition, into a statement of fact.

For my own part I think it is better to take the story as it stands, as a story, not as history. We find similar stories of marvels in the early records of all races—in Homer and Livy and Herodotus, and in our own English Chronicle. We reject such stories as history, but we do not on that account throw them aside as worthless. They are

indeed often of the highest value. We ask what they mean, what they show us of the thoughts and views of life, and man and God, that were held by those who believed and preserved them. In this way we learn a great deal about the Greeks and Romans, for example, that a mere record of facts would not have told us.

Now if the Old Testament were given us as a Book of authentic history, we could not treat its stories in this way. But it is given us as a Book of religion, a record of the gradual revelation of God to the Jewish people. Thus it serves a far higher purpose than a mere history. And instead of spending time in trying to prove that an ass might speak, or that a dream of such an event might be converted into a story, we should ask what this old legend taught those who handed it down to us, and what we ourselves may learn from it. And here the lesson is the same, the moral and religious value of the story is the same, whether we regard it as a fact or a parable—that when man refuses to listen to the voice of God, he sinks below the brutes.

And whatever view we take of the story, let us always remember that our attitude towards such stories is not a question of religion at all. To accept the story as history brings us no nearer to God. To take it as a legend cannot separate us from the love of Christ.

Something like this I think I should try to say, indeed have often said, when face to face with the question, Is this true?—meaning, Is it true in the historical sense? With a subject so large it would be easy to say more, and in particular to safeguard what has been put—perhaps too briefly—from misapprehension. But enough has been said, I think, to make clear my main point; that we should lead men to see that the Old Testament being primarily a Book neither of natural science nor of history, we are not required to accept its statements as historical in the ordinary sense.

Learned men will still try through the mists of the past to interpret and reconstruct the history, and perhaps with increasing success. But for the Christian Church the value of the Old Testament lies in its witness to a progressive revelation. Let us frankly admit that the literature that enshrines it has a large element of legend blended with its narrative portions. Let us neither demand belief in marvels, unsupported by contemporary evidence, nor try to mend matters by rationalistic interpretations, but ask, What is the meaning and value of the material before us from the point of view of religion?

I will conclude with some words of the wise and saintly John M'Leod Campbell :—

'It seems to me also that the character of our time makes us to need, and should encourage us to ask, more intellectual light, in order that we may be fully furnished for commending the grace of God to men, and may not, as we may often unconsciously do, put stumbling-blocks in the way of minds by words without knowledge . . . As we pray morally and spiritually that God may search us and try us, and see if there be any wicked way in us, and lead us in the way everlasting; so also is it right for us to pray for deliverance from such misconceptions of truth as may be intellectually a shortcoming in reference to our high calling as children of the light and of the day, and God's witnesses. Nor will any man be straitened in such prayer, whose peace really flows from the knowledge that God is love, and who can invite God to search out what evil may be in him beyond his own consciousness, *because* he knows the freeness of the grace of God, and that "herein God commendeth His love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us." God "raised Christ from the dead, and gave Him glory that our faith and hope may be in God." He whose faith and hope are *in God* rests not on the assumption of perfection in his conceptions of truth, any more than on the measure of his progress in the higher teaching which he is receiving in the school of Christ. He knows God, and peacefully waits for any modification of his thoughts of the Divine Counsels which increased light may bring. I often feel that there is infinite comfort in the knowledge that "the Comforter" is "the Spirit of Truth"; for this implies that the more we know of the truth of things the more will our comfort abound. In the faith that God is love, we can be patient and peaceful in darkness; while in that faith we are also prepared to find all additions to our light additions to our joy in the Lord.'

The Great Text Commentary.

THE GREAT TEXTS OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

ACTS 1. 9.

'And when He had said these things, as they were looking, He was taken up; and a cloud received Him out of their sight' (R.V.)

EXPOSITION.

And when He had said these things.—And many more, as is plain from the Gospels.—COOK.

As they were looking.—That they might have as clear proof of His Ascension as they had received of the reality of His Resurrection, He is taken from them while they are still gazing on Him, and with His words yet sounding in their ears. In the Gospel (24^{51}) it is 'while He blessed them.'—FARRAR.

SEEING Christ *after* His Resurrection qualified them for being witnesses of that fact; for their bearing personal testimony to His Ascension it was necessary that they should see it. They were not left in amazement at His vanishing, as the two at Emmaus had been (Lk 24^{31}).—COOK.

He was taken up.—He was taken up from the earth in His 'bodily form' (Lk 3^{22}) in the sight of their eyes, until a bright cloud intervened and concealed Him, as at the Transfiguration. In the language of the Creed, He was raised up to 'the right hand of the Father.' As God is Spirit, this is of course a metaphor. But the reality cannot be represented to us otherwise. What is signified is that the manhood of Jesus was exalted to heaven or glorified. A foretaste of this had been given at the Transfiguration. But now, having died and risen again, the Son returns to the glory which He had with the Father before the world was (Jn 17^{5}); he reassumes all those glories of Deity of which He had emptied Himself at the Incarnation, and in this glorification the human nature which He then assumed has now a part.—RACKHAM.

THE word translated, 'He was taken up' (ἐπήρθη) expresses, not the whole transaction, beginning on earth and ending in heaven (that is, ἀνελήφθη, v.^{2}), but the first stage or incipient act of the Ascension, that of rising, or rather being raised, above the surface of the ground. The nearest English equivalent would be, 'He was lifted.'—ALEXANDER.

And a cloud received Him out of their sight.—Received Him so that He seemed to be supported by it. 'A royal chariot,' Chrysostom calls it.—PAGE AND WALPOLE.

IN the Old Testament the incomprehensibleness of the divine nature was typified by a cloud which hid Jehovah from human view: so now the human body of Jesus is concealed by the same cloud which is the cloud of the Shekinah or divine glory. He is now in glory (1 Ti 3^{16}).—RACKHAM.

THE SERMON.

The Reserve of the Ascension.

By Professor Francis Paget, D.D.

1. 'A cloud received Him out of their sight.' It could not have been otherwise. It was only the first moments of the Ascension that could be seen by men. It is not mere distance that divides Him from them. Beyond that intervening cloud there is a translation of His glorious manhood such as no eye could see or imagination represent. They may see changes during the forty days, but now He has reached the Conqueror's resting-place and entered on that perfection of glory which eye hath not seen nor ear heard. All their intercourse with Him there was a cloud that concealed Him. There were words and deeds concerning which they feared to ask Him. And now the mystery of the Ascension sustained and interpreted the mystery of the companionship. He left them as He had lived with them, revealing some things, veiling others.

2. So in a measure is it with all men. We cannot give a complete account of any human character. It is well to presume upon and so evoke the noblest in a man. But when the man is living close to God, we feel that there is a reserve of another kind. The rules of a good life may be few and plain, but that only makes the height and beauty of the result more wonderful.

3. And this reserve of life is greatest, the veil is thickest, when those who move mysteriously here pass beyond this world. Prophets and poets have spoken of the glory, but after all we can only say, 'it doth not yet appear what we shall be.' A few bare words are all we can say with confidence—sin forgiven and taken away, temptation, disappointment, weariness banished, eagerness without effort, the joy of the Lord, and especially the central assurance, 'They shall see God.'

4. Let us learn from the veiling: (1) The change from earth to glory is not a change of place, but a change in ourselves. He who has not the mind of Christ cannot have His joy. Without holiness no man shall see the Lord. (2) There is a line of continuity between the seen and the

unseen. The purest happiness that is known on earth is akin to the happiness of heaven. We know enough now to make us seek the highest; it is the highest that shall not pass. Love abideth.

The Ascension of the Body.

By the Rev. C. J. Ball, D.D.

The apostles had not seen Jesus rise, but they were to see Him ascend. So He had promised: 'I ascend unto My Father'; and so their testimony would be definite, decided, complete. The form of the Ascension was a concession to their expectations formed on the promise. To us it may be a difficulty, but we remember Pascal's words: 'Whenever the Word of God, which is true, would be false if taken literally, it is true spiritually.'

He rose in the body, yet we know that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God. We understand that the Resurrection Body of our Lord had been mysteriously changed by the power of the Godhead into a form of ethereal mould, exquisitely adapted and subtly responsive to the motions of the indwelling Spirit.

And by His Resurrection and Ascension He has redeemed our bodies also from bondage. Henceforth they are to be temples of His Spirit. Our entire being, body and spirit, is to be preserved and presented blameless before God in the day of His coming.

Illustrations.

I SHALL always remember with gratitude the words which a poor woman used to me, not long after her husband's death, in speaking of her difficulty of thinking clearly about heaven. Her husband had borne with very beautiful and steadfast patience an illness of many years' duration; and she, in the intervals of hard work, had tended him with constant gentleness. And, having spoken quite simply of her privilege in this, as she felt about in her mind for the thought that might come nearest to her hope about the rest that remaineth for God's people—'Sometimes,' she said, 'I think, sir, that being very happy with some one as you know is living a good life must be more like it than anything else.' Surely she was not wrong. A writer of fine culture and penetration, sometime a student of Christ Church, has spoken of 'the earthly rudiments of the eternal happiness.' —F. PAGET.

THE ascension of Elijah may be compared to the flight of a bird, which none can follow; the Ascension of Christ is, as it were, a bridge between earth and heaven, laid down for all who are drawn to Him by His earthly existence.—BAUMGARTEN.

LONDON, with its enormous and ever-growing population, constitutes, in many respects, a portentous danger to our national life. It has a tendency to sap the springs of local interest and local self-reliance. Other cities and colonists are inclined to fling upon London the care and responsibility for the empire's protection, in which all its separate parts should take their proportionate share. As London thus is to our colonists, such, and infinitely more, would the localized presence of Jesus Christ have been for the Christian world had not the Ascension taken place.—G. T. STOKES.

RETURN unto your hearts,
And you shall find Him there,
He hath but risen that you may rise
And breathe of heaven's own air.
Ascended and enthroned
At the right hand above,
He re-descends to dwell with men
In His blest feast of love.

HE has finished His work, He has glorified God;
The Forerunner has gained His reversion of bliss;
And now must His followers tread where He trod,
Till they see Him, are like Him, and rest where He is.
No longer by sight, they must journey by faith,
And with prayer, and with patience, must heavenward move on:
And the Saviour's own Spirit shall gladden their path,
And they soon shall arrive where that Saviour has gone.

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'The Ancient Catholic Church.'[1]

By the Rev. Professor James Orr, D.D., Glasgow.

Principal Rainy has presented us with a volume for which students of its subject, and the wider circle who desire to get a faithful idea of the early age of the Church without being burdened with too many details, will be grateful. The work has no doubt an interest which may be called adventitious from its author's personality—for who is better known or more typically identified with the ecclesiastical life of Scotland than Dr. Rainy?—and it will have a yet subtler charm for those, no small number, who retain the memory of the classroom for which, presumably, the bulk of its material originally took shape. These will join with their reading an invisible commentary—reminiscences of look, tone, and manner, by-play of comment and illustration—which will illuminate the text, and enhance appreciation of its manifold *nuances* of thought and expression. But the ordinary reader, who must be content to discount the personal element, and rely on the intrinsic merits of the book, will not on that account be disappointed in what he finds.

It is something to be thankful for that we have a volume of the kind at all. There has long been a crying need for home-work in the region of Church history—especially of patristic and mediæval Church history. The freshest recent investigator in our country—Professor Ramsay—is not a professed theologian, and has confined himself to labour in special fields. For treatment of the period covered by this volume, at all adequate to modern wants, we are mainly dependent either on cumbrous German works—partly in translation, or on the productions of Anglican scholars. Everyone who has to teach is aware that, of the books at present open to him, no one quite meets the requirements of a handbook at once comprehensive and readable, suitable for use as a guide to study, or for class-work. But beyond handbooks, there is the demand for a work in which the entire field of early Church history — life, literature, beliefs, institutions—will be reviewed afresh in light of the results of modern research, yet in a spirit of faith, and of sympathy with the ideals of Church polity favoured in this land. We are not sure that Dr. Rainy's volume—though it appears in 'The International Theological Library' — altogether supplies what is needed for the purposes of a text-book; but we *are* sure that it does afford a view of the phases of thought and life of the early Church, and of the action and interaction of forces involved in the production of its greater phenomena, which, without starting any novel or paradoxical theories, will give the intelligent reader more insight into the heart of the situation than a dozen books more systematically planned, and more laden with learned detail!

The special quality of excellence in Dr. Rainy's volume does not lie in its plan or arrangement,—for on that, as we shall see, he bestows the minimum of pains,—but in the fact that it is the product of his own mind, and bears on it throughout the stamp of original perception and reflexion. Sources, no doubt, have been investigated, and authorities carefully weighed; but this not with the view of setting before the reader all the steps by which conclusions have been reached, but of presenting results in the purified and generalized form they have assumed after infiltration through the author's own thought, with only so much of the concrete as is necessary for illustration. Dr. Rainy is not concerned simply to narrate; his aim invariably is to get *behind* the movement or phase of thought he is expounding—to see from what causes it originated, how it related itself to surrounding conditions, what gave it meaning and reasonableness to the minds influenced by it. In every part of the volume, therefore, and notably in its more expository chapters, there is an air of what may be called 'impression'—the word is one constantly recurring—an atmosphere which suggests that it is not the bare fact we are getting, but the author's particular way of looking at it and feeling about it,—his judgment on its significance and value. One effect is a certain aloofness of mind or detachment of interest from details, leading sometimes to an unevenness of treatment: those sub-

[1] *The International Theological Library. The Ancient Catholic Church, from the Accession of Trajan to the Fourth General Council* (98–451 A.D.). By Robert Rainy, D.D., Principal of the New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902.

jects to which the author's mind is specially attracted being handled with exceptional fulness; others, on which we should have liked to hear more, being occasionally very summarily considered. The sinking of detail is not indeed invariable: in the chapter, for instance, on the Post-Nicene (Arian) Controversy, and in those on Ecclesiastical Personages, there is no lack of it. But it is not in these chapters that the strength of the book is mainly seen.

The volume, as its title indicates, deals with the rise and shaping of the Ancient Catholic Church — ancient in distinction from the later *Papal* phase of Catholicism — and extends its survey from the reign of Trajan at the close of the Apostolic Age (98 A.D.) to the Fourth General Council—that of Chalcedon (451 A.D.), which forms a convenient halting-place. A future volume, which will be looked for with interest, is to continue the history to Gregory VII. Within the limits specified, three periods are distinguished — the first extending to the death of Marcus Aurelius (180 A.D.); the second to the Edict of Milan, which practically marked the triumph of Christianity in the Empire (313 A.D.); and the third and longest to the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.). In this last division a break might perhaps have been advantageously introduced with the Council of Constantinople, at the close of the Arian period, in the reign of Theodosius (381 A.D.); in which case the chapter on 'Ecclesiastical Personages of Fourth Century' would have come in a little earlier, though then the unity of the chapter on Donatism would have been interfered with. The author had no doubt his own reasons for dividing as he did.

The minor divisions under these various heads do not, on the other hand, follow any very definite order, but take up topics much as they arise, and treat them with a degree of unconcern for formal plan, which illustrates very strikingly how secondary a place mere order has in the author's mind in comparison with the *things* on which his attention is focussed. The chapters, in consequence, follow each other sometimes almost as a series of monographs. But it is just in these monographs, as on Gnosticism, Montanism, Neo-Platonism, Monasticism, Donatism, that Dr. Rainy's peculiar genius of felicitous and illuminating exposition pre-eminently discovers itself. The reader feels himself at every point in contact with a mind thoroughly versed in its subject, and possessing a rare gift of sympathetically interpreting it. Turns of expression and literary touches abound, which give a happy unconventionality to the treatment, and keep alive interest. Surprise may sometimes be awakened at the headings adopted, *e.g.* 'The Church's Life' (chap. 3), to describe what is really an account of the literature of the Post-Apostolic Age ('Apostolic Fathers,' 'Apologists,' 'Apocrypha'); and to gain a complete view of a subject the reader may have to consult several chapters—*e.g.*, for the writings of the Apologists, the chapter just-named; for their general view of Christianity in relation to the thought of the time, chap. 5, entitled 'The Apologists'; for their distinctive Christology, chap. 11 in the next division on 'Christ and God.' But the successive chapters have, notwithstanding, a completeness and literary unity; and the partial isolation of subjects leads in another way to a clearer conception of each. The book has a law of its own, to which the reader will find it his gain to accommodate himself.

It is characteristic of a mind habitually open to impressions, and accustomed to place itself in another's point of view, that it is more than ordinarily sensitive to the many sides and relations of a subject or movement, and is generally tempered and balanced in the judgment it forms regarding it. This quality is needed alike by the historian and statesman, and Dr. Rainy's volume shows that he possesses it in a special degree. There is always a large outlook, and commonly caution, qualification, and reserve—invariably moderation —in the judgments pronounced on men and things. Even the Roman emperors from Tiberius to Nerva are let down with almost excessive gentleness as ruling persons who 'on the whole evoked little attachment and created little confidence.' The author's own sympathies are not concealed, but it is rarely that a strongly worded verdict is passed even on those from whose views or actions he most dissents. Always large-minded and sympathetic, he is charitable in judging of motive, tolerant of divergence in belief, more anxious to see the soul of good in men's errors, than harshly or unsparingly to condemn them. This is so general a feature of the volume that particular illustrations are hardly necessary. It is shown in the capacity everywhere displayed of entering into and expounding the most diverse phases of thought; in the sympathetic account of

Gnosticism; in the kindly judgment passed on Marcion; in the appreciation of the better elements in Montanism; in the portraits of the different Fathers—specially of a man like Tertullian; in the balanced verdicts on the Arian Controversy; in the sympathy shown with the Semi-Arians; in the qualification of the customary sweeping judgment upon Cyril: 'At the same time he was a theological thinker of great power, and undoubtedly he felt the religious value as well as the intellectual or sympathetic importance of the doctrines which he maintained'; in the mild interpretation put upon the views of Nestorius, etc. Dr. Rainy no doubt had in view his own experience in dealing with Assemblies when he wrote as the sagacious man of affairs of the Nicene Council: 'Theologically the writer believes that the turn of thinking on this high subject sanctioned at Nicæa, was the just outcome of the whole discussion. . . . But while this may be maintained theologically, ecclesiastically it is a question whether the Church was prepared for the Nicene doctrine.' In one sense the result showed it was not; but it was, nevertheless, a great achievement for the Nicene Council to decide as it did; and probably that decision saved the Church from worse evils, and longer wanderings in the ways of Arianism, in the end. With regard to Nestorius, one would like to acquiesce in Dr. Rainy's judgment that his views involved no *real* departure from the doctrine of the unity of Christ's Person; but there are a good many declarations and formulæ, if not of Nestorius himself, at least of his followers, difficult to harmonize with this favourable interpretation. Perhaps as finely balanced a piece of discussion as any is that which relates to the type of thinking, and impoverished representation of Christianity, of the Apologists. Some necessary qualifications of Professor Harnack's positions are brought forward in this connexion; but Dr. Rainy leans considerably to Harnack's view. It seems only fair to add—as Dr. Rainy does add—that if this view is to be adopted, 'Justin Martyr and the writer to Diognetus (with Tertullian and Origen later) should have much more ascribed them.'

Reference is made above to subjects either untouched or slightly passed over in the volume, in comparison with others to which large space is devoted. It may have lain outside the scope of the work, but perhaps some illustration of Christian life and worship might have been gained from the Catacombs, to which we observe only a single passing allusion. The great revolution introduced by Constantine into the relations of Church and State is naturally commented upon; but, in a subject on which much haziness and misconception still exist, it might have been useful had the precise nature of the relations thus established been more fully defined. In the doctrinal sections, nothing could be more admirable than the expositions given of the successive developments of belief and heresy, with the *rationale* of each; but, considering the importance attached by Augustine to his doctrine of predestination, and the influence of that doctrine on subsequent theology, one could have desired to see Dr. Rainy's views upon it more distinctly elaborated. After the restoration of Nicene orthodoxy under Theodosius, the growing Church had as its counterpart the decisive downfall of paganism in the Empire. Though touched on in connexion with Symmachus and Libanius, this singularly interesting change might well have claimed more special description. Still it is to be recognized that a volume cannot contain everything, and we are much more disposed to be grateful for what we have that is excellent, than to complain of what may chance to be absent.

On no part of his subject does Dr. Rainy bestow more pains than in the tracing of the growth, in successive periods, of the Church's constitution, worship, institutions, and offices. What is said here on the origins of Episcopacy, and the development of the clerical offices and privileges, deserves all attention. Stress is laid on the simplicity and freedom of early Church organization, and on the congregational character of even second century Episcopacy. 'The points to be emphasized are that the Episcopate, in the later sense, developed at a time when a "Church" was still a congregation,' and when 'presbyters and deacons, and from an uncertain date a presiding bishop' were not 'a professional class as we now understand the term. They were no more so than town councillors and justices of the peace are now,' though 'their office was part of a divine system.'

Space fails to illustrate, as one would wish to do, the literary felicities and striking turns of sentences with which the chapters teem, but the reader will soon discover these for himself. Nor

is it necessary to dwell on scattered points that suggest interrogation. In the remarks on the Apostles' Creed, *e.g.*, in chap 4, is 250 A.D. (p. 74) not intended for 150 A.D. (cf. p. 511)? Are the Elkesaites, who 'retained circumcision' (p. 21) and had a revelation-book of their own, really one with the party of the 'Clementines,' which conceded the point of circumcision, or only, as Ritschl thought, a related branch of Essenian Judaism? In another connexion, is 'Beron' (pp. 170, 217) to be regarded as a historical person? But as a contribution to the history of the Church in its formative period, the book stands quite unaffected by the answers to such minute questions.

Recent Biblical Archaeology.

The Land of Sepharad.

'The captivity of Jerusalem, which is in Sepharad, shall possess the cities of the south' (Ob 20). Where was this land of Sepharad, to which some at least of the Jewish captives of Nebuchadrezzar had been carried or sent? Our first idea would be that it was in Babylonia, or at all events in the neighbourhood of Babylonia. It is here, and here only, that we elsewhere hear of the Jewish exiles being settled.

The name of Sepharad is met with in the cuneiform inscriptions, where it is written 'Sapardu and 'Sapardâ. So far as I know, it is first found in the prayers addressed to the sun-god by Esarhaddon at the time when Assyria was threatened by a coalition of the northern nations. The 'Sapardâ are associated with the Medes, the Mannâ or Minni and the Gimirrâ or Kimmerians. The Mannâ lived to the east of Ararat, on the shores of Lake Urumiyeh; and as the Medes were also in the same part of Asia, it seems natural to assume that the 'Sapardâ were their neighbours. On the other hand, the principal seat of the depredations of the Kimmerians was Asia Minor, and it was in Khubusna or Khubisna, on the borders of Cilicia and Cappadocia, that their leader Teuspa was defeated and slain by Esarhaddon. Here, too, his successor Tugdammê, the Lygdamis of Strabo, was killed in battle, in the reign of Assur-bani-pal, while the name of his son 'Sanda-ksatru or 'Sanda-khshatra is compounded with that of the Cicilian god Sandês.

Moreover, we have positive testimony that at a later date the land of 'Sapardu was in Asia Minor. In the great inscription of Darius I. at Behistun, 'Sapardu (Çparda in the Persian text) comes between 'Egypt on the sea' and Yâvanu or Ionia, and at Naksh-i-Rustem in the list of satrapies the order is: Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, 'Saparda, Ionia. The geographical position of 'Sapardu, however, is still more closely defined in a tablet published by Dr. Strassmaier in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vi. 3, pp. 235, 236. The tablet is dated in 'the 37th year of Antiochus and Seleucus the kings,' that is to say, in 274 B.C. In the previous year it is said the king had collected his troops and gone to the country of 'Sapardu. Here he had left a garrison in order to face the Egyptian army at the fords of a river, which, nevertheless, it succeeded in crossing. A few days later 'twenty elephants which the governor of Baktria had sent to the king, were brought to the ford of the river to meet him.' Then came the new year, and Antiochus marched at the commencement of it to 'the ford of the river.' Throughout the year prices in Babylon and the neighbouring cities were calculated according to the standard of the 'Ionians,' and there was much sickness in the country.

The first event that marked the beginning of the new year was the return of 'the governors of Babylonia and the royal bodyguard, which had gone to 'Sapardu to meet the king the previous year, to Seleucia, the royal city, which lies upon the Tigris.' As it had been stated in an earlier part of the tablet that the bodyguard had been left in Babylonia for a whole month at the end of the preceding year, Holm (*Griech. Geschichte*, iv. p. 202) infers that an Egyptian garrison had been established east of the Euphrates, in the very heart of the territory of the Syrian king, and that 'Sapardu consequently was eastward of Babylonia. But the inference cannot be sustained. The campaigns of the Egyptian king Ptolemy II. were carried on in Cyrene and Asia Minor, not in Babylonia; and in

the enumeration of his foreign conquests, accordingly, which we find in Theocritus (xvii. 86–90), Arabia is the only country mentioned that does not lie on the Mediterranean coast. As a matter of fact, at the time the cuneiform tablet was written, Antiochus was defending Asia Minor against the invasion of the Gauls. The earlier part of his reign had been occupied in a struggle with Nicomedes of Bithynia, and the defeat of the Gauls in Galatia 275 B.C. procured for him his title of Soter. 'Sapardu must therefore have been in the neighbourhood of Galatia, if indeed it were not Galatia itself, and we are thus brought back to the locality in which it is placed in the list of the satrapies of Darius.

The difficulty still remains of reconciling this locality with the fact that the Jewish captives of Nebuchadrezzar were in exile there. The central districts of Asia Minor never formed part of Nebuchadrezzar's empire, and we can only suppose that the reference in Obadiah is to Jewish slaves like those of whom we hear in Jl 3^6. There is, however, another possible explanation. Besides 'Saparda, a country of Saparda is mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions. Saparda was one of the six Median districts attached by Sargon to Kharkhar after his conquest of the latter province (*Ann.* lxxiii. 84), and the name occurs again in a letter (Rm. 2, 463, Rev 3), which probably belongs to the reign of Esar-haddon. Between two such similar names a confusion could easily arise, and it is therefore quite possible that in the prophecy of Obadiah we should read שפרד instead of ספרד. Kharkhar lay not far from Ecbatana, and is placed by Streck between Paikul and Qasr-i-Sirîn on the east bank of the Diyâla. Sargon made it the seat of an Assyrian satrap.

A. H. SAYCE.

Oxford.

'Tree and Pillar Cult.'[1]

SINCE 1876, when Schliemann burst into the tombs in the citadel at Mycenæ, and thought that he had discovered Agamemnon and all his house, a complete change has come over some of the problems connected with the origins of civilization, a change to which O.T. students are hardly yet alive. Up till that time the *a priori* conception had held its ground, that civilization had always moved west, and that, consequently, the Phœnician mariners, leaving their shelterless coast to seek harbours and commerce in other lands, had carried the culture of the Semites to the islands of the Ægean. But the discoveries at Mycenæ proved it to have been the seat of an advanced art, at a time when there were neither Hellenes in Greece nor Israelites in Canaan. The influence of this Mycenæan art has been shown by subsequent discoveries in the Ægean Islands, in Crete, in Cyprus, in Egypt, and in Phœnicia, to have had a very strong hold by 1400 B.C. And to the problem of the marvellously rapid development of Greek art a solution has probably been given in the suggestion that the Hellenes, when they had conquered the Ægeans and usurped their land, absorbed their artistic nature, and, bringing their own independent genius to bear upon results already arrived at, produced the masterpieces of the age of Pericles.

The excavations in Greece, in Egypt, and in Assyria that have so immensely widened our conception of historic time, the re-reading of Greek mythology and legend in the light of new facts, the attention given to the hints in biblical genealogy and prophecy of the western source of the Philistines, the undoubted fact of a primitive Ægean paganism at Gaza,—all these things have completely upset old views. The art of the Ægeans, so far from being derived from the Semites, was indigenous. The resemblances which Ægean alphabets present to the Phœnician may be due to a common derivation from a Carian source. The Semite still remains the *religious* genius of the world. The crass customs of other peoples, and the mythology of Babylon, he transmuted into moral and spiritual forces. But what art he had he seems to have borrowed. Mr. Evans' statement, that 'the Tyrian civilization of historic times, so far as we know its actual remains, is little more than a depository of decadent Mycenæan art,' is not the exaggeration of an explorer in a new field, tempted to lay too much weight on the wonders the spade is revealing, but the expression of sober fact. The war has thus been carried into the Semite country. The artistic influences, if not the religious, are roundly declared to have moved not west but east. The discovery of a bronze civilization in

[1] *The Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult and its Mediterranean Relations, with Illustrations from recent Cretan Finds.* By Arthur J. Evans, M.A., F.S.A. London: Macmillan, 1901. Price 6s.

Mycenæ and in other prehistoric sites, the early Cypriote and Hittite systems of writing,—systems far older than the Phœnician alphabet,—the two non-Phœnician systems of writing which Mr. Evans has discovered in Crete, have shown that in the west we have to do with an influence that was not Semitic, powerful enough to create a most remarkable and distinctive art, and to originate several systems of writing.

Crete, though a field worked only in the last five years, has proved itself to be a perfect mine of archæological wealth. From its position it was within reach of Ægean, of Egyptian, and of Semitic influences, and all those are found to have stamped themselves on its early civilization. But the virility of the Cretan character made it creative as well as synthetic. It did not merely receive impressions: it also reacted powerfully upon the civilizations that brought it so much. The legend that Dædalus built the propylæum of Hephæstos at Memphis has, at all events, a groundwork of truth in the influence of Cretan art in Egypt.

Mr. Evans, in this most valuable book, confines himself largely to the religious significance of Mycenæan art. He shows that in it, tree and pillar worship were associated with one another, as they were by the Semites and by the Druids, and as they are in the India of to-day. One of the most interesting sections in the book explains the evolution of the Bætylic altar—a slab with cups for libations, supported on a stout central pillar with smaller pillars supporting the corners. The primitive altar consisted simply of the central pillar, and over this the offering was poured. But, to prevent the offering running to waste, a slab with depressions in it was fixed across the top of the pillar, and the corner parts were added to give security. The O.T. student is at once reminded of the evolution of the altar of sacrifice. At first, it too was a mere sacred stone, the Beth-el (from which *βαίτυλος* may be derived.) But in the Book of the Covenant it has come to be shaped, a square altar which had to be built of unhewn stone, lest the deity in it should be hurt by the use of a tool. And, finally, we have the elaborate Solomonic altar.

This aniconic image cult explains the small size of the Cretan shrines. When the god was thought of as dwelling in a pillar, he did not require a great abode. It was only as the anthropomorphic conception of the deity grew, that his worshippers came to think he must have a palace to house him. Mr. Evans shows, in some most interesting illustrations, this transition from the aniconic to the anthropomorphic cult.

Along with the history of the sacred pillar, Mr. Evans traces the analogous development of the cult of the sacred tree, which generally accompanied the pillar. In the first stage the living tree itself was worshipped—a fig, a palm, a vine, a cypress, a pine. Then for the tree a wooden post was substituted, corresponding exactly to the Asherah of Semitic worship. And, finally, the sacred tree was found taking its part in the construction of the house as 'the pillar of the house,' the function which the two pillars of the Solomonic temple, Jachin and Boaz, were probably meant to subserve.

Most interesting, too, are the derivation of the word Labyrinth, from *Labrys*, the Carian word for *πέλεκυς*, the double-headed axe, the symbol of the Cretan Zeus; and the sections dealing with the influence of Egyptian art upon the typical Mycenæan forms.

The reader will thus see that this interesting volume contains a great deal more than a mere statement of discoveries. It is an attempt to place the religious aspects of the Mycenæan art in relation to Semitic and Egyptian religions. Thus, there are theories as well as facts, and to differ from Mr. Evans in some of the theories that he advances with regard to Semitic religion is not to underestimate the force of his facts. The book is stronger on its Greek and Egyptian sides than on its Semitic. It is, for instance, surely an unwarrantable inference to conclude that because Jehovah revealed Himself to Abraham under the terebinth at Mamre, in the form of three persons, therefore there was a special group of three holy trees at that place! Mr. Evans' rebuke (p. 9) to Reichel for hasty theorizing might have a wider application.

The work is beautifully printed, and is published at a reasonable price. If it should lead some to study the new aspect that has been given by the Mycenæan discoveries to many questions of the origins of civilization, Mr. Evans would doubtless feel he had been well rewarded.

R. Bruce Taylor.

Aberdeen.

'A Ransom for Many.'

By the Rev. George Milligan, B.D., Caputh.

'For verily the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many'—Mark x. 45.

There are few words in the Gospels more familiar than these. And yet our very familiarity with them may, if we are not on our guard, blind us to their full significance. This at least is certain, that they have been often misapplied and a meaning forced into them which they cannot bear. And it is only by noticing clearly the context in which they occur that we can hope to discover exactly what they meant upon the lips of Christ.

V.[32] of the chapter marks, as no one can fail to observe, the beginning of a new period, what we may fairly call a crisis in the life of Jesus. His Galilean ministry was now practically at an end; and though for a time apparently it had been very successful, and great multitudes had followed Him, latterly it had been different; and no sooner had the people come to realize that He was not the kind of Messiah for whom they had been looking, than they went back from Him. Nor was this all; along with this desertion on the part of the people, there had now for some time been traces of a growing hostility towards Jesus on the part of the Jewish priests and leaders. And Jesus saw what from the first He had anticipated, and experience had made ever clearer, that there could be but one end to His mission. And it was therefore with the full consciousness of the death that awaited Him there, that He set His face towards Jerusalem.

We are not to suppose that this resolve was reached without an inward struggle. And there are few more graphic pictures in the Gospels than the verses in which St. Mark brings the Saviour before us pressing forward in prophetic elevation and sublimity of soul, and the awestruck disciples following timidly behind. Not yet could they understand what it all meant; and there was a mingled majesty and sorrow in our Lord's actions, which they dared not disturb. But He took pity on their ignorance; and they had not gone far upon the way when, joining Himself to them once more, Jesus foretold—it was now for the third time—the death with all its shameful accompaniments that awaited Him. No intimation could have been clearer; but still the disciples either could not or would not understand. So far indeed were they from doing so, that the sons of Zebedee actually chose this ill-timed moment for their selfish request that they might sit, the one on His right, the other on His left hand in His kingdom.

It was a request that might well have brought down on them the severest condemnation; but none such fell from the lips of Jesus. And it was rather with infinite patience that He sought to bring home to His erring disciples what their request really involved. To have any part in His kingdom, He pointed out, a man must be prepared not for outward glory, but for sharing in His cup of suffering, and being baptized in His baptism of blood. And then to make His meaning still clearer, Jesus gathered all His disciples together, and proceeded to show them how His kingdom differed from man's.

It differed first with regard to those who ruled. In man's kingdom it is the great ones who exercise authority,—those, that is, who obtain their lordship by means of conquest, or whose authority is based upon might. But in His kingdom the note of eminence is service; it is the servant of all who alone is great. And then corresponding to this difference in the rulers is the difference in the means by which their rule is established. The earthly ruler prevails by power. He uses the persons, the lives of others, to further his selfish ends and to minister to his will. But in Jesus' kingdom the man who will be great must consent not so much to use, as to be used. And in his efforts to further the good of those he desires to win and to save, he must be prepared to sacrifice his own interests, it may even be his own life.

Nor is this a solitary law, but a law which runs through all nature, all life, a law to which even He, the kingdom's Head and Lord, must bow. '*For*'—so Jesus concludes, applying to Himself His favourite title, the title which, while

asserting His Messianic dignity, implies also His oneness with the men He came to save—'*the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many.*'

Such, then, is the connexion in which the words occur, and whatever else is involved in them, they at least show that Jesus Himself regarded His mission as above all else a mission of service, and of service that was to culminate in His own death. And in so regarding it, does He not throw a new light upon the meaning of that death? I say, a new light; for it is a very significant fact that though before this Jesus had frequently referred to His death, sometimes in clear words, at other times in dark and mysterious allusions, hitherto He had spoken only of the fact itself, or of the manner in which it was to be brought about, and never of its inner meaning. But now for the first time we find Him helping us to enter at least a little into that meaning, and giving us a glimpse, a passing glimpse, it must be allowed, but still a very real one, into the how and the why He died.

1. For, first of all, this saying of Jesus brings His death before us very clearly, as a *voluntary* death.

Just before, He had been speaking of it from a different point of view as caused by the malice and wickedness of men (vv.[33. 34]). And to that outwardly no doubt it was due. Jesus died as a martyr at the hands of the rulers of the Jews. But that was only one aspect of His death. Perhaps the most astonishing thing about it, as Dante has remarked,[1] is that in one and the same death both God and the Jews rejoiced. And when we think of Jesus' death from the divine side, it is its freewill character that at once impresses us. He might have escaped it if He would. '*Thinkest thou*,' so He asked in the very moment of betrayal, '*that I cannot beseech My Father, and He shall even now send Me more than twelve legions of angels?*' (Mt 26[53]). But no! brushing the very thought of escape aside, He went forward calmly to the Cross.

And He did so because that was the very object for which He came. '*The Son of man came*'—came from a position of previous power and glory, came taking upon Him the form of a servant—'*to give*'—with all the freedom involved in the very thought of giving—'*His life a ransom for many.*'

It may seem hardly necessary to recall this, it is so self-obvious a truth, were it not that rightly understood it cuts at the root of a very common popular misconception regarding the Atonement. For is there not still a tendency in some quarters to think of Christ's death as a sacrifice wrung from Him, if not an unwilling at least a passive sufferer? But here He shows us Himself an active willing agent in it all. His offering was a voluntary offering. His life was His own life to give or not, as He pleased. And it was not the death of Christ in itself, but the will and the love lying behind the death, that made it acceptable in the sight of God. As He Himself has told us: '*Therefore doth the Father love Me, because I lay down My life, that I may take it again. No one taketh it away from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again*' (Jn 10[17. 18]).

2. But Jesus has more to tell us about His death than that. He tells us that He gave Himself a *ransom* for many.

The figure seems at first sight a very simple one; but all who have taken the least interest in the progress of theological thought, know to what strange uses it has sometimes been put.

Thus in the early Church there were many who thought of this ransom as a price paid to the devil. By sin, so they argued, man had fallen into the hands of the devil, and was by him held captive. The devil could not therefore be expected to free man, unless he received some equivalent in exchange. And the blood of Christ proved to be such an equivalent. Sometimes the theory was presented under even grosser forms, as if a certain amount of deception or trickery had been practised on the devil, on the principle that in war all is fair. But the underlying idea was always the same—that the devil required and was entitled to a ransom for the liberation of man, and that this ransom Christ paid to him.

We are not likely to fall into such an error now; but we must equally guard against the even more insidious view, which regards the ransom as paid to God. All sin, we are told, is of the nature of debt due to God. God cannot forgive sin, that is to say, forgive the debt due to His honour, without first of all receiving a payment in full. And such a payment the death of Christ, bearing our sin in

[1] Però d'un atto uscir cose diverse;
chè a Dio ed ai Giudei piacque una morte.
Paradiso, vii. 46, 47.

its exact burden and measure, could alone provide. We see the glimmerings of truth underlying such a theory in the emphasis laid upon God's justice and man's responsibility. But how reconcile it in the hard material form in which it is thus presented, with the free unconditional love of God in which we have been taught that our salvation begins? It was because '*God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son.*' The love came before the giving; and not only after the sacrifice was complete.

The fact is, that these and all such theories err in pressing the figure of *ransom* too far. Christ says nothing here of the person to whom the ransom is paid, or of any exact equivalence in the payment. And we are more likely to arrive at His meaning if, observing the same studious reserve, we think of 'ransom' simply in its general wide sense as *the means of redemption, deliverance, freedom.* Jesus thinks of man as enslaved to the dark powers of sin and of death, and He teaches that by His death man has been set free from the slavery in which he is held. As to the exact method by which this is accomplished, we are here told nothing.

3. But—and here is our third and last truth—we cannot do full justice to the very idea of 'ransom,' still less to the idea of '*ransom for*,' or, as the original undoubtedly implies, 'ransom instead of many,' without recognizing that in some—what to us must always be mysterious—way Jesus represents Himself as securing our deliverance by Himself taking our place. It is because He—the representative Head of our Humanity—served and suffered to the uttermost for us that man is free.

It is hardly possible, indeed, not to believe that here, as on so many other occasions, Jesus was thinking of the great prophecy of the Servant of the Lord in the second half of Isaiah, and finding its fulfilment in Himself: '*By His knowledge shall My righteous Servant justify many: and He shall bear their iniquities. Therefore will I divide Him a portion with the great, and He shall divide the spoil with the strong; because He poured out His soul unto death, and was numbered with the transgressors: yet He bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors*' (Is $53^{11.12}$). Only we must not think that Jesus, because He speaks of *many*, is pointing only to a limited atonement. The *many* do not stand in opposition to *all*: but to the *One* by whom the atonement is effected. On the one side stand the *many*, of whom no one '*can by any means redeem his brother, or give to God a ransom for him*' (Ps 49^{7}). On the other stands the *One*, perfect God and perfect man, pre-eminent in what in Himself He is, and so able to do what no one else can do, and to '*give His life a ransom for many.*'

It is vain to try to hide the difficulties which thus inevitably gather round the thought of the Cross of Christ—the Holy suffering for the unholy, the Just for the unjust. But so much at least is clear, that we cannot think of the death of Christ in the light in which it is here presented to us as the supreme example of service and self-sacrifice without understanding something of the irresistible sway which it has always exercised over the hearts of men.

How much more is involved in Christ's words, whether we have not in them at least the elements of that sacrificial and propitiatory character which all the Apostolic writers agree in ascribing to His death, is a question of immense interest and importance, but it is one on which we cannot enter just now. And we must be content with again simply affirming what in our own consciousness we are so well able to verify, that it is just when we are most conscious of sin's degrading and enslaving power, or are most nearly confronted with the sad realities of suffering and death, that we find in the thought of the Cross of Christ a peace and a strength that we can find nowhere else, and enter most fully into the meaning of the great words: '*For it became Him, for whom are all things, and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the author of their salvation perfect through sufferings*' (He 2^{10}).

The Songs of Palestine.[1]

By the Rev. John Taylor, M.A., D.Lit., Winchcombe.

Professor Dalman's *Palästinischer Diwan* is equally happy in its conception and its execution. Anxious to obtain a fuller knowledge of the mind and manners of the people who inhabit the Holy Land, and convinced that foreign influences are rapidly obliterating the peculiarities which have stood the wear and tear of ages, he spent the fifteen months from March 1899 to June 1900 in the closest intercourse with all classes of the population. There is no surer way of getting at the thoughts of such races than by studying their songs. They sing everywhere. They have favourite ditties to accompany all the occupations and all the customary events of life. In the rural districts the popular poetry which springs direct from the hearts and lips of the peasantry still flourishes. In the towns the professional singer has not lost the art of pleasing his hearers. Dalman has gone about amongst them all, collecting the verses of shepherds and ploughmen, mule-drivers and singers in the coffee-house, men and women afflicted with leprosy, and glad, in their affliction, to recall the things which gladdened their brighter hours. Missionaries and other residents in the country have put at his disposal the material which they have gathered. He has found willing helpers in the Hauran, in Northern Syria, in Sidon, in Aleppo: to every poem he has been able to prefix the name of its town or district, and to most, that of the individual from whom it was learnt. Not only are they here translated closely into German, but the Arabic is also given, printed in Roman letters and the quantities of the vowels indicated, so that one who is not familiar with the original language can yet acquaint himself with the prosody of each poem. A brief account is given of the various forms of verse here represented, Ḳaṣida, ʿAtāba, etc. At the close of the book thirty-two of the airs are reproduced, thus enabling us to form an approximate idea of how the marriage-song, the dirge, etc., sound. It would be tedious to enumerate the classes to which the songs are assigned; suffice it to mention those heard in the fields, on the roads, by the tent-fire, at village gatherings, on the sea, on pilgrimage, in war, by the child's cradle, at the various points of an Eastern wedding, at dances, at leave-takings, at home-comings, at funerals. The result is a most valuable set of illustrations of Semitic life. And the work has not been done too soon. Mission schools are replacing the native way of singing by ours. And one of the Belḳa poets whose lines are preserved in this volume declares that he will send a telegram (*telṛrāf*) descriptive of the charms of the woman he loves! On the other hand, we see how quick Dr. Dalman has been to appropriate even the most recent productions, for he prints an elegy on a sheikh who died last year.

As to the thoughts which here find expression, we must not pitch our expectations too high. Many of the songs are very brief, being of only two or four lines, and the few words of which they consist seem to us pointless or irrelevant. But they have a meaning for the peasant or the Beduin. And whereas we *read* them, he *sings* them. Many, again, are decidedly interesting, intrinsically or by reason of the light they throw on other fields. The following is a rough version of one of the love-songs:[2]—

My beloved, thou art mine eye, and thou art my soul;
If thou wert gone, who would cheer me, O my soul?
If Death comes near thee, I'll ransom thee with my soul;
Nor shall I then wish to draw breath any more.

My beloved, say not that I forget thee,—
My soul I can forget, but never thee.
Thy parents have sold thee: 'tis I who have bought thee,
For two thousand mejidi, and the rest in gold.

As thou turnest, O serpent, so do I turn,
As a stranger: too long have we been strange.
I implore thee, O Moon, by God, give me light,
For mine oil is run low and my lamp is gone out.

The two songs which follow give some indication of the feelings which the adherents of rival faiths

[1] *Palästinischer Diwan*, als Beitrag zur Volkskunde Palästinas, gesammelt und mit Übersetzung und Melodien herausgegeben von Gustaf H. Dalman. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. M.9.

[2] P. 66.

entertain toward each other. The first is in the lips of Moslem boys at Aleppo [1]—

And the kids, the white ones, the white ones,
Are now come down to the camp:
They have given me sugar [2] to eat,
The sugar of the prophet have they given.
And the prophet carries a book
From Aleppo to 'Aintab.
O ye Christians, O ye dogs,
Why bless ye not the prophet?

The other also comes from Aleppo, and is used by Christian children at Easter [3]—

On the First Sunday—Nothing, nothing,
On the Second Sunday—Nothing again,
On the Third Sunday—We cut out the cloth,
On the Fourth Sunday—We sew the cloth,
On the Fifth Sunday—Palm twigs,
On the Sixth Sunday—We cook eggs and go into the gardens.

The Feast came, and we kept it,
We went to the grave of our Lord:
Our Lord He is our Guardian,
He hath bought us with His blood.
And the Jews are sad,
But the Christians glad.
Thine eye cracked, O Jew!

The Song of Songs is abundantly illustrated in the collection before us, especially such parts of it as Ca 1^{10} 4^{1-5}—

O, her eyebrows are as the line of ink drawn with a pen,
And her hair as birds' feathers coloured with henna;
Her nose like the sword-hilt, the glittering one from Ind;
Her roseate cheeks are like the apples of Damascus,
And her eyes as the eyes of the lynx when he is aroused, etc. [4]

In this connexion it is desirable to note Dalman's remark [5] that the similar verses in Canticles are not necesarily epithalamia, seeing that such descriptions of the beloved are sung on many occasions besides weddings. To this we may add that an Eastern poet's imagination does not wait for the knowledge of facts. The stress laid in the Pentateuch on the duty of helping to restore lost property is heard again in the public crier's proclamation [6]—

May he who will not tell be stripped of cattle and children!
May he play with the mice
Because his little ones are gone,
May he play with the cat
Because his skipping child is lost!

[1] P. 40. [2] Sweet milk. [3] P. 161.
[4] P. 100. [5] P. xii. [6] P. 55.

Whilst we listen to the peasant lad in the Belka [7] we think of the idyllic scenes by the wells, described so touchingly in Genesis; but there is a wide difference of tone—

I saw her go for water to the well,
A maiden, a true coquette.
I said to her, 'O maiden, give me to drink,
Give me to kiss thy cheeks.'
But she answered, 'Depart, O youth,
Stay not to explain thy words!
Who asks for kisses meets with Death,
For the sons of Churshan [8] know what is done.'
'By God, if thou criest out, I cry out also,
And call the sons of Mefalih [9] to my aid:
The sons of Churshan know the soreness of wounds.'

Amonst the dirges, whilst there is much to remind us of those in the Bible, there is one frequently recurring peculiarity: the departed speaks, or is spoken of, as if he were not yet dead [10]—

O Physician, heal Thy sick one,
Before Thou givest drink to Thy thirsty one! [11]
I cried: O, my Lord, I implore Thee,
O my God, show pity upon me!

We should fail to do justice to Dr. Dalman if we omitted to mention his ample elucidation of all customs, allusions, and modes of thought which may be presumed unfamiliar to the ordinary Western reader. Here are four lines from children in Jerusalem [12]—

Say thy prayer,
O lizard!
Thy mother died
In the oven.

They would be almost unintelligible without the note which mentions the habit of the great Palestinian lizard of perching itself on the top of stone heaps and holding up its head; if it looks southwards the children call it a Moslem, if eastwards a Christian. At the head of each section of marriage songs or elegies there is an account of the ceremonies observed at that stage: any one who will take the trouble to put these accounts together will have a tolerably complete idea of all these rites and customs. Dalman calls attention to the fact that food is eaten in the last portion of the funeral ceremonies, and thinks that this brings out the significance of 2 S 3^{35}, Jer 16^{7}. The correctness of the supposition is open to doubt.

[7] P. 53. [8] Her tribe.
[9] His tribe. [10] P. 317.
[11] Help me first and those in less dire necessity later.
[12] P. 174.

2 S 3^{35} seems to imply such a fast as was natural on the occasion, and to record an equally natural though futile attempt of the people to induce their king to take requisite nourishment. Jer 16^{17} is satisfactorily explained by Duhm: 'As funeral guests at the present day try to hinder a Jewish widow from rending her garments, so in Jeremiah's time they sought to prevent the son from following his father to death, offering him food and drink to bring him back to the life which he seemed to be abandoning by abstaining from needful sustenance.' Not improbably the custom which Dalman refers to is a survival of the practice which is reprobated in such verses as Dt 26^{14}. Very frequently in these songs a Bedawin cries, 'For thine eye!' 'The Bedawin performs his heroic deeds in honour of his beloved. Ere riding forth to battle he makes a brave show on horseback before her and utters this cry.' It reminds us of the days of chivalry, when the knight dedicated all his exploits to the glory of the lady whom he had chosen. The two facts that a mother-in-law expects her son's wife to relieve her of work, and that in several districts of the Holy Land a bride, before entering her new home, receives a lump of dough, and sticks part of it on her forehead and part on the lintel, are mentioned as explaining the Song to the Bridegroom's Mother[1]—

> O, Mother of the Bridegroom, be glad to sleep,
> To thee comes a bride like Bedr of Neʾām.[2]
> We brought her from the South and are here at last,
> We have put the dough on the hair of her brow.

It will be a great surprise to us if the *Palästinischer Diwan* does not become a standard work, highly esteemed. J. TAYLOR.

Winchcombe.

[1] P. 192. [2] A legendary beauty.

At the Literary Table.

THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

ARCHBISHOP BENSON ON THE ACTS.

The late Archbishop Benson delivered a series of lectures to a congregation of ladies in Lambeth Palace Chapel from 1887 to 1892 on the Acts of the Apostles. The addresses were never written out, being spoken from notes, but some of the listeners took reports from the first, and after a time a professional reporter was employed. These addresses have now been edited by one of the Archbishop's daughters, and in a remarkably handsome volume they have been published by Messrs. Macmillan.

Dr. Benson's object was not to give his hearers a general conception of the times and circumstances in which the Acts of the Apostles took place. He was not the man to be content with the mere external history, nor was his audience likely to thank him for an account of the state of the Roman Empire in the days of the Apostles. He gives a good deal of historical and political information, but it is always caught up into the region of the moral and the spiritual, and made to serve the ends of spiritual nourishment and growth in grace.

Dr. Benson is neither an exegete nor a critic in these addresses. Occasionally he stays his hand to bring out the force of some participle or the distinction between two nearly synonymous words. For example, he translates Ac 19^{15}, 'Jesus I perceive, Paul I know,' and gives the explanation that the evil spirit in saying 'Jesus I perceive, Paul I know or thoroughly understand,' showed 'an awful sense of the enormous difference between even St. Paul and Jesus.' But his purpose is practical guidance. He is a preacher first and last.

And his practical guidance is not always obvious or even immediately acceptable. Continuing the use of the same incident in Ac 19, in which the seven sons of Sceva took upon them to name over a man with an evil spirit 'the name of Jesus whom Paul preacheth,' and were roughly handled for their pains, Archbishop Benson says that the mistake which the seven sons of Sceva made was to try to do good by way of example. Turning out an

evil spirit, he says, is never easy work, but when it is attempted as a good example to others, then it is quite impossible. Dr. Benson tells us that we should not give up anything which we ourselves do not feel to be wrong merely that we may by our example lead others to give it up. 'I was startled once,' he says, 'by the vehement utterance of a well-known person, who finished a sermon with the words: "To do good for the sake of setting an example is simply silly." Such an utterance is useful; and I feel inclined to say that to do good for the sake of setting an example is more than silly.'

That the ladies who listened to these addresses appreciated them is evident. The Duchess of Bedford, for one, writes an introduction to the volume, and not only expresses her appreciation without reserve, but also indicates clearly wherein the value of the addresses lay. Her estimate corresponds with that which we have formed on reading the volume. 'We find,' she says, 'an almost startling perception of the relation of the great Christian doctrines to the fundamental characteristics of human nature which issue in the familiar facts of human life. . . . The common tendency to regard the truths of the Christian religion as an addition to rather than as an integral part of life in its ordinary manifestations, had no place in the Archbishop's mind.'

POSSESSION.

Demonic Possession in the New Testament is still an unsolved problem. That sentence *in italics* opens the introduction to a new work on Demonic Possession by Dr. W. Menzies Alexander (T. & T. Clark). It is not only unsolved, it is a problem which few expositors are anxious even to touch. It is the point at which the difficulties of the supernatural in the New Testament concentrate. To give it up is easy—both the problem and the Possession—but it is unsatisfactory. Jesus believed in it, and if it was a delusion He could be deluded. Or He did not believe in it, and if it was a sham He helped its propagation. It is easy to deny Possession—but after?

Demonic Possession is still an unsolved problem. Perhaps the solution has been improperly attempted. It has been attempted either by theologians, who have generally received it, or by historians who have hesitated, or by medical writers who have mostly denied it. Could we not find a man who has the qualifications for coming to it from all these sides at once? Dr. Menzies Alexander is such a man. His degrees are M.A., B.Sc., B.D., C.M., and M.D. He has studied the subjects that are touched by the problem, he has most patiently studied the problem itself. His book is more than a contribution to the subject, it brings the subject of Possession into line with our latest medical, historical, and theological knowledge.

LIFE AND LETTERS IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

The method of study most commonly used in respect of the early Church writers is to measure them by the standard of orthodoxy. Professor Glover has chosen a new method. He calls it 'reading across the period.' He has chosen the writers of the fourth century and studied their writings; he has also studied the writings of others about them, both early and late. And he has set himself to consider, not what the Orthodox Catholic Church thinks of them, not where ecclesiastical historians have placed them, but what they actually contributed to the solution of the problems of life which emerged in their day. Professor Glover has probably little interest in orthodoxy and little concern for the opinion of the Catholic Church. Certainly he never commits the folly of condemning orthodoxy because it is orthodox. He simply lets it alone. He strikes across it, to use his own expression, neither running with its stream nor rowing against it. And thus he produces a series of studies of the men and women of the fourth century which are very fresh, and he adds something to our knowledge of those problems of life which are ours as well as theirs.

His method is, of course, not absolutely new. Julian has been studied by the 'cross-reader' times without number. Yet it is the study of Julian that has given us most pleasure in reading Professor Glover's book. For in this brief chapter Julian is set amidst the great processes of his day with a detachment which reveals with memorable distinctness his incapacity for the tremendous task he set himself, and yet Julian's amazing failure is recognized as the judgment of the great God.

The book is not only literary and unecclesias-

tical, it is popular. The titles of the chapters, such as 'Greek and Early Christian Novels,' are meant for 'the man in the street.' And in that the Cambridge Press has rendered a gracious service to us all. For we must get the average Englishman to understand that the triumph of Christianity was really due to its being on the side of the nature of things, and that interested ecclesiastics were neither its authors nor effectual promoters. We must get the average Englishman to *read* the history of the Church, and this is the book in which the fourth century may be read with most joy and gain.

THE FORMATION OF CHRISTIAN CHARACTER.

Dr. W. S. Bruce, whose study of *The Ethics of the Old Testament* had a gratifying reception a year or two ago, has now published, through Messrs. T. & T. Clark, a study in *The Formation of Christian Character*. It is a fuller and riper study than the other; it deserves a yet heartier reception.

The book comes in time. Never was stress more unreservedly laid on the value of character; never was it more generally admitted that the noblest character is the character of Christ. It comes also under the influence of the right method. There has been a slight tendency of late to let go the historical method, or at least dilute it with the imaginative. But our great gains have been made along the historical line, and Dr. Bruce adheres to it faithfully. And, better than all, he has laid the only true foundation. Of course he has not tried to describe that New Birth from which Christian character springs, for his book is not theological. But he starts from the New Birth. He does not hang his character in the air. And starting from the New Birth, he has the Spirit of Holiness with him, and is able to show how character is made, —to show it, one might say, in the making.

Dr. Bruce has not exhausted his subject. It is too great for that. He has not given his points the relative prominence which other men would in every case have given them. He has not attempted to make an original contribution to the science of Ethics. But the follower of Christ who sits down with this book in his hand will find himself in a wealthy place. And the preacher, above all, will revel in fresh matter for the pulpit, clearly arranged and pointedly expressed.

THE WORLD BEFORE ABRAHAM.

This is an able and useful book, with a misleading title. It is an introduction to the critical study of the Hexateuch. It states—very lucidly, and thoroughly enough for a popular book—the principles of the Higher Criticism, and then applies them in detail to the first eleven chapters of Genesis. But one must stand back and take a much more comprehensive survey of the materials before he can gain a clear conception of the world before Abraham. When we are past the title, however, the book is right and highly opportune. There is no other book we know which will more readily give one an idea of what the Higher Criticism has done to the Hexateuch. And is not that just what the thousands of thinking Church people are asking? Nor does it demand excessive toil. While the notes give the opportunity of almost endless further study, the body of the book is easily read. Perhaps its most welcome feature is its quiet reasonableness. A follower of Driver, Professor Mitchell can quote Sir William Dawson with appreciation. The publishers are Messrs. Constable of Westminster.

PRAYER.

The 'Oxford Library of Practical Theology,' which Messrs. Longmans are publishing, would have been very incomplete had it not included a volume on Prayer. For prayer is theology. The old saying, *pectus facit theologum*, 'It is the heart that makes the theologian,' might be turned, 'He only is a theologian who is on his knees in prayer.' And prayer is practical theology—the only pity is that it is so little practised. Prayer had to be included, the only question was, Who is to write the volume on *Prayer*?

The choice fell on Canon Worlledge of Truro. We cannot make comparison between the work which Canon Worlledge has done and the work which another might have given us. We can only say that the editors of the series must be highly gratified with the issue of their confidence. We do not agree with all that Canon Worlledge says; we find omissions, and we find over-elaboration here and there. But it is a strong full book; it

penetrates into the heart of the great subject, and never for one moment does it offend by irreverence or presumption.

The difficulty has been to meet various classes of readers. Canon Worlledge is strongest when he speaks to the most devout; his answers to the objector are less impressive. But who would do better with the objector after all? Is not the only answer to the objector to prayer, Try it? 'Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?' 'Come and see.' There is no answer but that.

More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of. And yet many things more might be wrought by prayer, if we would pray more, if more of us would pray. This book will teach us to pray as John also taught his disciples. For this man has tried the power of prayer ere he could write of it with power, such power as this book carries.

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

'The Church of Christ, her Mission, Sacraments, and Discipline' is the full title of Professor Tyrrell Green's volume, which belongs to 'The Churchman's Library' edited by Mr. J. H. Burn and published by Messrs. Methuen. The sub-title is curious and interesting. Why its Discipline? It is well chosen for all that. Professor Green understands by the 'Church of Christ' a very definite organization in this life, and knows that organization must have the power of discipline. In short, the Church of Christ, in Professor Green's conception, is what would now be called—the word is used in utmost reverence, though it is not easy to use it so—a Club. Now a Club has a mission, to its own members certainly, perhaps to those also who are without its membership. It has also its sacraments, which are the exercises whereby its corporate life is expressed and perhaps maintained; and of course it must reject as well as take in, suspend, or otherwise exercise the right of discipline.

Is the Church of Christ a Club then? Professor Green calls it, with less risk of misunderstanding, a Society, a visible Society on earth. He believes it is a Club. Its President, its officers, they are all well known to him. And so he will not have the notion that the Church is an Invisible Body, its head the Invisible Christ, its members in heaven as well as on earth. The Church is the visible Society of outwardly professing Christians. And they must be accepted in due form into the Society by the proper officials, as they may be rejected by the same on contumacy or misconduct.

One weakness of this conception lies, as we all know, in its test of membership. The risk is that the will of the officers rather than the worth of the individual be the basis of decision. No doubt the officers are more and more making their will square with character, but after all there are so many without the society whose fitness to be within is never questioned. It is not a perfect conception. Perhaps Professor Tyrrell Green knows that it is not.

His book is thorough. There is little space for digressions, facts rather than processes are given, results rather than proofs. That makes it possible to cover the whole great subject within the handbook space. It is a book to do credit to author and editor.

CHRIST OUR LIFE.

Professor Moberly's influence is not extensive, but it is intense. The circle of admirers, or even readers, of a man who could preach such sermons as this volume contains, cannot be a wide one. Their plainness of style and their obviousness of thought may be popular enough. But no preacher can be popular in these days who insists so mercilessly on practice, how much less one who will have practice cost pain, and least of all one who demands that this painful practice be not of duty but of love. Dr. Moberly's mind is pre-Reformation. A man is justified by the deeds of the law. But the deeds of the law take him out of bed very early in the morning and watch him rigorously all the day, and if the most minute of all the precepts is done without the glow and the grace of love within, its doing is mere damnation. Dr. Moberly's saint is mediæval, but he ruthlessly takes away all his saint's joy in prayers said and penance done. Who is sufficient for these things? The multitude of believers will do, more readily than believe; but if there is no chance of being accepted in the doing, what comfort can it bring? Surely Dr. Moberly must hold that a man is justified by faith *without* the deeds of the law, or else hold that deeds done with less than the purest motive, if there are enough of them, will make a man practically sure of heaven.

Wherein lies the keen interest one feels in reading or hearing these sermons? In their reflexion of the speaker's personality, in their searching psychology, or in their deep demand? They are not evangelical, nor are they Broad Church. But is there a third position possible in theology or in practice? That is the question they make us ponder.

ABRAHAM AND MOSES.

Two volumes of the new edition of the Rev. F. B. Meyer's works have been issued by Messrs. Morgan & Scott this month. The one is entitled *Abraham; or, The Obedience of Faith*, the other *Moses, the Servant of God*. They are alike in the manner in which they handle their subjects, for Mr. Meyer is always far more edifying than critical, yet the individuality of the two patriarchs is by no means lost. The simplest way to express the special excellence of both books is to say that 'Christ is all and in all' in them. Even Abraham and Moses would be nothing to Mr. Meyer if he did not find Christ in them. The most eloquent sentence about him whom critics call 'the mythical progenitor of the Hebrew race' is 'your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day and he saw it.' And yet, again, it must not be thought that Mr. Meyer has no sense of perspective. He finds Christ in the Old Testament, but he knows the difference between the faith of Moses and the love of John. Let it be remembered that this popular writer, who seems to ignore scholarship, is himself a scholar, and does not stumble forward but selects his footing deliberately. Nor is his strength impaired by his choice, which reaches its highest when he is dealing with the things that are nearest the Throne.

BIBLICAL AND SEMITIC STUDIES.

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons have published in New York a volume of essays by members of the Semitic and Biblical Faculty of Yale University. The essays are described as 'Critical and Historical.' There are six of them. The first is on 'The Tribes of Israel,' by E. L. Curtis, Ph.D., D.D., Holmes Professor of the Hebrew Language and Literature; the second is on 'The Growth of the Israelitish Law,' by C. F. Kent, Ph.D., Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature, and F. K. Sanders, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Biblical History and Archæology; the third is on 'The Yeṣer Hara, being a Study in the Jewish Doctrine of Sin,' by F. C. Porter, Ph.D., D.D., Winkley Professor of Biblical Theology; the fourth is on 'The Significance of the Transfiguration,' by W. G. Moulton, B.D., Ph.D.; the fifth is on 'Stephen's Speech: its Argument and Doctrinal Relationship,' by B. W. Bacon, Litt.D., D.D., Buckingham Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation; the sixth is on 'The Mohammedan Conquest of Egypt and North Africa,' by C. C. Torrey, Ph.D., Professor of the Semitic Languages. It is a book of much importance, and we hope to deal with it next month at greater length. The English publisher is Mr. Edwin Arnold.

LEADERS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By S. H. Mellone, M.A., D.Sc. (*Blackwood*).—The essays which this volume contains have the outward appearance of being what newspaper editors with shocking rudeness call 'pot-boilers.' But we have no business to judge by the outward appearance and go so utterly astray. Newman, Martineau, Comte, Spencer, Browning—their subjects may be suspiciously like 'thrown-off' magazine articles. And there is no doubt that they may be separately read with comfort. But they are not separate. A great and serious purpose runs throughout. It is to discover how each of these leaders of religious thought faced the question of the belief in God. How did they reach it and rest on it? How do they agree and differ in their belief, and why? And it is not merely a series of interesting discussions of this question. Dr. Mellone comes to definite conclusions. One conclusion is that belief is the fruit of experience; another, that experience must be rationally interpreted before it can be relied on. But the chief conclusion is that experience does not come through contemplation but through Work (the capital is to be noticed)—through activity and energy of spirit. The last and greatest study is Browning.

THE CAMBRIDGE BIBLE FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES. THE PSALMS. By A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D. (Cambridge: *At the University Press*).—The Cambridge Press has done a graceful thing in issuing Dr. Kirkpatrick's three volumes in one. The size is somewhat larger, the paper

thinner (964 pages are contained in a volume of comfortable thickness), and altogether this edition is more convenient than the other. Let us add that it is at present without doubt the one commentary on the Psalter through which the English reader will most surely and most immediately get at the meaning of the original.

OUTLINES OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By C. E. Hammond, M.A. (Oxford: *Clarendon Press*).—The study of textual criticism must be getting popular. Mr. Hammond's *Outlines* has reached the sixth edition, although there have been many competitors in the field for some time now. The sixth edition has been largely rewritten, the wonderful gains and more wonderful guesses of the last ten years being all made use of. The success of Mr. Hammond's book is due, we fancy, in no small measure to its elementary character. More even than Mr. Lake's tiny volume, it is a beginner's book. Nothing is taken as known, nothing is pursued into technicality. Moreover, it is a good teacher's book, and that no doubt also counts for much.

THE WORLD'S EPOCH-MAKERS: PLATO. By David G. Ritchie, M.A., LL.D. (*T. & T. Clark*).—In the original intention of this series Plato and Aristotle went together to form one volume. Professor Ritchie himself approved of the plan, and tried to work it out, but he found that the treatment would be too slight for any service, so Plato comes out alone, with the promise that Aristotle may follow. Professor Ritchie fears that as it is the book may be too condensed. We do not think so. Plato's position among the world's epoch-makers can be told without describing every argument in everyone of the dialogues. There is information enough in this volume for its purpose. We are thankful that so ardent a student of Plato was compelled to make a selection of his materials, and give us to understand, without wearisome detail, what Plato has done *pro bono publico.*

THE TEACHINGS OF DANTE. By Charles Allen Dinsmore (*Constable*).—Mr. Dinsmore, by this delightful and instructive book, lets one see what can be done in the study of Dante without a knowledge of Italian. Mr. Dinsmore was indebted for his first affection to Longfellow's rendering of the 'Inferno,' and even now he acknowledges that his pleasure in the great poem has come through Longfellow's and Norton's translations. There may be deeper studies of Dante than Mr. Dinsmore's, but there is no book on Dante more likely than this to catch the interest of the unlearned and ignorant. Dante is seen as a prophet, and all his message is a prophet's message. Therefore it is that his message is so applicable to-day. For no prophet ever spoke to his own generation only. The sins which Dante sees and smites are our sins, their punishment falls on us. We may be separated by more than centuries from the theology of the theologians of Dante's day, but Dante is close at hand. And even our discoveries he made before us, as that great and dreadful discovery that it is not for our sin we are punished, but in our sin and by it. Take this volume and a good translation, if you can do no better, and in the spare minutes of a month's holiday you will be a devoted Dante student.

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH. Edited by A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D. (*Dent*).—This little work is the last that occupied the mind of the late Professor Davidson of Edinburgh, and small as it is, it proves how sensitive to the least ray of the light of truth his mind was, up to the very end. The Introduction is a series of perfectly cut cameos, and even the Notes, though mostly but a line, contain a scholar's precise selection and decision. It raises questions of the world to come. Knowledge passeth away—but we see it passing even in this book, the knowledge of the head passing into the knowledge of the full stature of manhood in Christ.

Messrs. Dent have also published the volume of the Temple Bible, which contains Hebrews and the General Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude. The editor is Professor Herkless of St. Andrews. The reader of these commentaries wishes to know what scholars hold, not why they hold it, and Dr. Herkless has simply said that this and this is so and so. And he knows quite well what scholars hold, though such a statement as 'In the judgment of the vast majority of scholars 2 Peter was not written by St. Peter,' is just strong enough. The latest and greatest English commentary on 2 Peter says it was.

ON THE ATONEMENT. By the Rev. P. Barclay, M.A. (*Hunter*).—Dr. Rashdall has just been telling us that a silent revolution has taken place regarding the Atonement. No one now (no one worth calling anyone) speaks of Substitution. The Atonement is an atonement of sympathy. And here comes Mr. Barclay to answer Dr. Rashdall. The Atonement of Sympathy is nothing, the Atonement of Substitution is all in all. And Mr. Barclay is nearer the natural sense of Scripture, in spite of the revolution. Nor does he offend by denying a place for Sympathy, or by making an immoral idol of Substitution.

HEBREWS. Edited by A. S. Peake, M.A. (*Jack*).—Was Priscilla really the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews? When Harnack uttered it and arrayed his arguments, most men read with a smile. But here is Professor Peake, a clever critic, a thoroughly informed and sagacious scholar, and he says Harnack's identification is the most probable that has yet been proposed. To think that the advocates of the higher education of women never knew this argument and the use that might be made of it! Professor Peake has done well by this Epistle throughout. His commentary is always pointed and often incisive. He never uses words like nature to 'half reveal and half conceal the thought within.' Few commentators have more unreservedly shown the contrasts between this Epistle and the Old Testament, yet none have written on it less offensively.

SCENES AND STUDIES IN THE MINISTRY OF OUR LORD. By the Rev. J. H. Rigg, D.D. (*Kelly*). — There are many ways of preparing the sermon for the pulpit. Dr. Rigg's way is to make studies, just as a painter makes studies for his great picture. And as the painter's studies and sketches are sometimes published and fetch good prices, so here Dr. Rigg has published his 'Scenes and Studies,' and they are worth their price. That they are studies with the pulpit constantly in mind is evident. For example, when Dr. Rigg 'studies' the Woman of Samaria, he says of the phrase, Jesus 'must needs go through Samaria,' that the 'must needs' means more than that the road lay that way; 'it is more than lawful to believe that the Saviour at this time chose that way for high spiritual reasons.' Again, in the study of 'the Woman that was a Sinner,' it is said that our Lord's Parable of the Two Debtors does not compare the woman with the Pharisee, but with 'an imaginary fifty-pence debtor.' This also is rather homiletical than expository, and so is the severity of the judgment on Simon. They are studies for the pulpit; let us rather say they are sermon sketches in the study.

PATRISTIC STUDY. By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Litt.D. (*Longmans*). — The second volume of the new series of books entitled 'Handbooks for the Clergy,' is written by Professor Swete of Cambridge. It is a guide to the study of the Fathers. What has Dr. Swete set before him? He has set it before him to reveal to the younger clergy the wealth of wisdom that lies in patristic writings, telling them that it will repay them to spend time on this study; he has also set it before him to do nothing that would make his book a substitute for study. Now when Dr. Swete has a task before him he lets no ease or indolence prevent him from accomplishing it. This work could not be done better. The knowledge is most intimate; the tact in selection, the skill in presentation, are both a constant delight. The book is at once a student's stimulus and a scholar's ready reference.

THE MINISTRY OF CONVERSION. By A. J. Mason, D.D. (*Longmans*).—Canon Mason has the rare combination of accurate scholarship and frequent surprise of happy thought. It is the combination that produces the most valuable work. And Canon Mason's books are sought for by the discerning at all cost. He is at his best when he undertakes a volume on Conversion. For Conversion is pooh-poohed by the uneducated Anglican as a preserve of Dissent. Canon Mason chooses it for his volume in the 'Handbooks for the Clergy' series out of his scholarship and love of fresh thought. He treats the subject sympathetically—not dwelling on generalities, but weighing words and gathering definite results—and makes it quite manifest that the believer in Baptismal Regeneration and Confirmation does not need to reject the doctrine of Conversion, but rather dare not.

THE ELIZABETHAN PRAYER-BOOK AND ORNAMENTS. By Henry Gee, D.D., F.S.A. (*Macmillan*).—Dr. Gee has made a small

portion of the reign of Elizabeth his special study. He has studied that portion for a special purpose, the purpose of discovering what was done in the matter of Prayer-Book and Church Ornaments revision. He has been led to overthrow the accepted history out and out. He has then reconstructed what he believes to be the true history. The eventful year is 1559. In that year the Prayer-Book of 1552 was passed with three alterations, and the Ornaments Rubric was superseded by 'Provisos' and 'Orders.' Subsequent years only carried these changes into effect. Dr. Gee goes over the ground cautiously, and gives documents. His work is possible only in such a time as this when the keenest interest is felt in the least detail in the history of the Prayer-Book and the Ornaments Rubric, when the very fate of true religion is felt to turn on that history.

WORDS AND THEIR WAYS IN ENGLISH SPEECH. By J. B. Greenough and G. L. Kittredge (*Macmillan*).—Since Archbishop Trench wrote, there has been no study so universally popular as the study of words. And it is inexhaustible. Words are often compared to coins, and they have as many sides and edges and interests. Professor Greenough and Professor Kittredge stand on Trench's shoulders and see farther than he did. They are also more scientific, and discover more complexity of association in the ways of words. Yet they write in almost as entertaining a manner, and are almost as sure of a great audience. They are not so 'moral' as the Archbishop, who was at his best when he was drawing out the deep lessons of linguistic degeneration. But they are more philosophical. They trace their word with a larger outlook on the influences that shaped or sharpened it, and they recognize the imperative operation of the laws of the human mind. Perhaps their greatest achievement, as they discuss separate words so easily, is their demonstration that words are not separate, and cannot be separated from their own history or the human mind.

Messrs. Macmillan have published other two volumes of their most attractive edition of Thackeray—*The Virginians* and *The History of Henry Esmond.* Each of these novels is contained in a volume of convenient size, and there is neither excessive thickness to displease the eye nor excessive thinness of paper to weary it. A more pleasing volume to read we have never had in our hands. Thackeray's admirers will ask no dearer, and will be content with no cheaper, edition than this.

HOME IN THE WORLD BEYOND. By the Rev. George Philip, D.D. (*Marshall Brothers*).—'Set your affection on things above.' Dr. Philip fulfils the apostolic precept gladly. He has discovered that he has not here an abiding city, and already he has his conversation in heaven. How vast is the difference between one who cries, 'Is this the end? Is this the end?' seeing only darkness and uncertainty beyond, and one who like Dr. Philip knows that it is but the beginning, and sees the home of light and joy and peace above. This book is the reward of many years of the closer walk with God. It will lead others to that closer walk, and then to the opening of the golden gates.

THE OLD TESTAMENT NARRATIVE FOR SCHOOLS. By Marcus Dods, M.A. (*Nelson*).—Mr. Dods (there is a Marcus Dods we know better than this yet) has published in this volume a history of the Old Testament times in the language of the Authorized Version. Each incident has its own title, and is printed in ordinary paragraphs without the familiar chapter and verse divisions. The whole narrative almost is given, with just a few inevitable omissions—inevitable to one who looks upon them as unfit for schoolgirl reading. And the outcome is a book of the best stories the world ever heard, with the living God as their soul and centre.

THE POEMS OF JOHN MILTON. (*Newnes.*)—The paper in this 'thin-paper edition' of Milton is so thin that 526 pages are compressed within half an inch. Yet it is quite opaque and no interference is permitted from the other side. The type is good sized and clear cut. The reading has been done with utmost care. It is an edition of Milton to be inquired after.

TENNYSON'S 'IN MEMORIAM.' (*Newnes.*)—The 'Caxton' Series has been made richer and will probably be made better known by this edition of *In Memoriam.* In outward and inward appearance the book is all that modern skill can make

it. But its great attractiveness lies in its illustrations. They are daringly original. Wide eyes will open wider, only wondering. But the penetrating student of nature will find that these hints and bold surfaces awaken echoes of the past and hopes for the future, stirring the deepest things in life.

MEN OF MIGHT IN INDIA. By Helen H. Holcomb (*Oliphant*). — Messrs Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier of Edinburgh have taken a most honourable place as the publishers of mission literature. To them application should be made by those who desire to instruct or interest mission work-parties. Their latest issue is a popular account of the great Indian missionaries from Ziegenbalg to Kellogg. Each biography forms a 'reading' of about 30 pages, and as the book is written in a spirited popular style, it may be safely chosen. There are thirteen biographies in all.

THE BAPTIST PULPIT. (*Stockwell.*)—Mr. Stockwell has published two more volumes of his 'Baptist Pulpit,' which has now reached its twentieth volume. The one is *The Gospel: What it is and what it does*, by the Rev. W. Ingli-James; the other is *Christ the Centre*, by the Rev. H. C. Williams. There is no dispute as to the earnest desire of both preachers to know nothing save Jesus Christ and Him crucified. Both seek the conscience rather than the understanding, or rather the conscience through the understanding, for it must not be supposed that the graces of style are forgotten.

BUILDING IN SILENCE. By the Rev. James Black, M.A., A.T.S. (*Stockwell*).—It is the application to the niceties of daily conduct that is the test of the gospel. At home, at play, its glory is greatest or its shame. Mr. Black seeks to make it enter in at these lowly doors. He finds it applicable to all circumstances, all experiences, all tempers. It tells best in silence, in that quietness and confidence in which we have the promise of winning our souls. And he urges silence with great plainness of speech, silence in building, and silence even in taking down.

SERMONS FROM A LITTLE-KNOWN PULPIT. By the Rev. Solon Rees (*Stockwell*). —There is surely a taste of humour in the title Mr. Rees has given his volume of sermons. As if to be from a little-known pulpit made them singular. It is the little-known pulpits that have given us almost all the sermons that live, and that is the hope by which so many preachers preach and wait. These sermons will not make the pulpit in the Church of Bethany at Aberaman well known, they are too simply solidly of the evangelical type for that. But they will serve their purpose as sermons, rousing some out of forgetfulness, cheering others along the way to the rest that remaineth.

FAITH AND LIFE IN INDIA. By R. L. Lacey (*Stockwell*). — This is the gospel in its application to the necessity of the case in India. The sermons are evangelical to the core, but they contain more 'Apologetic' than the ordinary evangelical sermon at home. They are also illustrated out of the preacher's experience. And in that lies their virtue for us. Many a text will be made more impressive when seen in the light of Indian life and thought. 'The man of India—likewise the woman—covets a son, because only a son can deliver the soul of father or mother from hell, they say. Well, Unto us a Son is born.'

THE ALABASTER BOX. By the Rev. Joseph Pearce (*Stockwell*).—'The Alabaster Box' is the title of the first sermon. The title of the second would have been more striking, 'The Gospel in a Grumble.' Its text is, 'The Pharisees and scribes murmured, saying, This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them.' The sermons are as outstanding as their titles in fitting language and felicitous division.

THE GOSPELS AND THE GOSPEL. By G. R. S. Mead, B.A., M.R.A.S. (*Theosophical Pub. Co.*).—In this volume Mr. Mead investigates the historical sources of Christianity. His sub-title is 'A Study in the most recent Results of the Lower and the Higher Criticism.' He is not an expert in either form of criticism, but he possesses a good general knowledge of both. His interest, however, is not in criticism but in religion, not in facts but in ideas. And this is at once the strength and the weakness of his book. For he is right to emphasize the helplessness of scientific facts to make or prove a religion; he is right in pointing out that to religion itself all our progress in physical science

has added nothing. But then, his comparative indifference to historical fact makes him follow leaders in historical science who are not trustworthy, and adopt positions which are not tenable. He supposes that all the Synoptics were written somewhere in the reign of Hadrian, while on the date of the Fourth Gospel he is afraid to trust himself away from the actual words of Schmiedel. And worse than that, he confounds indefiniteness with toleration. He claims to have no axe to grind as others have, and then ends his book with this characteristic sentence: 'No longer should we be anxious to declare ourselves Christians or Buddhists, Vedantins or Confucianists, Zoroastrians or Mohammedans, but we should strive to be lovers of truth wherever it is to be found, and candidates for Baptism into that Holy Church of all races, climes, and ages, that true Communion of Saints, whose members have been aiders and helpers of all religions, philosophies, and sciences which the world may have from time to time required.'

WHAT A MAN OF FORTY-FIVE OUGHT TO KNOW. (*Vir Pub. Co.*)—This is one of a 'Self and Sex' Series, which has been well commended. The information is valuable, is necessary indeed, and it is put inoffensively. Without doubt these books will do something for the physical and moral well-being of the community. Their extensive circulation should be encouraged.

MR. GLADSTONE AS I KNEW HIM, AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Robert Brown, jun., F.S.A. (*Williams & Norgate*).—Besides the essay which gives the book its name, Mr. Brown has republished in this volume 'The General Election of 1900, and After,' 'John Leland in Cornwall,' 'Studies in Pausanias,' 'Samuel and Teiresias,' 'Sappho, a Retrospect and a Reverie,' and 'Victoria.' The only one with a direct biblical interest is the fourth. In that essay Mr. Brown discusses the religious value of the Witch of Endor and the Rising of Samuel with welcome detachment from professional interest and with much curious and illustrative lore. His conclusion is that Sheol was not so dreary an abode as we, who listen to Hezekiah's despondent cry, imagine, but that it was 'not unaccompanied by thoughts of quiet, peace, and rest; nor wholly accepted as the ultimate goal and final abode of the hopeful and aspiring soul of man, but was at times bravely questioned whether its mysterious abysses did not contain a secret which should link the Eden of the past with a Paradise to come.'

The essay on Pausanias is most after Mr. Brown's manner, and most valuable. But the political essays are good and sometimes searching reading. The first gives many examples of Mr. Gladstone's ability to detach himself from politics at the most engrossing and anxious times, and express his mind on men and things that went to rest long, long ago.

The Books of the Month include also:—*How to Please God*, by the Rev. George Everard, M.A. (Drummond); *I Hope*, by the late Bishop Ryle (Drummond); *A Gift from God*, by J. Forbes Moncrieff (Drummond); *A Help to the Spiritual Interpretation of the Penitential Psalms*, by A. B. Bailey-Browne (Longmans); *Life Everlasting*, by John Fiske (Macmillan); *A Tale of Red Pekin*, by Constancia Serjeant (Marshall Brothers); *Me First*, by Florence A. Markham (Marshall Brothers); *Light for Life's Eventide* (Marshall Brothers); *St. Mark's Gospel*, by A. E. Rubie, M.A. (Methuen); *The Evangelistic Hymn-Book*, by I. D. Sankey (Morgan & Scott); *A Great Salvation*, by E. Marriott-Ford (Nisbet); *Thoughts on the Penitential Psalms*, by Ethel Romanes (Rivingtons); *The Devil and his Angels* (Stock); *Talks with Young Christians*, by W. Ridley Chesterton (Stockwell); *A Plea for the Old Faith*, by J. Tuckwell (Stockwell); *The Poor Minister's Dream*, by Stanley Frazer (Stockwell); *Reasons why I am a Catholic*, by C. M. Yonge (Wells Gardner); *The Touch of Faith*, by A. F. Winnington-Ingram, D.D. (Wells Gardner).

Sennacherib's Second Expedition to the West, and the Date of his Siege of Jerusalem.

By Professor J. V. Prášek, Ph.D., Prague.

III.

The Scripture account of Sennacherib's operations in the West consists of three parts: $A = 2$ K 18^{13-16}; $B = 2$ K 18^{17}–19^{9}; and $C = 2$ K 19^{10-37}. A relates how, in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, Sennacherib went up against Judah, and captured most of its cities, whereupon Hezekiah sought safety in paying tribute, and Jerusalem thus remained unmolested by the enemy. Thanks to Assyrian records, it can be determined that the fourteenth year of Hezekiah coincides with the year 701 B.C. A thus describes the events of the third campaign of Sennacherib (following the arrangement of the Taylor cylinder); but this, while it has a record of terrible devastation of the lowland of Judah, knows nothing of a siege of Jerusalem, at most we hear only of measures being taken with a view to such. Sennacherib himself does not appear before Jerusalem at all, it is in Lachish that he receives the homage of Hezekiah. The narrative we have called B was already stylistically complete in itself when it was incorporated in 2 Kings, and yet the additions are recognizable in the present text. Hence, from the standpoint of historical research, B must be regarded as of less account. But even this section has nothing to say either about a siege of Jerusalem or about help from Egypt. C is in its present form also of later origin, and, moreover, comes from quite a different region. According to it, Sennacherib learns somewhere in S. Palestine that king Tirhakah of Kush is moving against him with an army. Surprised by this intelligence, he at once despatches messengers to Hezekiah with a demand for the surrender of Jerusalem. Hezekiah, however, receives from the mouth of Isaiah the encouraging assurance of God that Jerusalem shall not fall into the hands of the Assyrian. That very night the Assyrian camp is visited by a sudden pestilence which sweeps off 185,000 men, and Sennacherib sees himself compelled to return to Assyria, where some time afterwards he is murdered by two of his sons.

Let us examine this narrative C more closely. The principal incidents it describes are the action of the Egyptian king Tirhakah on behalf of the sorely pressed king of Judah, and the murder of Sennacherib. On the last point we have now precise information. We know that, besides Ašur-nâdinšum and Assarhaddon, Sennacherib had several other sons, of whom one, whom Abydenos calls Nergilos, disputed Assarhaddon's right to the succession, and entered into an agreement with his full brother Ašuršumušabši, the Adrammelech of the Bible, in this matter. This Adrammelech murdered his father on the 20th of Ṭebet, 681 B.C., and thereby gave the signal for a destructive civil war, which Assarhaddon brought to a close only after a lengthy struggle. Now the murder of Sennacherib is recorded in C, and that in a somewhat loose connexion, the remark being made that the king, after the catastrophe that befell him before Jerusalem, withdrew and 'abode at Nineveh.' This sojourn in Nineveh is not indeed more precisely defined, but it justifies the assumption that between the catastrophe referred to and the death of the king we must place some years. We thus obtain the *terminus ante quem* for the incidents recorded in C, which we may suitably presume to have happened some years before 681 B.C.

Far more important is the mention of king Tirhakah, whose reign is now fixed at 691–665 B.C. This shows that the campaign of Sennacherib dealt with in C cannot have taken place till after 691. Hence the historical contents of C have their boundaries sharply drawn, and the incidents sketched in the latter must be placed at least ten years later than the first expedition of Sennacherib to Syria. Consequently the narrative of C relates to another campaign of Sennacherib to the West, which must have fallen between 691 and 681 B.C. From it we learn that Sennacherib in the course of a second expedition to the West

found himself again in Syria, and indeed before Jerusalem, which he besieged. There he heard of the advance of the Egyptian relieving force under king Tirhakah. How far onwards Tirhakah moved is not said, but the approach of the Egyptians caused Sennacherib no little perplexity, as it made the success of his siege of Jerusalem very doubtful. He determined therefore to approach Hezekiah with direct overtures for the surrender of the city. Hezekiah must have been unaware of the advance of the Egyptian relieving army, so that Sennacherib may have had good hopes regarding the issue of the negotiations. But Isaiah inspired Hezekiah with courage, and expressed the firm conviction that Sennacherib would fail in his attempt to capture the city. The unexpected actually happened. The following night the camp of the Assyrians was visited by a terrible stroke, of which no fewer than 185,000 men were the victims. This enormous figure must be taken to represent by far the greatest part of the army. The consequence was that Sennacherib, feeling that he was no match for the double enemy, hurriedly raised the siege of Jerusalem and returned with all possible speed to Assyria, where he was murdered by his sons.

Both the chronological facts and also the contents of *C* just summarized, completely exclude its identity with *A* and *B*. We have, therefore, to do in *C* with another expedition of Sennacherib which must be placed subsequent to 701 B.C. Unfortunately, the continuous cuneiform texts of the age of Sennacherib which we possess come down only to 691 B.C.; for the history of his second campaign to the West we are wholly dependent on some statements of Assarhaddon, coupled with a few scanty remains of Greek historical literature. According to Assarhaddon's statement, Sennacherib advanced pretty far into the heart of Arabia, coming from the N.-W., *i.e.* from Syria, which supports the inference that there was a second Syrian campaign of this kind subsequent to 691 B.C.

While we possess no continuous account of this second expedition of Sennacherib, the fragments of historical tradition which survive allow us to suppose that it was of considerable duration, seeing that, like the later Arabian campaign of Assurbanipal, it had its natural termination in Idumæa and Nabatæa, and at the same time threatened S. Palestine. The conflict with S. Syria, which was not yet subdued, and which was powerfully supported from Egypt, will have had the character of a defence against encroachment on the part of Tirhakah. Hezekiah of Judah was in any case a member of the new anti-Assyrian coalition, for it is obvious from *C* that he had repudiated his former obligations towards Assyria, including of course the payment of tribute, and that his disloyalty was sought to be chastised by the great king. The siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib himself presupposes unconditionally that Hezekiah had taken part in an anti-Assyrian coalition. Now this coalition will have taken root also in Arabia, N. Syria, and Cilicia; at all events, it is to this period that we must assign the end of the N. Syrian state of Šamal, renowned through the discoveries of Zinjerli; for the year 681 B.C. the *limmu* Nabu-arki-iššíš bears the title of an Amíl of Šamal. The conflicts in N. Syria must have preceded the S. Syrian and Arabian expedition, for it could be only after the conquest of the enemy who threatened his right flank that Sennacherib was in a position to attack the centre of the coalition in S. Syria.

Now the question suggests itself in what temporal relation the siege of Jerusalem recorded in *C* stands to Sennacherib's operations in the West. It might be considered natural that Sennacherib, in approaching from Cilicia and N. Syria, meant first to crush the rebellious Hezekiah. The biblical narrative, however, knows nothing of the king's Arabian campaign, but represents him as fleeing, immediately after the sudden catastrophe, to Nineveh. The inference, accordingly, lies to hand that the Arabian expedition is to be placed before the siege of Jerusalem, a result which is confirmed by the Memphitic tradition of the priest-king Sethos. When Herodotus gives the Assyrian opponent of Sethos the title of Sanacharibos, king of the Arabians and Assyrians, this implies that Sennacherib had fought Sethos-Tirhakah as king of Arabia, *i.e.* after the Arabian campaign; but Tirhakah cannot be separated from the siege of Jerusalem. Remarkably enough, in the Memphitic tradition the deliverance of Tirhakah is attributed to a wonderful occurrence in a similar way to the deliverance of Jerusalem in *C*.

The surprising result of our investigation, then, is that the much discussed siege and deliverance of Jerusalem cannot have taken place till the second half of Sennacherib's reign. If the biblical

statement is correct, which allows to Hezekiah a reign of twenty-nine years, the second campaign of Sennacherib to the West and the closely connected siege of Jerusalem must be placed between the year of Tirhakah's accession (691 B.C.) and that of Hezekiah's death (686 B.C.).

The detailed justification of my views I reserve for the present.

Contributions and Comments.

The Aramaic Element in St. Mark.

It is now generally admitted that the words of Christ underwent translation from Aramaic into Greek when they were brought westwards by the first Christian evangelists. Unfortunately we have no clear knowledge of their history until they appear in the form in which we have them in our Gospels. Were there written Gospels before our primary Gospel St. Mark? If so, in what language were they written? 'The earliest Christian writing,' says Dr. Dalman,[1] 'may have been composed in Greek.' That is no doubt true; but it leaves the question open, for there is just as much probability in a 'may have been composed in Aramaic.' I exclude here the alternative of a primitive Hebrew Gospel. There is an *à priori* improbability that the Palestinian Christians would have written in Hebrew rather than in Aramaic, which none of the attempts at reconstruction of a Hebrew Gospel[2] seem to have been able to overcome. I set aside also, for the purpose of this paper, the much-debated 'Logia' question. Mt and Lk in re-editing Mk may have drawn from written sources; but if so, such sources as were common to them were already in a Greek dress when they used them, and therefore the possibility of reconstructing so remote a Semitic original cannot be discussed here. The purpose of this paper is to endeavour once again[3] to reassert the Semitic element in St. Mark.

This Semitic element consists in part of linguistic turns and forms of expression which are common to Hebrew and Aramaic modes of thought, but in part of such forms as are distinctively Aramaic.[4] The conclusion which will be drawn is that the Gospel is a translation of an Aramaic original. It is necessary here to protest against a loose and slipshod use of the terms *Hebrew* and *Aramaic* in this connexion. Dalman has shown, with great clearness, that *Hebraisms* in a New Testament writer are no proof that he originally wrote in Hebrew. On the other hand, if *Aramaisms* can be detected in a writer, there are only two alternatives — either he was an Aramaic-speaking Jew writing in Greek (a language with which he was imperfectly acquainted), or his work has been preserved only in a translation. The decision must then depend upon such considerations as the relative extent of the Aramaic and Greek element. In a paper in the *Expositor* of June 1900 it was urged that the Aramaic element in St. Mark is so considerable as to make it probable that he wrote in Aramaic. In the art. 'Gospels' in the *Encycl. Bibl.* col. 1870, this paper is criticised in the following words: 'The language of Mk Hebraizes still more strongly than does that of Mt. Nevertheless the combinations of Allen do not prove that the evangelist wrote in Aramaic,— Lk also has Hebraisms,—and yet no one holds Lk's writings to be a translation of a Hebrew original.'

Such criticism entirely misses the point, and the *nevertheless* shows that the writer has no appreciation of the fundamental difference between the Hebraistic and the Aramaic element in the Gospels. Mk is not more *Hebraistic* than Mt, but more *Aramaic*. Hebraisms certainly would not suggest a Hebrew original, much less an Aramaic original. The reference to Lk has no point. He Hebraizes, therefore he may well have written in Greek, as Dalman has shown. Mk Aramaizes,

[1] *Worte Jesu*, 57.

[2] Resch, *Die Logia Jesu*; Abbott, *Clue*, 1900; *The Correctors of Mark*, 1901.

[3] *Expositor*, June 1890.

[4] The following have declared in favour of an original Aramaic Mark:—Blass, *Phil. of Gosp.*; Halévy, *Rev. Sem.*, April 1900; Zimmermann, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1901, p. 420.

therefore he probably wrote in Aramaic. I pass on now to restate the amount of the Semitic element in St. Mark, under two heads—*A*. Semitisms (Aramaic or Hebrew); *B*. Distinctive Aramaisms.

A. Under this head only two features of the Gospel will be emphasized here. The repetition and tautology and fulness of expression which is so striking a feature of Mk's style is thoroughly Semitic in character. How unnecessary it seemed to the Greek writer of Mt is shown by the frequency with which he abbreviates Mk. In the following table words in brackets are omitted by Mt:—

1^{15} [πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς καὶ] ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ μετανοεῖτε [καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ].
^{32} ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης [ὅτε ἔδυσεν ὁ ἥλιος].
^{42} καὶ εὐθὺς [ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ'] αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα [καὶ] ἐκαθερίσθη.
2^{19} [ὅσον χρόνον ἔχουσιν τὸν νυμφίον μετ' αὐτῶν οὐ δύνανται νηστεύειν].
^{20} τότε—[ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ].
^{25} ὅτε [χρείαν ἔσχεν καὶ] ἐπείνασεν.
[αὐτὸς] καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ.
4^{1} πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Mt ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλόν.
^{30} [ἢ ἐν τίνι αὐτὴν παραβολῇ θῶμεν.]
^{39} [καὶ ἐκόπασεν ὁ ἄνεμος] καὶ ἐγένετο γαλήνη μεγάλη.
5^{12} πέμψον ἡμᾶς εἰς τοὺς χοίρους [ἵνα εἰς αὐτοὺς εἰσέλθωμεν].
^{23} ἵνα [σωθῇ καὶ] ζήσῃ.
6^{3} [ὧδε] πρὸς ἡμᾶς.
^{4} [καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν αὐτοῦ] καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ.
^{47} εἰς τὸ πέραν [πρὸς Βηθσαιδάν].
7^{13} τῇ παραδόσει ὑμῶν [ἣ παρεδώκατε].
^{21} [ἔσωθεν] γὰρ ἐκ τῆς καρδίας.
8^{17} οὔπω νοεῖτε [οὐδὲ συνίετε].
9^{2} κατ' ἰδίαν [μόνους].
10^{27} [ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ θεῷ].
11^{24} [προσεύχεσθε καὶ] αἰτεῖσθε.
12^{14} [δῶμεν ἢ μὴ δῶμεν].
13^{19} ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως [ἣν ἔκτισεν ὁ θεός].
^{20} τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς [οὓς ἐξελέξατο].
14^{6} [ἄφετε αὐτήν].
^{18} καὶ [ἀνακειμένων αὐτῶν καὶ] ἐσθιόντων.
^{30} [σήμερον] ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί.
^{61} ἐσιώπα [καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο οὐδέν].
^{68} οὔτε οἶδα [οὔτε ἐπίσταμαι].
,, [ἔξω] εἰς τὸ προαύλιον.
15^{16} [ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς] ὅ ἐστιν πραιτώριον.
^{32} [ἴδωμεν] καὶ πιστεύσωμεν.
14^{54} ἕως [ἔσω εἰς] τὴν αὐλήν.

Cases in which Mt avoids the repetition of words or clauses so characteristic of Mk—

1^{16} Σίμωνος. Mt αὐτοῦ.
2^{15} [ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ].
^{16} [ἰδόντες ὅτι ἐσθίει μετὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ τελωνῶν].
6^{18} τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου. Mt αὐτήν.
^{28} [τὸ κοράσιον].
8^{12} τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ. Mt αὐτῇ.
11^{28} [ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῇς].
4^{31} [τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς].
4^{1} [ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ].

Secondly, the unscholarly use of prepositions is probably due to translation (cf. the repeated εἰς in 1^{39}).

B. Turning now to the distinctive Aramaic element, the most striking feature is the evangelist's use of verbal tenses. The frequent use of the historic present and of the imperfect is a case in point.

There are about 150 instances of the historic present,[1] and (excluding ἦν, ἦσαν) about 220 imperfects. It might seem that in many of the latter the imperfect was a very natural tense to use, but it is a striking fact that in the First Gospel, which is much longer than Mk, there are only some 70 historic presents, most of which are due to Mk, and only some 60 imperfects. In other words, the editor of Mt found these historic presents and imperfects in Mk unusual, and frequently converted them into other tenses. They are probably due to translation from an Aramaic original. A striking parallel may be found in Theodotion's version of Daniel. In that book some 149 verses are in Hebrew, some 206 verses in Aramaic. In rendering the Hebrew Theodotion uses about 9 imperfects (excluding ἐγένετο). In rendering the Aramaic he employs some 64. Of these about 4 correspond to a perfect, about 12 to an imperfect, but some 27 to a participle, and some 21 to the participle with היה. That is to say, a literal translator, where he had an Aramaic participle or participle with הוה before him, thought it natural to render them by imperfects. Once or twice he uses the present, *e.g.* 2^{10} 6^{15} λέγουσιν = אמרין, 3^{27} συνάγονται = מתכנשין. In this way we can explain Mk's historic presents, his imperfects, and his not infrequent use of εἶναι or γίγνεσθαι with a participle, if we suppose that we had before him an Aramaic original, in which there was a liberal use of הוה with a participle, and of the participle alone used as an historic tense. In Syriac this use seems to be practically limited to the verb 'to say' (cf. Nöld., *Syr. Gr.* 190). It occurs frequently in the Harclean Syriac as a rendering of

[1] See a full list in *Horæ Synopticæ*, 114 ff.

Mk's presents; but there it may be due to the scrupulous accuracy of the translator. In the biblical Aramaic it is not uncommon (cf. Strack, *Abriss des Bibl. Aram.* 21), and I have noticed the following instances in Dalman's *Aram. Lesestücke*:—אמרין, frequently; אזלין, 17, 17; ומקביל, 16, 9; ועביד, 16, 10; יתבין, 16, 22; נפקין, 22, 13; cf. also Tobit (ed. Neubauer) 5, 9, נחבין. For *γίγνεσθαι* with a participle, cf. *ἐγένετο . . . ἀναιρούμενος*, Dn 1^{16}; *ἐγένοντο . . . ἠφανισμένοι*, La 1^{16}; *ἐγένετο . . . βαπτίζων*, Mk 1^{4} D; *ἐγένετο . . . ἐπισκιάζουσα* 9^{7}; *ἐγένετο . . . στίλβοντα*, 9^{3}.

The following Aramaic constructions found in Mk have been discussed by Dalman, *W.J.* 16–29:—*ἀφέντες . . . παραλαμβάνουσιν* Mk 4^{36}, cf. 8^{13} 12^{12} 14^{50}; *ἀναστὰς ἐξῆλθεν* 1^{35}, cf. 2^{14} 7^{24} 10^{1} 14^{60}; *ἐλθοῦσα προσέπεσεν* 7^{25}, cf. 5^{23} 12^{42} 16^{1}; *καθίσας ἐφώνησε* 9^{35}; *ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν* 1^{45}, and *ἤρξατο* (*-αντο*), with an Inf. about 25 times. Some of these are Hebraistic as well as Aramaic. The following point clearly to an Aramaic original. The frequent use of *ὅτι* = ד after verbs of saying. Mt frequently omits. The frequent *πολλά* as an adverb may be due to translation of the Aramaic סגי. Cf. Dn 2^{12} שניא = *πολλή* Θ, 5^{9} שניא = *πολύ*, $6^{15\ 24}$ the same. Mk 4^{8} *εις τριάκοντα καὶ εν ἑξήκοντα καὶ εν ἑκατόν*. The MSS offer many variations and combinations of *εις* and *εν*. But whichever be original, it is no doubt due to over-scrupulous translation of חד; cf. Dn 3^{19} חד שבעה, or of חד ב, or of על חד.

Mk 6^{22} *τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ* (= ℵB, *αὐτῆς* AC) Ἡρωδιάδος. Neither *αὐτοῦ* nor *αὐτῆς* can be right. Whichever of the two is original in the Greek text, it is no doubt due to mistranslation of ברתה דהרודיא or of בת הרודיא = 'the daughter *of* Herodias.' Mk 3^{28} *τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, a pure Aramaism. For other Semitisms in the Gospel, cf. *Expos.*, June 1890, pp. 439, 440. Here there need only be added some difficulties in the Greek text of Mk which may be due to translation. The suggestions here made are offered with much hesitation.

Mk 1^{1} *ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*. If *ἀρχή* is a mistranslation of the Aramaic preposition 'before,' and this be substituted for it, the structure of vv.[1-15] becomes very much easier, 'Before the good tidings of (brought by) Jesus Christ,'—just as it has been written,—'John, who baptized in the desert, was preaching, etc. . . . [14] And after that John was delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee preaching the good tidings.' Vv.[2] and [3] were probably added by the Greek translator (cf. THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, January 1901, p. 189; and Dr. H. P. Chajes' *Markus-Studien*, p. 1, from whom the above is borrowed). Mk 14^{72} *ἐπιβαλών*, perh. = שרי (D has *ἤρξατο*), misread as שדי. Mk 12^{4} *ἐκεφαλίωσαν*, perh. = אבאישו, misread as אראישו (cf. *Journal Theol. Stud.*, Jan. 1901, p. 298). Mk 3^{18} Θαδδαῖος. The Western gloss Λεββαῖος shows how difficult copyists found this name to be. Λεββαῖος is presumably an endeavour to substitute for Θαδδαῖος, by someone who connected it with לבא = *mamma*, a name more appropriate to an apostle. It is probably due to corruption. Lk 6^{18} has Ἰουδᾶς, and this may represent the original Aramaic, יהו(ו)דא or יהו(ו)דה. For the *θ*, cf. *θουδουιά* = הודוה, 2 Es 17^{43}; *θουέ* = אהוא, 2 Es 8^{21}; *θελκάθ* = חלקת, Jo 21^{31} A. For the doubling of the middle letter, cf. Μαθθαῖος = מתי, Ἰαδδαῖος = ידי, De Vogüé, *Syr. Cent.* 63; and Ῥεβέκκα = רבקה, Gn 22^{23}.

Mk 12^{28}, the difficult *πάντων* is probably due to mistranslation of the neutral Aramaic כלהון. Mk 1^{23} *ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι* is harsh. It is probably a mistranslation of אנש דאית בה = 'homo in quo erat (spiritus),' or דאית לה = 'qui habuit.' The title of the Baptist, *ὁ βαπτίζων*, 1^{4} 6^{14} and [24], for which the later Gospels substitute *ὁ βαπτιστής*, is probably due to an Aramaic original. In view of the difficulty which attaches to Mk 14^{12} and parallels (cf. Chwolson, *Das Letzte Passamahl*, p. 3), it seems advisable to acquiesce in the view that Mk and the later Gospels present here a corruption due to translation. The original Aramaic of Mk may have run 'on the day before the feast of unleavened bread, when they were sacrificing the Passover.' Further mistranslations may be found in *ὅτι*, 8^{24}, for ד = *οὗς*; *τοῦτο*, 1^{27}, neut. for fem., the Aramaic pronoun being wrongly separated by the translator from its substantive; *ἀλλά*, 6^{9}, ולא being read as אלא; *ἐνεργοῦσιν αἱ δυνάμεις*, 6^{14} = חיליא עבידין = 'mighty works are done by'; *ἔρχεται*, 4^{21}, is a mistranslation of the Aph. or Ittaf. of אתא = 'bring' or 'be brought.' Lastly, it is possible that in some of the cases where Mt and Lk differ from Mk, the Greek copies of Mk which they used may have contained a translation differing from our Greek Mk. *E.g.* Mk 5^{10} *χώρας* = Lk 8^{31} *ἄβυσσον* may be due to a confusion between תהומא and תחומא (cf. Nestle, *Phil. Sacr.* 22).

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Three Notes on Ecclesiasticus.

1. Ben-Zev, who published a retranslation of Ecclesiasticus in 1798, was in many respects possessed of qualifications so exactly similar to those of his predecessor, the author of the Cairene document, that I was convinced *à priori* that Ben-Zev's work must contain doublets similar to those which occur so frequently in the Cairene retranslation, *i.e.* places in which *two* verses are given corresponding with the Greek and Syriac translations of *one* verse. Of the specimens which I have found in Ben-Zev the following is the most interesting :—

40[16] (Syr.) 'Like a weed which grows on a river-slope and dries up before all greenness,' (Gr.) '*achei* on all water and river-banks is plucked up before all grass.' These renderings doubtless represent *one* original verse: the Syr. is, as usual, rather free, and harmonizes with the passage imitated (Job 8[12]). Frankel, who retranslated from the Greek, also could not resist the temptation to harmonize with Job.

Ben-Zev gives us two verses—

> [16] Like reeds on a river-bank and before he produces greenness his source dries up.
> [17] They are swift as foam on the face of water; at once they burst and are not.

The first of these verses is near enough to the Syriac. But what is the source of the second? Whence comes the comparison to *foam*? Evidently it must come from the Greek translation, which Ben-Zev tells us he used as well as the Syriac. And evidently, too, some one has mistaken the form ἄχη of some editions (meaning 'a weed') for ἄχνη, 'foam.' This is the obvious explanation: but it is also the true explanation. For in the Latin translation of Tremellius the verse is rendered *sicut spuma imposita cuivis aquæ*, and the marginal note tells us that the former Greek word is identical with the latter. But supposing we had not Tremellius and it occurred to some one to declare that Ben-Zev was the 'Original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus,' at least ten reasons could be discovered for rejecting the above explanation. Yet it would none the less be the true one. And, doubtless, in those many cases in which the Cairene text gives us doublets, the discovery of the intermediate translation of the Greek whence it was made would render even its worst errors intelligible.

2. The argument that the Cairene text must be original because it embodies the Talmudic quotations applies also to Ben-Zev; since his retranslation embodies the Talmudic quotations, therefore it must be the original also! But it is astonishing that both retranslators use these Talmudic quotations equally unskilfully. 14[12] runs thus in the Greek: 'Remember that death will not delay and the covenant of hell has not been shown thee.' *After four verses* follows the clause, 'for *there is no luxury to be sought in hell*.' There is a loose reminiscence of this passage in the Talmud (*Erubin* 54a): 'Said Rab to Rab Hamnuna, "My son, if thou hast ought do good to thyself, *for there is no luxury in hell*, and no delay for death; and shouldst thou say, I will leave to my sons and daughters, *a covenant with hell who has shown thee*?"' Ben-Zev utilizes this passage for his retranslation thus: 'For there is no tarrying for death *and no luxury in hell*; thou knowest not the time of thy death (this is a doublet from the Syriac), and the covenant of hell who has shown thee?' Hence if we were to ask Ben-Zev how it comes that in his text 'there is no luxury in hell' comes in v.[12], whereas in the Greek it does not come till v.[16], he would reply by referring us to his Preface in which this Talmudic citation is given. But since we know (on his authority, and indeed that of any one who is not blind to facts) that the Talmud puts verses of Ben-Sira together quite careless of their original order, we should not approve of this desertion of the Greek order; since, however, he does not repeat the clause in v.[16], he shows a certain amount of consistency.

Now what does the Cairene text offer? In v.[16] it gives us with the Greek, 'for there is no luxury to be sought in hell.' If it were the original it would of course *not* give this clause in v.[12]; for, as we have seen, it is mixed with v.[12] merely through the inaccuracy of the Talmudic quotation. But, alas, it does give it also in v.[12]: 'Remember that *there is no luxury in hell*, and death will not delay, and the covenant with hell who has shown thee?' To those who choose to think, this passage proves beyond any question that the Cairene text has utilized the Talmudic quotations; and also shows a singular similarity between its methods and those of Ben-Zev.

It may be added that had the Talmudists had access to a Hebrew Ecclesiasticus they would not

have ascribed to 'Rab,' a doctor of the third century, one of Ben-Sira's paragraphs.

3. The only passage known to me in all the remains of the Cairene retranslation that might justly cause a qualified scholar to dream he had the original before him is 41[14]. The discussion of shame is being introduced. The Greek has the following:—

> Discipline in peace preserve children;
> Hidden wisdom and a concealed treasure, what is the use of either?
> Better is a man concealing his folly than a man concealing his wisdom; [Therefore take heed at my word.

It is very obvious that the two clauses between which the two whole verses are inserted should go together; and Ben-Zev rightly puts them together. But the Cairene text not only does this, it also substitutes for the first clause 'the discipline of shame hear children.' Both Ben-Zev and the Cairene text put this clause *after* the two whole verses which in the Greek come between the two hemistichs.

At first sight this is a great improvement, and a sign of originality; at second sight it is a certain proof of fabrication. For the two verses, 'Hidden wisdom,' etc., and 'Better is a man,' etc., are repeated from 20[29. 30]. Therefore *here* they are an interpolation; and why should any one interpolate them? Clearly because they bore some relation to the present subject. And this relation is very obvious. 'Discipline in peace preserve children' of the *Greek* seems to mean 'keep your learning quiet, do not make a display of it'; which doctrine is flatly contradicted by the two verses which are here inserted, advising the learned to display their learning. Hence the interpolation *is in its right place*; it is put against the clause which it is meant to contravene. But the interpolation implies the existence of the *Greek* form of the half-verse, not of the Hebrew form; the Hebrew form, 'hear the discipline of shame,' has nothing to do with the subject of the interpolated verses. Hence 'the Original Hebrew of the Ecclesiasticus' in its very best place is convicted of being a fabrication made from some descendant of the Greek.

Ben-Zev and the author of the Cairene document seem to me to have been singularly alike both in what they knew and what they did not know: Ben-Zev was the better Hebraist, but he marred his work by the prejudice that Ben-Sira must have written in biblical Hebrew. He also can conceal ignorance more cleverly than his predecessor. In 42[12] any one who looks at Ben-Zev's edition will feel convinced that Ben-Zev, had he had to translate הערא, would have rendered it 'knowledge'; but he evades the difficulty where his predecessor grossly betrays himself. I fancy there may be four Syriac scholars in Europe now who would not make the same mistake; there are probably not more. Neither of them has the least idea what is meant by 'a decoy partridge in a basket'; but Ben-Zev does not come off quite so badly in his rendering of the phrase as his predecessor. Of course neither of them is of the slightest help for the restoration of the real original.

D. S. Margoliouth.

Bethesda.

The latest number of the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (1902, i. p. 133 ff.) contains a suggestive article on 'The Pool Bethesda,' by Lic. E. Brose. In one respect, however, the article is not sufficient. Brose objects to the received translation, 'House of Mercy,' on the ground that the pool itself was called 'Bethesda,' and that a pool cannot well be called *house* of mercy or 'charité' (like the famous hospital in Berlin). Very good; but was Bethesda the name of the pool, and not of the house adjoining it? Brose does not even mention the reading adopted by B. Weiss in the text, and first mentioned, among modern editions, by Tregelles on the margin, which spells κολυμβήθρᾳ with *iota subscriptum*, placing it in the dative: '*There was above the sheep-pool* (a house) *which was called in Hebrew Bethesda, having five porches.*' I do not know who was the first to start this explanation. Matthew Poole quotes it in his *Synopsis* from Castalio, who tersely said: 'κολυμβήθρᾳ lego: (1) quod προβατικῇ sine substantivo non bene poneretur, (2) quia sic piscina vocaretur *Bethesda*, quod non *piscinam*, sed *domum* sonet.'

It is there further stated that Flacius Illyricus also proved this explanation. I do not intend to enter into a minute discussion of this reading, I only wish to call the attention of readers to the fact that by a curious chance, by a mere clerical error, quite against their intention, Westcott-Hort

have given this very reading as their own text in their *Notes on Select Readings* in vol. ii. p. 76 (in both impressions, 1882 and 1896), while in the text they read κολυμβήθρα as nominative without *iota*.

On the various forms of the name (Βηθζαθα, Βηθσαιδα, Βηθεσδα) I can only say that the received form Βηθεσδα may have arisen by transposition from Βηθσαιδα, after it was pronounced Bethseda; but the other way is equally possible, that Bethesda went over in MSS into the better-known Βηθσαιδα. A strong prejudice for the received explanation, 'House of Mercy,' is raised by the spelling of the Syriac versions (בית חסדא). For it is to be observed that these translators had either some knowledge of the original form of the names or a good etymological feeling. The names Κηφᾶς and Καιαφᾶς, for instance, both beginning with K, they spell quite differently, כאפא and קיפא, exactly according to their etymology. The reading Βηθζαδα, which is perhaps the best attested, is spelt by Barhebræus בית צאהא, *i.e.* 'House of the Excrements.' There was a tradition that the sheep of 'the offerings' were washed there. He further mentions that some ascribed the healing power of the water to the fact that the body of the prophet Isaiah was buried there. Very curious is the translation of the Palestine-Syriac version: 'There was at the *entrance* a fish-tank,' על מעולא פסקינא,[1] and of some old-Latin MSS: '*In inferiore parte* natatoria piscina.' The explanation of Delitzsch, 'House of the Porches' (*Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie*, 1856, 4) is, at all events so clever that it does not deserve the oblivion into which it seems to have fallen. Equally clever is the explanation proposed by the Dutch scholar Cramer (*Exegetica et critica*, I. 1890, p. 64), βηθζετα = בֵּית שִׂיתָא, 'House of the *Sheep*.' Against the explanation בית אשדא, 'House of Outpouring,' speaks the circumstance that a noun, אֶשְׁדָּא, 'outpouring,' is not known as yet in literature.

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Bishop Blyth on the Jewish Mission Problem.

THE views of Dr. Blyth, the Anglican bishop in Jerusalem, regarding the conversion of the Jews, noticed in the March issue of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, are certainly interesting. Although neither new nor original to him, they derive importance from his endorsement.

Dr. Blyth seems to assume that a Jew becomes a Gentile if, abandoning the synagogue and the ancient ceremonies, he becomes a Christian. Is this so? Recent Jewish history sheds light on their own ideas of nationality. Zionism is a purely secular movement. It has no more to do with the faith of the Jew than with that of the Moslem or the Hindoo. The great mass of its supporters have broken with the religion of their people. Mosaic as well as Talmudic Judaism is repudiated. Are they therefore Gentiles? With what scorn Max Nordau, *e.g.*, would receive the suggestion that he is one whit less a Jew than the most bigoted Talmudist in Jerusalem! The religious transformation involved in conversion to Christianity is small compared with that which these men have experienced. Yet they remain intensely, one might almost say violently, Jewish, united solely by the bond of blood, by the sentiment of race. To the maintenance of this sentiment, therefore, not a single religious ceremony is necessary. How then can it be said that by inviting them to faith in Christ, in whom their ancient system finds perfection, the missionaries 'demand that the Jews should become Gentiles'?

The idea of a Hebrew Christian Church deserves careful consideration. Jewish missions are at a disadvantage in asking the sympathy and support of Christians. Missions in heathen countries have native Churches, into which their converts are gathered. As these grow they lend weight to missionary appeals. After baptism the Jewish convert is lost sight of. More than 100,000 Jews were baptized during the last century. They joined the various Christian Churches; and so the missionaries have nothing in the way of a distinct and growing community to show for their work. They seem always to be at the beginning. To this may be traced the impression, so widely entertained, that Jewish missions are, on the whole, unsuccessful.

But the constitution of a Hebrew Christian Church is a problem beset with difficulties. Attempts in this direction have not been encouraging, *e.g.* Rabinowitz's experiment in South Russia. Converts, especially in fanatical com-

[1] The Latin N.T. of Wordsworth-White has two misprints in the quotation of this reading.

munities, are apt to prefer the comfort of fellowship and protection offered by an existing Church, to the inevitable isolation and hostility to be faced in a new organization. Success of the gospel on a large scale among Jews in Jerusalem, or other great centre of Jewish population, would probably result in the formation of a Hebrew Christian Church. It may be doubted, however, whether the Jew would find it easier to identify himself with a Church which his leaders would infallibly regard as a visible embodiment of apostasy from the ancient faith.

Some teachers, among them the Christian Rabbi Lichtenstein of Leipzig, hold that the convert may, or even must, submit to the requirements of Moses' law; and not a few Christian Jews continue in the practice of ancient ceremonies. It does not appear that this in any way promotes their success as missionaries among their brethren. They admit, of course, as every Christian whether of Jewish or Gentile origin must, that righteousness is not won by works of the law. They only maintain that as the law was laid by God upon the Jews, they should not cease to observe it without an explicit divine direction. But if 'Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness,' is it not perilously near to playing with the question to proclaim that a man who accepts Jesus as the Messiah may, if he likes, continue to practise ceremonies which, just because their purpose is fulfilled, are now emptied of all significance? In any case, it can hardly be the missionary's place to make such announcement. Nor at this time of day can we forget the danger of *may* becoming *must*; where then would be the freedom wherewith Christ has emancipated us?

Dr. Blyth would require from the Jew only acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah. Is any more than this ever demanded? And is not this the one supremely difficult thing? The man who sincerely accepts Jesus as the Messiah may safely be trusted to adjust his own relations with the old law.

Glasgow. W. EWING.

'Our Lord' in the Lewis Palimpsest.

IN THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for March Dr. Rendel Harris discusses my paper, which appeared in February, under the above heading. I am interested in his remarks on the two sections of the Lewis Palimpsest where 'our Lord' occurs with special frequency; but I am sorry that he has devoted so much of his paper in attempting to pull to pieces my table of the passages in which 'our Lord' occurs in Cureton, the Peshiṭta, and in Lewis *outside* the two special sections. His labour—I hope he will let me say so—is quite thrown away, so far as the purpose is concerned for which I gave that table; for after he has 'removed' from the table certain instances of the occurrence of ܡܪܝ therein exhibited, they still remain[1] in their respective places in the three texts. The fact is, that Dr. Harris and I are thinking about different things, and he has read into my paper—undesignedly of course—what I never intended to say; and I am glad to see that he recognizes this in a measure, in his courteous paragraph at the end of his article. He credits me with putting a certain interpretation upon the occurrences of ܡܪܝ in Sc, in P, and in Lp outside the two special sections. This is not so. Dr. Harris may or may not be right in maintaining that there are only four cases in all of the substitution of 'our Lord' for 'Jesus' in Sc, P, and Lp, in the passages given in my list. I have maintained nothing on that point one way or another, my sole purpose in giving that table was that readers might see at a glance where 'our Lord' occurs in Lewis outside the two special sections, and where the same term occurs in Sc and in P. The word certainly does stand in these passages, and therefore my figures are not incorrect. Dr. Harris has himself answered for me his criticism of my table when he writes: 'These'—*i.e.* the instances in the table—'are not cases which come under the definition of Mr. Bonus in his collation, "Lewisianum ܡܪܝ pro ܡܪܢ persaepe legere."' Exactly so; I do not say that they do.

Dr. Harris has some playful words about a remark of mine to the effect that the slumbering controversy over the Peshiṭta would certainly be aroused again. That remark has already had a singular verification. For it so happens that my paper was written in June, though, owing to some oversight at the printer's, it did not see the light until February. Now, precisely in that interval Mr. Burkitt's noteworthy book on the Ephraim

[1] With the exception of Mk 12^{24}, where Dr. Harris says the printed text of Lewis is wrong; and with the possible exception of Jn 13^{23}, where it is doubtful.

quotations, which has given us so much to think about, has appeared; and this, in conjunction with the almost simultaneous issue of Mr. Gwilliam's *Tetraevangelium*, has led in some quarters to a stirring up of the old controversy, as no one knows better than my friendly critic. On this point let me say, that Dr. Rendel Harris is much more of an optimist than I am, if he thinks that there will be no more controversy among serious critics about 'the relative values and ages of the Peshiṭta and Curetonian forms of text.' Even if Mr. Burkitt's important suggestion that Rabbula was the maker of the Peshiṭta, should finally be accepted, we should still have to inquire what use — if any — he made of older Syriac texts when he translated out of the Greek into Syriac; and in what degree Dr. Hort's theory of a Syriac revision before about 350 A.D. is still tenable. Then there is the question, which as yet has received so little attention, of an 'old Syriac' of the New Testament outside the Gospels, and how far the Peshiṭta preserves such an 'old Syriac.' There are few serious critics, I think, who realize the obscurities which still hang over the question of the 'relative values and ages of the Peshiṭta and Curetonian forms of text,' who will maintain that no further resuscitation of the old controversy is possible.

On this, however, I will not enlarge, for it is beside my present purpose, which is rather to rescue a part of my paper from a misconception of it which may be caused by my friendly critic's article. Let me then briefly restate. (*a*) I have shown that while Mrs. Lewis' original observation that 'our Lord' occurs persistently in Lewis throughout the four Gospels is incorrect, yet that this term is found with surprising frequency in two particular sections of the Palimpsest. (*b*) That elsewhere in the Palimpsest the term occurs with no special frequency; these instances I exhibited in a table, and added, for the sake of comparison, the passages where the same term is found in Sc and in P. (*c*) I then threw out two suggestions as possible explanations of the curious occurrence of 'our Lord' in the two special sections of Lewis. I did not say that I necessarily accepted either; but they seemed to be worthy of attention. Dr. Rendel Harris, if I understand him rightly, appears inclined to favour my first suggestion that the scribe of Lewis or of some one of its ancestors, 'Maranized' the two sections under discussion; and he writes: 'As to the way in which the "Maran" readings came into the Lewis text, the steadiness with which they occur shows them to be the result of deliberate art.' It may be so; though I do not yet feel quite confident about the validity of this view. At anyrate, if we admit it, we shall be led to ask with more insistence, as I remarked some six years ago, 'utrum textus verus alibi (*e.g.* Mt $1^{16.25}$) perverse vel saltem mere voluntate scribae immutatus sit.'

Dr. Harris says my statistics are valuable: they are at least interesting; and I trust that other scholars will be led to discuss the curious frequency of ܡܪܢ in the two sections of Lewis. I for my part shall be quite satisfied with having drawn attention to the matter.

Alphington, Exeter. ALBERT BONUS.

Recent Foreign Theology.

Frd. Delitzsch's 'Job.'[1]

THIS is a work which has a freshness and an interest of its own, and possesses many valuable features. The author explains in his preface the origin and the aim of his book, whose inception took place during a period of leisure spent at Constantinople, with no books at his command except the O.T. and his own Hebrew Lexicon. The feeling is strongly expressed by Delitzsch that, in spite of all the efforts that have been spent on the Book of Job, much has yet to be done, especially in regard to the translation and the exegesis of the book. He has no great faith in the radical emendations of the text which have been proposed by many, and his trust in the LXX has diminished instead of increasing.

The work before us opens with a translation of what Delitzsch, in common with many modern scholars, regards as 'the popular story of the pious man, Job.' This embraces chaps. 1, 2,

[1] *Das Buch Hiob neu übersetzt und kurz erklärt.* Von Friedrich Delitzsch. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902. Price M.2.50.

and 42^{7-17}. Then comes 'the poem of Job, or the pæan of pessimism': chaps. 3–31, and the speeches of the Almighty (38, 39, [except vv.$^{13-18}$], 40^{1-14}, 42^{1-6}). As appendices to the book we have (1) the speeches of Elihu (chaps. 32–37); (2) the passage on Wisdom (chap. 28); (3) the descriptions of the ostrich, the hippopotamus, and the crocodile (39^{13-18}, 40^{15}–41^{26}). The work closes with a 'Sprachlicher Commentar,' which will be found to be one of its most useful features. We may add that the translation is spirited and often very successful in preserving the life and force of the original. Dr. Delitzsch has made a distinct contribution to the literature of Job.

Among the Periodicals.

The Text of Romans i. 7.

In the *Journal of Biblical Literature* for 1901 an attempt is made by W. B. Smith to cast doubt upon the view that the destination of what we know as St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans was really Rome (see The Expository Times, August 1901, p. 481). To a certain extent his argument is based upon Ro 1^{7}, and this forms the subject of an important note by Professor Harnack in the *Z.N.T.W.* (1902, Heft 1, p. 83 ff.). The way the matter stands is as follows. The great majority of MSS read: *πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ρώμῃ ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις*, 'to all that are *in Rome*, beloved of God, elect saints.' On the other hand, G g Ambrosiaster have: *πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ἀγάπῃ θεοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις*, 'to all that are *in the love of God*, elect saints.' Origen reads: *πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀγαπήτοις θεοῦ*, 'to all that are beloved of God.' It is quite characteristic that we should find also the conflate text: *πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐν ἀγάπῃ θεοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις*, 'to all that are in Rome in the love of God, elect saints.' In seeking to decide between the rival readings, Professor Harnack finds it incredible that if *ἐν Ῥώμῃ* had stood originally in the text it could have been dropped and replaced by *ἐν ἀγάπῃ*. On the other hand, it would be natural enough that *ἐν ἀγάπῃ* should be changed into *ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγαπήτοις*. It is, no doubt, somewhat difficult to suppose that St. Paul omitted the words indicating the destination of the epistle, and yet it is intelligible in view of the length and the character of the parenthesis that precedes v.^{7}. Professor Harnack, then, concludes that the words *ἐν Ῥώμῃ* are an ancient interpolation. But he shows that this circumstance does not in the least disprove the Roman destination of the epistle. He attaches more weight to the bearing of this fact upon textual criticism, for, if his conclusion is correct, we have here an instance where Origen and a pair of Western authorities have preserved the correct text, in opposition to all the other witnesses (including B א and Syr.).

Matt. xiii. 15 compared with Mark iv. 12.

In the *Evangel. Kirchenblatt* (1902, No. 5) Dr. Nestle calls attention to the remarkable circumstance that the citation from Is $6^{9.10}$, as given in Mt 13^{15}, Jn 12^{40}, and Ac 27^{27}, has the LXX reading *ἰάσομαι αὐτούς*, answering to the Massoretic text, but that in the parallel passage Mk 4^{12}, we find *ἀφήσω αὐτοῖς* (*v.ll. ἀφεθήσομαι, ἀφεθῇ, ἀφεθήσεται*). His original impulse was to discover here a simple confusion between רָפָא ('heal') and רָפָה ('be loose'). But this explanation has to be set aside when it is observed that the Targum and the Pesh. have in Isaiah a rendering (*veyishlebeḳ lehōn*) exactly corresponding to that of Mark. And the same sense is adopted in the recently discovered Syr. Sin. palimpsest of Jn 12^{40}. All this would appear to give new importance to the Targums in connexion with the citation of O.T. passages by N.T. writers.

The Smallest Hebrew Bible.

There was recently advertised: 'Biblia Hebraica, nach genauem masoret. Text herausgegeben von Menachem ben Chaim Scholtz (Diamantausg.). Berlin: M. Poppelauer (605 S. 16). Geb. in Leinw. 1.50.' Dr. Nestle ordered and received the book, which he found to weigh less than 90 grammes, to be capable of being carried in the waistcoat pocket, and thus an interesting object to the collector of literary curiosities. But it had the name of neither printer nor publisher attached to it, and proved to be simply a mechanically reduced impression of the edition of the Heb. Bible printed by Trowitsch of Berlin for the British Bible Society. Actually the 'signatures' of the original, which is in *octavo*, are retained in this pretended 16*mo* edition. The name Menachem ben Chaim Scholtz is substituted for that of Meier Levi Letteris, who actually did the work.

Dr. Nestle appeals to all well-disposed theological publications to join him in his protest against such procedure, which he trusts it may be found possible to bring under the sweep of the laws of copyright.

J. A. Selbie.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

Printed by Morrison & Gibb Limited, Tanfield Works, and Published by T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, Edinburgh. It is requested that all literary communications be addressed to The Editor, St. Cyrus, Montrose.

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

'You know this book?'

'The Bible! Of course! Everybody knows it!'

'Pardon! It would be more correct to say nobody knows it! To read it is not always to understand. There are meanings and mysteries in it which have never yet been penetrated, and which only the highest and most spiritually gifted intellects can ever hope to unravel.'

Mr. Hugh Capron makes that quotation from Marie Corelli in order to introduce the twenty-seventh chapter of his new book on *The Conflict of Truth* (Hodder & Stoughton). He agrees with Marie Corelli. There are meanings and mysteries in the Bible which have never yet been penetrated. It is more correct to say that nobody knows it. But the immediate point he wishes to make is not that. He has been struck with the truth that lies hidden in the most familiar texts. We read them again and again, and think we know them. Then something turns our attention to them from another side, and their meaning flashes out upon us.

Mr. Capron has just had that experience. His mind had been full of the subject of the New Birth. He knew it was a doctrine of the Bible. He knew it was 'the very foundation of the whole fabric of religion.' He was considering how he could make known its condition. Its condition is simply 'trust in Christ.' He knew that, but he could not find a text to declare it. Then the original word in a familiar but mistranslated passage occurred to his mind, and he saw it all in a moment.

It is the passage which describes the healing of the paralytic who was 'borne of four.' Mr. Capron quotes it from St. Mark's Gospel. The scene is graphically and naturally described. We follow it by easy stages. Then we come upon the words, 'Son, thy sins have been forgiven,' and we are brought to a standstill. That was not what the man came there for. That was not what his four friends brought him for. The Jews themselves were startled. They asked the question, Who is this that forgiveth sins? We do not ask that question. We ask why the sins were forgiven before the man had fulfilled the condition of forgiveness.

But the man had fulfilled the condition of forgiveness. That is the discovery which Mr. Capron made. The condition is faith in Christ. He found the man's fulfilment in the one word, 'Son.'

That word is a mistranslation in our English versions. The Translators of the Revised Version acknowledge that it is a mistranslation. In their

text they say, 'Son, thy sins are forgiven'; but in their margin they say that the Greek word for 'son' means 'child.' And Mr. Capron believes that under the circumstances there is all the difference in the world between 'Son, thy sins are forgiven thee,' and 'Child, thy sins are forgiven thee.'

For, in the first place, it is then no longer a mere epithet of tenderness. Jesus was only thirty. The man was old, or at least of middle age, for was he not so heavy that four men were required to carry him? How could the youthful prophet of thirty speak to this man of middle age and call him 'Child'? It is not a mere epithet of tenderness. It has a definite meaning. It describes one who is just born. *Teknon*, from *tikto*, 'to bear'; it is equivalent, says Mr. Capron, to the Scotch word 'bairn.' It is used with special reference to birth. It is an indication, brief but pregnant, that the man had set his trust on Christ for the forgiveness of sins, and that in that moment he had been 'born again.'

But there is a difficulty. It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Capron. We wish it had, that he might have got us over it. This is not the only place in which this word 'child' (τέκνον) occurs. In particular, we remember that it is used in a passage in St. Luke, and is addressed there to a man who may be supposed to be of middle age, just as here. The passage is the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus. And it is used by Abraham in addressing the Rich Man in hell.

The Conference on Confession and Absolution, which was held at Fulham Palace in December, and of which a *Report* has been published by Messrs. Longmans, opened with a discussion of the meaning of two familiar passages in the Gospels—Mt 18^{18} and Jn $20^{22.\,23}$. It was felt by the Bishop of London, at whose invitation the Conference met, that the controversy regarding private confession and priestly absolution turned upon the interpretation of these passages. He assigned the duty of expounding them, and thereby of opening the Conference, to Professor Swete.

The first passage refers to 'binding' and 'loosing,' the second to 'remitting' and 'retaining' men's sins. Dr. Swete found it necessary first of all to explain what 'binding' and 'loosing' mean. 'To bind and to loose,' he said, 'is a well-known Rabbinical formula, meaning to prohibit and to permit.' The synagogue claimed the office of acting as arbiter and judge in all questions of religious right and wrong. Our Lord committed this office to His Church, the new Israel. 'The Church is to exercise on earth a judicial authority in spiritual things, which, so far as she is true to Christ and guided by His Spirit, will be ratified in heaven.'

In other words, the commission given to the Church to bind and to loose, is the right and the duty of ecclesiastical discipline. In the passage in St. John one special application of this right is mentioned. It is the power to forgive or not to forgive sins. In the Old Testament this right is reserved for God in heaven: 'Then hear Thou in heaven Thy dwelling place, and forgive' (1 K 8^{39}). After the Incarnation it was exercised by our Lord upon the earth—exercised by Him *as Man*, in virtue of the authority so committed to Him by the Father: 'That ye may know that the Son of Man hath power (authority) on earth to forgive sins' (Mt 9^{6}). And then after the Resurrection and Ascension it was committed to men, as members of His body and partakers of His Spirit.

So now men have the right, Dr. Swete believes, to forgive other men's sins or refuse to forgive them. But they possess that right only as members of the body of Christ and as ruled by the Spirit of Christ. Then, and only then, is their action ratified in heaven.

But on whom was this right bestowed? On all the members of the body of Christ, or only on the

apostles and their successors? On all the members, says Professor Swete unreservedly. 'Like the wider authority to bind and loose, the forgiveness of sins is committed to the Church collectively.' Dr. Swete presumes that the Church may exercise her authority either in her corporate capacity or through duly qualified officers, but the authority belongs to the Church, and the Church cannot rid herself of the responsibility. If individual members of the Church exercise the authority, they do so in the name of the whole Christian society.

Thus Professor Swete interpreted the authority to forgive sins and to retain them as committed to the Church as a whole, and not to any individual or individuals within the Church. And all the members of the Conference agreed with him. When the Bishop of London entered the room at the close of the Conference to receive the report, the Chairman said: 'The members are agreed that our Lord's words in St. John's Gospel, "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained," are not to be regarded as addressed only to the Apostles or the Clergy, but as a commission to the whole Church, and as conveying a summary of the message with which it is charged.' And the Bishop of London, when he wrote a Preface to the *Report* of the Conference, called it a most valuable point of agreement, and said: 'If once it is understood that the clergy are acting as organs of a priestly body, all the members of which are themselves in their measure kings and priests to God, more than half the misunderstanding which centres round the word Sacerdotalism would die away.'

It is curious to hear the Bishop of London speak of the members of the Church of Christ as kings and priests *in their measure*. Does he mean that after all they are kings and priests in a less measure than the clergy? or does he mean that they are kings and priests in the measure of their progress in grace? On either explanation the words are a mistake. On the first because the very point of the agreement was that the members of the Church have received everything from Christ, and if the clergy seem to receive anything further, it is only because the Church is pleased, for convenience of administration, to entrust them with the discharge of certain offices. And on the second because 'He hath *made* us kings and priests': it is not dependent on moral progress, it is a full and final gift of grace.

But there is a matter of yet greater consequence. The members of the Conference agreed that the authority to bind and loose was conferred upon the whole Church. They based their agreement on Mt 18^{18} and Jn $20^{22.23}$. They seem also to have agreed to ignore an earlier passage than either of these, which contains a greater difficulty.

When Professor Swete began his interpretation of Mt 18^{18}, he said: 'We are thrown back by this passage upon a still earlier declaration closely resembling it, namely, Mt 16^{19}.' It is the passage which contains the commission given to St. Peter. Professor Swete mentioned it and then passed on, and the rest did not refer to it. But in this passage the commission is clearly given to a single individual in the Church, and it is the very commission to bind and to loose, together with the gift of the Keys and the promise of becoming the Foundation Stone of the Church. Dr. Swete understands that the metaphor of the Keys is the same as the metaphor of binding and loosing. The mention of Keys might have led our Lord to speak of opening and shutting. But He passes rather to the familiar figure of binding and loosing, His meaning being the same. We do not doubt that Dr. Swete is right. But then this very authority to bind and to loose was conferred on St. Peter, an 'individual officer of the Church,' and it is conferred before the Resurrection and Ascension. In what relation is St. Peter thus placed to the whole Church? Was his authority to be held in abeyance till after the Ascension?

And even then was he only to become the mouthpiece of the infant Church?

The Church of Rome does not so understand it. To St. Peter alone was this power granted, says the Church of Rome,—to St. Peter and to his successors in the Papal Chair in all time coming.

And it must be confessed that if the power thus conferred is the power of ecclesiastical discipline or of absolution, it is difficult to deny the claims of the Church of Rome. It is not only the right of binding and loosing that is conferred on St. Peter; he is also said to be the Rock on which the Church is built. The one declaration is as difficult to get over as the other. If St. Peter is to be but the mouthpiece of the Church in all matters of Church discipline, it is a striking thing of our Lord to say, 'Whatsoever *thou* shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever *thou* shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' And how then can it be said that St. Peter in particular is the Rock on which the Church is to be built?

A remarkable sermon on the passage has recently been published in Rome. It was also preached in Rome. It was preached by the Rev. J. Gordon Gray, D.D., who has added to his scholarship a residence of many years in the Eternal City, and is familiar with all the phases of the 'Roman question.' It is called 'The Rock on which Christ built His Church.'

It is remarkable that such a sermon can be preached in Rome at all. Dr. Gordon Gray says so himself. 'Fortunately,' he says, 'we now enjoy such liberty in this very city, where for centuries the papal claims could not be called in question without running the risk of fines, imprisonment, or even death itself, that we can bring them openly to the test of Scripture.' But the sermon itself is more remarkable.

For there in the city of Rome, under the shadow of St. Peter's, Dr. Gordon Gray will have none of the escapes from the meaning of this passage which Protestantism has so often had recourse to. The Rock is not Christ Himself, nor the words which Christ has spoken. St. Peter and no other is the Rock on which the Church of Christ is to be built. No doubt the other apostles are associated with him as the Rock; and not apostles only. St. Paul makes 'the temple,' which is 'the habitation of God through the Spirit,' rest on a foundation of apostles and prophets. But St. Peter was the first confessor of 'the Christ.' From that position no one could ever afterwards displace him. And as first confessor he has a place assigned to him which no other apostle or prophet shares with him.

But what is that place? What is the power of the Keys? What is the right to bind and loose which was thus uniquely conferred on St. Peter? Dr. Gordon Gray does not believe that it was ecclesiastical discipline or any power of absolution. He cannot conceive that such a thought was in the mind of our Lord when he handed the Keys to His confessor. It was not the after history of the Church that was occupying Him. It was not the way in which the Church would deal with offenders within her visible border. It was not the way in which she would take in or cast out. It was not the way in which she would exercise any judicial function whatever. It was the beginning of the Church. It was the opening of the Kingdom of Heaven to believers. St. Peter had 'confessed' that Jesus was the Christ. That confession will always be the entrance into the Kingdom. St. Peter has made it first, and he first will be the instrument through whom others will make it, when the time has come and the Spirit has been given. And it was so. It was St. Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost that opened the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers. He was the first stone laid in the foundation of the Christian Church. He and his words were the key which unlocked. He loosed and he bound, for some believed and some blasphemed.

And what he did on earth was done by God in heaven.

That is Dr. Gordon Gray's belief. That is also the belief of some of the men who sat in Conference at Fulham. Said Canon Hay Aitken: 'Our Lord rises from the dead, and meets His disciples with the burden of His great salvation on His heart. He communicates to them the capacity for remitting sins; makes them depositaries of the great secret, which had been hid from previous ages, that sins are to be forgiven, through the atoning blood of Calvary, by the union of sinners with the Saviour in that act of faith which makes the work of redemption their own. They thus received the Holy Spirit, revealing to them that in the application of this supreme truth lay the function of remitting and retaining sins. Then they went forth and preached, as in the day of Pentecost, "Repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins"; or again, "Repent and be converted that your sins may be blotted out," thus opening the door of salvation. This was just what our Lord needed to say, and what the world was waiting for.'

Before we pass from the Fulham Conference another matter may be touched upon. It is mentioned by Dr. Llewelyn Davies in a letter to the *Guardian*.

The Conference was almost at an end when Lord Halifax said: 'The necessary thing is to confess our sins, not our sinfulness.' Dr. Llewelyn Davies is arrested by the significance of this utterance, and wonders it was missed by the other members. He believes that the discipline of the Confessional is unevangelical and unspiritual, and in these words he finds a brief and succinct revelation of the fact.

For it is our sinfulness and not our sins that the New Testament urges us to confess. There are passages which seem to be on the other side, but Browning is in touch with all that makes the teaching of the New Testament distinctive when he says—

> Not on the vulgar mass
> Called *work* must sentence pass,
> Things done, which took the eye and had the price!

Robertson of Brighton also is in sympathy with the New Testament, and surely with unperverted human need: 'This is the sting of sinfulness, the wretched consciousness of an unclean heart. It is just this feeling, God is not my friend; I am going on to the grave, and no *man* can say aught against me, but my heart is not right. It is not so much what I have done, it is what I am. Who shall save me from myself?' (*Sermons*, iii. 219).

But Lord Halifax says, and Dr. Llewelyn Davies believes that he says quite truly, that at the Confessional it is just our sins and not ourselves, it is just things done which take the eye and have their price, that are spoken of. In saying that we should confess our sins and not our sinfulness, Dr. Davies believes that Lord Halifax ranges himself with the Pharisee of the parable, and separates himself from the publican, who would not so much as lift up his eyes to heaven, but smote upon his breast and said, 'God, be merciful to me the sinner.' The Pharisee thought he went home justified, but 'this man,' said the Lord, 'went home to his house justified rather than the other.'

'Except a man be born of water and the spirit' (Jn 3^5). We have not overcome the difficulty of these words yet, nor lost our interest in them. Last month there was mention made of Professor Wendt's way with them, and it has called forth further references and suggestions.

The difficulty is with the water. How can the material element of water be necessary to a process that is so absorbingly spiritual? Professor

Wendt's short way is to omit the word 'water.' It did not belong to the saying, he thinks, as it left the mouth of Jesus, or even as it was committed to writing by St. John. It was added by the redactor of the Fourth Gospel. But there are less drastic methods than that.

A well-known scholar has given us a reference to Dr. Taylor's *Pirqe Aboth; or, Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* (Camb. Press, 1897, p. 159). Dr. Taylor recalls the Old Birth, the Creation of material things, and what is said of it in Gn 1^2. It is there said that 'the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.' Here also are the two elements, spirit and water. It is most probable that our Lord—or St. John, if you will, reporting Him—had the first Creation in mind when describing the second. The probability is expressed even by Clement of Alexandria. To be born of water and spirit, therefore, says Dr. Taylor, is to be born 'not of the one only, but also of the other.' *Ex nihilo nihil fit*, he seems to mean. There must be the element of 'water' to work upon. But the element of water which may be considered literal in the first Creation is figurative in the second. Expressing that nature in man which the Spirit works upon, it is taken up by the Spirit, is transformed, and becomes spiritual. As the spirit of God brooding upon the face of the watery waste brought forth order, so the same spirit brooding upon the watery waste of man's sinful nature brings forth spirit and life.

If that is Dr. Taylor's meaning,—and he must tell us if we have misunderstood him or carried him too far,—there is no reference in this significant saying to Baptism. And when we look at the examples of the New Birth, as they are recorded of the early years of Christianity in the Acts of the Apostles, do we not see that it is rather with the Laying on of Hands than with Baptism that the gift of the Spirit, the essential matter in regeneration, is received? The twelve Ephesian disciples had been baptized, but they had not received the gift of the Spirit. No doubt they had been baptized 'into John's baptism.' But even after they were baptized 'into the name of the Lord Jesus,' it was not until Paul had laid his hands on them that the Holy Ghost came on them (Ac 19^6). So also in that earlier incident, where Peter and John are the instruments (Ac 8^{16}). Samaria had received the word of God. The Samaritans had also been baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus. But, as yet, the Holy Ghost was fallen upon none of them. 'Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost.'

And where water is mentioned in reference to the gift of the Spirit, is it not rather in contrast than concomitance? 'I indeed baptize you with water,' said John, 'but He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.' 'For John indeed baptized with water,' said Jesus Himself, 'but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.' 'Then remembered I the word of the Lord,' said Peter, when the case of Cornelius and the Gentiles was before him, 'how that He said, John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.'

The answer is made that in the examples referred to, the gift of the Holy Ghost is not the occasion of the New Birth. It may not be even coincident with it. And that answer is very popular just at present. But we find it rather the watchword of a party than a commonplace of exegesis. The most reliable expositors, indeed, either do not commit themselves to it, or else deliberately reject it.

But if the reference to Baptism is to be retained, there is no explanation of the words in Jn 3^5 so simple or so sufficient as that which is given by Mr. James Neil in his little book called *Figurative Language in the Bible* (Nisbet, 1s.). Mr. Neil's explanation was mentioned in an early volume of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES (iii. 97), and need not be repeated at length. Its point is this. In Eastern tongues hendiadys is a common form of speech.

In hendiadys the qualifying adjective is turned into a substantive. Thus when St. Luke tells us (Ac 14^3) that the priest of Jupiter brought 'oxen and garlands,' with which to offer sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas, we understand that he means wreathed or garlanded oxen. So when St. Paul rejoices (in 2 Ti 1^{10}) that 'our Saviour Jesus Christ brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel,' we may consider whether he means more or other than immortal or incorruptible life. And in like manner where our Lord says that except a man be born of water and spirit (ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος) he cannot enter into the kingdom of God, Mr. Neil perceives the employment again of the figure of hendiadys, and says that in our Western tongues it should be rendered, 'Except a man be born of spiritual water'—the emphasis being strong on the adjective.

In the explanation of Jn 3^5, which has just been given, it will be observed that the word 'spirit' is spelt with a small *s*. That raises one of the difficulties of the passage. And not of this passage only. Even where the word 'holy' accompanies 'spirit' it is not always certain that 'spirit' should be spelt with a capital.

A series of small commentaries on the books of the New Testament is being issued by Messrs. Jack of Edinburgh, under the general editorship of Professor Adeney. In that series the Acts of the Apostles is edited by Mr. Bartlet of Mansfield College, Oxford. At the end of Mr. Bartlet's commentary there is an 'additional note' on the meaning of the phrase 'holy spirit' in the New Testament.

Mr. Bartlet believes in the grammar of the Greek New Testament. The question here turns on the presence or absence of the definite article. He holds that the definite article is present or absent not at haphazard, but from deliberate choice. He believes that when the article is present we should translate 'The Holy Spirit,' for then the reference is to a Person in action; and when the article is absent we should translate 'holy spirit,' the reference being then to an influence or force.

In a very few cases there is difficulty, perhaps indecision. This is where the article may be due to some grammatical necessity, not to the Personal agency. Mr. Bartlet refers to Ac 8^{18}, 'Now when Simon saw that through the laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον) was given.' Here the article may be due to the previous mention of 'holy spirit' in verses 15 and 16 (both πνεῦμα ἅγιον without the article). The article would then be merely used for identification, and the proper translation would be 'holy spirit.' So would it be with Ac 4^{31} 19^{2-6}, and possibly Ac 11^{15}. In these places it is not the Person working but the influence or power wrought that is in mind. Mr. Bartlet would therefore explain the presence of the article by some such grammatical rule as all students of the language are familiar with. Elsewhere he believes that there is no doubt of the meaning. Where the article is present emphasis lies on the divine energy involved, or on God as personally exercising power, indwelling and working in man; where the article is absent the emphasis is on the result of God's action, the 'divine enthusiasm,' as Mr. Bartlet would then translate the phrase, which belongs, as a fact of experience, to the elect souls in whom the Spirit of God thus dwells and works.

Mr. Murray has published a new *Lux Mundi*. Its title is *Contentio Veritatis*. It is written by six Oxford tutors. None of them wrote in *Lux Mundi* itself. Perhaps the new book is less the manifesto of a party in the Church than the old. Perhaps the writers are more scholars and less ecclesiastics. But *Contentio Veritatis* will do for the beginning of the Twentieth Century what *Lux Mundi* did for the end of the Nineteenth. It will mark the pace at which we are travelling and the progress we have made.

There are six writers and seven essays. Mr. Inge writes both on the Person of Christ and on the Sacraments. Mr. Wild writes on the Teaching of Christ, Mr. Burney on the Old Testament, and Mr. Allen on the New. The Church is Mr. Carlyle's subject. And Dr. Rashdall opens the book with a philosophical essay on 'The Ultimate Basis of Theism.'

Throughout the book, from Dr. Rashdall who opens to Mr. Inge who closes, the matter of most consideration is the miraculous. In that there lies the great distinction between the present writers and the authors of *Lux Mundi*. The authors of *Lux Mundi* were not disturbed by miracles. To the average High Churchman miracles are an everyday occurrence. He meets the Arnoldian dogmatism, 'But miracles do not occur,' with a flat denial. And thus he is delivered from the necessity of producing such overwhelming evidence as others demand for their occurrence in the past. But the new writers are scholars rather than Churchmen. They rest their case on evidence. As scholars, too, they feel the pressure from the side of physical science more. They see, they all see, that at the present moment the thing that most needs facing, and is most difficult to face, is the presence in the Word of God of the supernatural.

Now it is satisfactory to observe that none of these writers denies the possibility of miracles. It is satisfactory to observe that none of them denies their credibility. They feel the scientific pressure keenly; they know the relief that has come to some from criticism—criticism which finds various elements in the Gospels, for example, and the miracles always among the latest and least reliable, yet they never begin their business by saying that the miracles must be got rid of. They are tried by them, but they deal with them as subject to the rules of historical evidence.

Dr. Rashdall handles them philosophically. His position seems tentative, perhaps untenable, but it is significant. He says that there are some regions in which our knowledge of nature is so complete as practically to exclude the possibility of miracles; there are other regions where it is not complete, and the way is open to the introduction of an unsuspected law, to the occurrence of a miracle. We know the laws of the earth's motion, and we depend upon their regularity as an absolute necessity of thought. Therefore, he says, the 'stopping of the sun' (he is speaking of the miracle in Joshua) is simply unthinkable by us now. And this principle, he fears, cannot stop with the Old Testament. 'The rising of the saints out of the tomb with their bodies, and some of what are called the "nature-miracles," may surely, with tolerable confidence, be placed in this class.'

On the other hand, we know so little of the operations of the mind that it is questionable how far we can apply this idea of 'law' in its ordinary sense at all. 'To suppose that the most exceptionally endowed human soul could have stopped the motion of the sun would be to reject the assumptions upon which all historical research and all scientific reasoning proceed. But to suppose that some diseases can be healed by mental means, that some persons possess more power than others of such healing—this,' says Dr. Rashdall, 'is not opposed to, but in conformity with, what we know of the action of mind upon the physical organism; nor can our present knowledge be held to exclude the belief that one person may have had a power unparalleled in history of effecting such cures.'

This is as far as we should have expected Dr. Rashdall to go. But he goes a little further. He touches the Person of Christ before the essay closes. And then he says that historical criticism leaves 'the beliefs about Christ's Person which are most cherished among ordinary Christians' modified but still recognizable in two particulars. First, it admits the general fact that much of His time was spent in the healing of physical diseases

by means of extraordinary spiritual capacities. And, next, it acknowledges that after His death there occurred to His disciples visions of Himself which were not mere subjective delusions, and which confirm—for them and for us—the fact of His continued life and love for His followers.

Mr. Inge's paper is on the Person of Christ, and he has much to say about the miracles in the Gospels, but we pass him over for a moment. Mr. Wild writes on the Teaching of Christ.

Now in an essay on the Teaching of Christ Mr. Wild need not have touched the question of miracles. It would have been better, perhaps, if he had not touched it. But he cannot help himself. He is under the spell of the spirit of the age. He sees, as all the responsible exponents of the Teaching of Christ now see, that the teaching and the miracles are bound together. And yet he comes as near to separating them and then rejecting the miracles as it is possible for a scholar now to come.

Mr. Wild divides the miracles into classes. He places his different classes 'in a certain perspective.' In the dim background are some isolated actions, like the transference of the devils to the Gadarene swine and the cursing of the barren fig tree, which he cannot explain. Nearer the foreground are acts which seem more consistent with the character and personality of Christ, such as the raising of Lazarus from the dead, which demand more evidence for certainty than at present we possess. Finally, and in the forefront, the cases of spiritual healing. The last are in no sense inconceivable to modern thought or modern science. Possibly they are the foundation of all the other stories in a wondering age.

Mr. Inge, we have mentioned, has much to say about the miraculous. How could he avoid it in writing on the Person of Christ? And he sees, as the others we have mentioned scarcely see, or partly ignore, that the miracles cannot be separated from the Person of Christ. To separate them from His Teaching may be possible; from His Person, says Mr. Inge, it is not possible to separate them.

Mr. Inge admits that the miracles in the Gospels cannot be established upon historical evidence alone. There is not historical evidence for any past event that will make it impossible to deny that event. But the miracles of the Gospels do not rest upon historical evidence alone. Ultimately they rest upon the Person of Christ. And even as a historical critic Mr. Inge holds that belief in the Person of Christ, such belief as includes the Incarnation,—and the Incarnation includes all we consider miraculous,—is essential to the Christianity of history and of to-day.

The Priesthood without Pedigree.

By Professor the Rev. Benjamin W. Bacon, D.D., Yale University.

The author of Hebrews has two Psalms which form the foundation for his (or her?) argument in behalf of the supreme authority of Christ, and which are intermingled in the two preliminary chapters. That first developed is Ps 8, the use of which our author borrows from Paul, along with the doctrine of Christ as the 'appointed Heir of all things through whom God made the worlds'[1] (1^2; cf. Gal 4^{1-7}, Ro 4^{13} 8^{16-21}, 1 Co 8^6 15^{24-28}, Col 1^{16-19}, Eph 1^{22} 3^9, Ph 2^{10}; cf. Rev 21^{5-7}).

[1] On the Pauline doctrine of the κληρονομία resting on Gn 1^{26-28}, Ps 8^6, and Mk 12^{1-12}, identical with the contemporary doctrine of the Pharisees (cf. *Assumpt. Mos.* 1^{12-14}, *Apoc. Bar.* $14^{18f.}$ 15^7 21^{24}, 2 Es $6^{55.59}$ 7^{11} $8^{1.44}$ 9^{13}), and transmitted to the earliest Fathers in the form, 'God created the world on behalf of the Church' (Hermas, *Vis.* ii. 4. 1; *Mand.* xii. 4; Justin, *Apol.* i. 10; ii. 4. 5, *Dial.* xli.; Irenæus,

It serves him as the basis of his cosmology. That which he develops next, in chap. 5 to 7, is Ps 110, the use of which he derives by oral or written tradition from Jesus (cf. Mt 22^{41-45}), in this respect also following the example of Paul, who, in 1 Co $15^{25.27}$, as well as in Eph 1^{20-22}, and throughout the Epistle (cf. 4^{7-16}), conjoins the doctrine of creation as the inheritance destined for the 'adoption,' with that of the ascension to the right hand of God, Paul also yoking together Ps 110^{1} and Ps 8^{6}. This serves our author as the basis of his soteriology (2^{17} 4^{14} 5^{10} 6^{20} 7^{26} 8^{1} 9^{24}). It is characteristic of his pre-eminently rhetorical method that, in his exordium (He $1^{2.3}$), he should link the two together, 'a Son of God whom He appointed Heir of all things, through whom also He made the worlds; who . . . when He had made purification of sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.'

These two conceptions, Pauline and pre-Pauline, are the most vital and essential of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and are employed by its author, as Paul had employed them, against a superstitious Judaism which treated the law as 'an ordinance of angels,' turning its ceremonial into magic, in a 'gratuitous self-humiliation and worship of the angels' (Col $2^{8.16-19}$). Its real significance is quite overlooked when we ignore this superstitious tendency of contemporary Judaism, not to say of Christianity as well.[1] But we are concerned at present with only a single feature in our author's exposition of his second fundamental passage, Ps 110, the use of which rests, as we have seen, primarily upon Synoptic tradition rather than on Paul. As the point is of some importance, it is well to note that the doctrine of the Ascension must be connected directly with the implied application by Jesus to Himself of the words, 'The Lord said unto my lord, Sit thou on My right hand,' etc.; for the appeal to the pentecostal gifts as evidence of fulfilment of this Messianic promise in the Petrine speech, Ac 2^{32-36}, is not derived from the similar argument in Eph 4^{7-12}, but both descend by independent lines from the saying of Jesus itself (cf. Ac 2^{33-34} and Eph 4^{7-12} 1^{20}, Col 3^{1} with Mt 22^{43-45}).

Enhanced as it was in significance to the utmost degree by the enigmatic saying of Jesus, we cannot be surprised at the paramount influence of Ps 110 in the formative period of Christological doctrine. God had 'given Him the name which is above every name' (*i.e.* Κύριος, Ph 2^{9}; cf. Mt 22^{43}, 'David in the Spirit calleth Him "Lord"'); to confess Christ was to declare that 'Jesus is Lord' (1 Co 12^{3}). On this name of 'Lord,' therefore, whosoever called should be saved according to promise (Ac 2^{21} 4^{12}; cf. Ro 10^{13}). 'The Name' became a technical term for Christianity (Ac 5^{41}). Again, confession of Jesus as standing or sitting 'at the right hand of God' ('Sit Thou at My right hand') was the essence of that 'blasphemy' (Ac 26^{11}) which provoked the death of Stephen (Ac 7^{55-56}) and the persecution of Saul. No wonder the Church incorporated in its earliest creed the declaration that its Lord had not only risen from the dead, but that 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father.'

Our author, accordingly, in devoting so large a part of his Epistle to an exposition of Ps 110, is giving it no disproportionate prominence; especially when we consider the superstitious tendencies he was opposing. With him, as with Paul, the doctrine of the Ascension to the right hand of God is the one sure weapon to be employed against that superstitious and bastard Judaism which used the ordinances of the law as 'a worship of the angels,' a 'philosophy and vain deceit after the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου,' and, accordingly, his necessary resort is to the classic Psalm of the Ascension. Only, as we all know, his conception of Christ's entering into heaven is not so much in the character of King, as in that of High Priest. In other words, in using the Psalm, he makes special development of the 4th verse, 'The

Her. v. 29. 1, etc.), see my contribution to the Bicentennial volume of the Yale Semitic and Biblical Faculty, *Historical and Critical Contributions*, pp. 242–247.

[1] Von Soden (Holtzmann's *Handkommentar ad loc.* p. 20), is both correct and incorrect in saying, 'Als eine Polemik gegen Engelverehrung ist der . . . Abschnitt, 1^{4-14} nicht zu deuten.' It is true that the wrong influence to which the readers are exposed is neo-Judaism, and the superiority everywhere argued for the Christian faith a superiority to the Old Covenant, but the characteristic feature of the author's anti-Judaism is missed unless we recognize his assumption that this Old Covenant is 'an ordinance of angels.' This is a point of departure, as in Stephen's speech, Ac 7^{53}, the fragment of *Kerygma Petri* in Cl. Al. *Strom.* vi. 5. 43, and kindred writings. On Jewish magic and conjuration of angels and demons of this period, see Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 322–336, especially the quotation from the supposed letter of Hadrian to Servianus describing the Jews and Christians of Egypt as all 'astrologers, aruspices, and quacksalvers.'

Lord hath sworn and will not repent, Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek'; for this was part of that accepted description of the Messiah as David in the Spirit had conceived Him, which had the sanction of Jesus' own undisputed example. Our more particular inquiry, however, is this: How did he come to conceive of Melchizedek, or at least the priesthood of Melchizedek, as 'without father, without mother, without a genealogy'?

Let us turn for a moment to Jesus' use of the Psalm, and see both what is implied in the original intent of the Psalmist, and what is the purpose of Jesus, and, finally, what was understood by believers after the Resurrection.

Even before the discovery of the acrostic so clearly set forth by Bickell, Duhm, and others, most recently by Dr. A. Duff in his *Hebrew Grammar* (1901), and which decisively establishes the date of Ps 110 as within the reign of Simon the Maccabee,[1] it was quite obvious that it belonged to the Maccabean period. Then alone since the times of Abraham had Jerusalem a dynasty of priest-kings 'after the order of Melchizedek,' though Zec 6^{13} is evidence that some such hope had been cherished even before Simon assumed in his own person the prerogatives of the Davidic monarchy and Zadokite high-priesthood. If by the Pharisees, as we know, this came to be regarded as an unpardonable usurpation, it is equally certain that it was not and could not have been accomplished without the hearty approval of a people who, as a whole, made themselves 'a free-will offering in the day of his power.' It is from one of these that comes the coronation ode wherein the patriotic, and hence unavoidably Messianic, hopes of that age of unparalleled divine deliverance are expressed.[2] If we follow the usual rendering[3] of v.[4], we must suppose with the author of Hebrews that the Psalmist reverts to a chapter whose insertion in Genesis belongs to the very latest period, though its contents are perhaps in part derived from very ancient Babylonian sources. We must suppose that he compares the royalty of his liege in Jerusalem to that of the priest-king of God Most High who came from Jerusalem to bless Abram, returning from the rescue of Lot (Gn 14). In any event he bids his hero see how Yahweh will make him his vicegerent upon earth; for now, on this day of his enthronement in Jerusalem, Yahweh invites him to ascend to the heavenly throne, sit beside the supreme King, and witness how the nations that oppressed Jerusalem shall be humbled beneath his feet.

So splendid a vision of the heir of the Davidic rule whom God should Himself enthrone, albeit its author's attention was primarily directed only to one of the greatest of the Maccabean heroes, was worthy to be taken by Jesus to counteract the meaner, more servile views of the Pharisees. Doubtless the true origin of the Psalm was then completely lost; but Jesus really enters into the broader spirit of its author when He protests against the idea that the king through whom God will grant His deliverance to Zion must be by demonstrable descent and pedigree a literal Son of David. 'If he be David's lord, how can he be his son?' Jesus would no more have sympathized with the Pharisaic literalists who opposed the assumption of the high-priestly and the royal prerogatives by the Maccabean dynasty, on the ground that their pedigree could be traced neither to David nor to Zadok, than He sympathized with the Pharisees of His own day.[4] His argument does not depend upon, although it of course assumes, the Davidic authorship of the Psalm; for its essence is this, that the Messianic function is

[1] The four initial letters of the four strophes spell the name Simon (שמעון). It is perhaps worth noting that Pss 111 and 112 are also acrostic.

[2] First Maccabees expresses the complete independence of Judea first achieved under Simon by saying, 'The yoke of the Gentiles was taken away from Israel.' Expression was given to the fact by the adoption of a new era dating 'according to the year of Simon as high priest and prince of the Jews' (Schürer, *Hist. of Jewish People*, § 7, p. 257). Simon was proclaimed hereditary high priest by a popular decree, 141–140 B.C. (1 Mac 14^{25-49}). The terms of the decree, which declared him ἀρχιερεύς, στρατηγός, and ἐθνάρχης, and that '*forever*, until there should arise a faithful prophet' were engraved on brazen tablets, and these set up in the court of the temple. On the union of Messianic and Maccabean hopes in this period, see Wellhausen's note on Ps 110^{4} in *S.B.O.T.*, ed. of Haupt, Engl. text.

[3] So Cheyne and Wellhausen.

[4] The actual breaking away of the Pharisees as a distinct political party on the ground of opposition to the assumption of the high-priestly and royal prerogatives by the Maccabean dynasty occurred some ten years later than the popular decree, under John Hyrcanus (entitled on the coinage of his reign, 'John the High Priest, Prince of the Commonwealth of the Jews'). Their opposition, however, must have been latent from the time of the decree itself. From the time of John Hyrcanus they appear as the party of strict constructionists or 'zealots for the law.'

too great a thing to be made a matter of pedigree and genealogy.

And it is upon this essential feature of the argument that the author of Hebrews has wisely fixed in the development of his doctrine of the priestly function of the Messiah. Was there a disposition to cling with mysterious awe to the elaborate ceremonial of the Mosaic law, as of magical value for conjuration of angels and world-elements; a magnifying of 'endless genealogies, Jewish fables, strifes and fightings about the law'; an obscuration of the direct access by one Spirit unto the Father, secured to Jew and Gentile alike by the atoning death of Christ (Eph 2^{18})? Then it was time to fall back upon what Jesus Himself had said as to His Messiahship as not a matter of pedigree, and to point out that just as He had argued from Scripture that His right to the throne of David was not a matter of physical descent, so in the very same Scripture it was implied that He has also a priesthood superseding that of Aaron, and that the characteristic of this priesthood is that it is 'without father, without mother, without genealogy,' a priesthood forever after the order of Melchizedek.

Is it then, as is so universally assumed, because the figure of Melchizedek is introduced in Gn 14 with so little preparation, without mention of his descent, that our author is led to characterize Him in this extraordinary manner as 'without father, without mother, without genealogy'? Not at all! There is nothing exceptional on this score either in Gn 14 or Ps 110 in the figure of Melchizedek. No one would expect mention of His father or mother or genealogy. If anywhere, we should expect it in the case of Jethro the priest-king of Midian. Our author in thus characterizing the Melchizedekian priesthood, is simply following the example of Jesus in the matter of the Davidic monarchy. Neither His kingly nor His priestly office comes to Him by descent, but by divine appointment. 'For no man taketh the honour unto himself, but when he is called of God, even as was Aaron.[1] So Christ also glorified not Himself to be made a high priest, but He that spake unto Him, Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee; as He saith also in another place, Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek.'

With all the strangeness and subtlety of his reasoning and the limitations of his time, our author is true, as Jesus had been, to the real spirit of the great Messianic Psalm to which he appeals. It *does* mean by its kingship and priesthood 'after the order of Melchizedek,' a kingship and priesthood which are not of descent but of divine appointment, 'without father, without mother, without a genealogy.' It would have been well for the Church if it had listened more attentively to Jesus than to the two evangelists who on this point have placed themselves rather on the side of the Pharisaic legitimists.

[1] He might have added 'and Simon the Maccabee' had he known the real history of Ps 110.

Requests and Replies.

Cross-Bearing.

Has any light ever been thrown upon the origin of this phrase? Does it exist anywhere in pre-Christian literature, or was Jesus the first to notice the gruesome custom and to turn it into a picture of the self-denying life? If the phrase first fell from Christ's lips how it must have thrilled His audience with horror! What an image of terror and degradation! and He laid it down as indispensable for all His followers. A higher critic might be inclined to suggest that it was not till Christ Himself had been crucified, and Simon of Cyrene had borne the cross for the fainting Saviour, that the phrase was coined, and such sympathetic conduct required of every member of the Christian brotherhood. Yet Simon's bearing of the cross was only temporary, and not that he should be crucified upon it, but that Christ should be: whereas the point of the phrase is that cross-bearing is only the prelude to *crucifixion*. Compare Paul's statement, 'I die daily.'—A. G.

The phrase, 'to bear a cross,' does not, I believe, occur in any shape in Greek literature, outside the New Testament, before Plutarch's essay, *Concerning those whom God is slow to punish* (chap. 9), written probably towards the close of the first century. I am not aware that it occurs even in a Latin form (though crucifixion was, characteristically, a Roman mode of punishment) before New Testament

times: the two allusions in Plautus to the practice are couched in different phraseology.[1] In all these passages the thought is literal, though Neander (*Life of Christ*, Eng. trans., p. 341, note) fancied he saw a proverbial usage behind Plutarch's parallel between the malefactor carrying his own cross to the place of execution, and wickedness entailing its own punishment; while Grotius (in his *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*, Mt 10^{38}) tries to justify Christ's phrase by the metaphorical use of the Latin *crux* (chiefly in Plautus and Terence, and in connexion with slaves) in the sense of *trouble* or *torture*.

Accordingly, there is no evidence that, in the time of Christ, there was anything proverbial or metaphorical in the phrase, in whatever shape it occurs in the New Testament ('bear his own cross,' Lk 14^{27}; 'take his cross,' Mt 10^{38}; 'take up his cross,' Mt 16^{24} 27^{32}, Mk 8^{34}, Lk 9^{23}). Nor do I think that Jesus Himself used it metaphorically, or (to quote the words of your inquirer 'A. G.') 'turned the gruesome custom into a picture of the self-denying life.' He seems rather to have had in His mind, quite literally, the spectacle so often seen in those days,—a malefactor burdened with his own cross (or, more accurately, perhaps, the *patibulum*, the transverse beam of it) on the way to his own execution. And the lesson Christ intended to read to His disciples was one exactly suited to a time when confession of the Master might mean a cruel and degrading martyrdom: 'In discipleship there is no room for half-and-half renunciation. He who would be My disciple, he who would "follow Me," must from the outset willingly and deliberately carry even his life in his hand; nay more, he must, in mind and will, shoulder his cross, bearing it, in mind and will, to his own execution by the most painful and shameful of all forms of death; then, and not till then, let him call himself My disciple.'

The 'diluted figurative significance' of 'cross' (to borrow Wendt's phraseology) as suffering of various kinds, often slight enough, is a later conception, and seems to have been foreign to Christ's mind at the time of His utterance.

There is no need to think of Christ as prophesying in this passage the mode of His own death; for the idea of 'following' is one, not of the imitation of Christ's personal experience, but of a discipleship deliberately counting the heaviest cost which those times could impose. It is equally unnecessary, for the same reason, to surmise that a subsequent generation moulded some equivalent phrase of Christ into a form suited to the historical facts of His cross-bearing and His crucifixion. Nor need Paul's language, 'I have been crucified with Christ,' have helped to shape the passage by way of later 'reflexion'; for his figure was suggested to him by his previous phrase, 'I died to the law,' as he recalled the actual manner of Christ's literal death to the law; and the Pauline conception of the ethical reproduction in the individual Christian of Christ's physical experiences does not find its way into the Synoptic Gospels. Thus the theory that the phrase we are dealing with was 'coined later' is unnecessary and improbable.

Nor does the carrying of Christ's cross by Simon of Cyrene touch the point. Christ specifies, as the prerequisite of effective discipleship, not the temporary and compulsory carrying of *His* cross to *His* execution, but the persistent and voluntary carrying, by the disciple, of his own cross (according to the practice of that day) to his own execution, if execution it had to be.

But, I need not add, the saying has its message for us too. While the literal and temporary vanishes, the ideal and essential abides. By Christ and His followers in Judæa, under the Sadducee and the Roman, cruel and degrading death had to be deliberately faced. For the Christian missionary, man or woman, it is sometimes the same still. And for us also, 'living at home' and, in a sense, 'at ease,' society of to-day is not without its substitutes for crucifixion, its modes of torture, social and individual; and so the essence of Christ's thought survives, summoning us to be ready, voluntarily and with premeditation, for the deadliest cruelty and the most shameful degradation that modern civilization knows how to inflict.

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[1] *Miles Gloriosus* ii. 4, 6 (patibulum . . . habebis); and *Mostellaria* i. 1, 53 (patibulatus). See next paragraph.

'Weakness and Power.'

2 CORINTHIANS XIII. 3, 4.

Reading these verses in connexion with vv.[5. 9. 10] of the preceding chapter, and vv.[29. 30] of chap. 11, it would appear that there is a more subtle meaning to the two terms, 'Weakness and Power,' than any which has been given in the explanations I have yet seen. Will you be so kind as to explain

these terms in vv.[3, 4] of chap. 13, keeping in view the same or synonymous terms in the other verses referred to?—J. R.

This highly condensed passage can only be understood by keeping clearly in view the precise situation in the Corinthian Church. On his former visit to them, St. Paul had been shocked by disorders which prevailed. But he had refrained from adopting the strongest measures in putting them down: that seemed the wisest course in the circumstances. When he had left Corinth, his opponents insinuated that his conduct was weak: this they made a ground of disparagement (*e.g.* chaps. 10^{10} 11^{21}). He is not ashamed of his so-called weakness, but on this visit he will follow a different method, that of disciplinary rigour.

They will discover that the Christ who speaks in him, whose representative he is, is anything but weak,—his opponents had hinted that he gave a distorted view of Christ, — from the strong action taken by the apostle in the name of his Lord. Even if they do accuse him of weakness, it is an accusation which he may share with his Master. Men might have pointed to *His* weakness, for He was crucified, done to death by sinful men, who seemed to be too strong for Him. But that was only a stage on the path to His victorious life, in which He has all power over sin and death. This will be their experience of the apostle. They sneered at his weakness because he had not taken extreme measures against the evils which confronted him at Corinth. But that apparent powerlessness before sin was merely temporary. It was part of his fellowship with the sufferings of Christ (ἀσθενοῦμεν ἐν αὐτῷ). He also shares in the victorious life of his Lord. It is a life of power. And this power they will soon experience in his dealings with them when he comes.

H. A. A. Kennedy.

Callander.

Romans vi. 4.

Some years ago I read, but I do not remember where, that 'our translators have dropped out an article which Paul used in this passage, and they have not given any equivalent for that article. Had they done so the passage would have read, "We were buried therefore with Him through *His* baptism into death."' If an expert in Greek will tell me whether such a translation is justifiable I shall be obliged. If we read 'through *the* baptism' instead of 'through *His* baptism,' does '*the* baptism' refer to our water baptism or to Christ's baptism of suffering into death, and to which He referred in the words, 'The baptism that I am baptized withal shall ye be baptized'; and again, 'But I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished?'—M. J. B.

Both the Revised and the Authorized Versions agree in failing to give an equivalent for the Greek definite article which is found before both words *baptism* and *death*. The force of the article in the two cases is clearly brought out by Professor Denney's rendering (*The Expositor's Greek Testament*, ii. p. 632): 'We were buried with Him through *that* baptism into *His* death.' There seems to be no allusion to either the literal or the figurative baptism of Jesus Himself. There is nothing in the context to suggest any such reference, and we have no evidence that Paul assigned any such significance to the baptism of Jesus by John, or was familiar with the utterances of Jesus in which His Passion was figuratively described by Him as a baptism. The force of the definite article is this. *The* baptism means the baptism which is now under discussion, namely, the rite by which we were introduced into the Christian community. The thread of the whole argument would be torn by any other rendering; as the aim of this passage is to show that the baptism of every Christian commits him to die to sin, and to live to God, and so to pass in his own experience through the spiritual equivalents of Christ's death and resurrection. As it is Christ's death that is being dealt with, the article before death is correctly rendered by *His* rather than by *the*, which would make the reference to death generally.

Alfred E. Garvie.

Montrose.

Recent Discussions on the Meaning of the Title 'Son of Man.'

By the Rev. James Croskery, M.A., B.D., Mountjoy, Omagh.

Baldensperger, in two articles on this subject in the *Theologische Rundschau* for June and July 1900, is of opinion that the results of the investigations of different scholars go so far apart that we seem further than ever removed from general agreement. Some progress, however, is being made, and he marks out stages in this progress.

At first, exegetical study of N.T. passages was the principal feature, and the results varied according to the exegete's conception of Jesus' person; reference to the passage in Daniel was rare. The name was the outward emblem of Jesus' secret aims: 'The Master, venerated by His followers as the Jewish Messiah, wished by it to describe Himself as in some sense belonging to the human family, as the ideal man, as a lowly human being, or the like.' This is called by Baldensperger the *exegetical* and *critical* stage.

About twenty years ago a new phase of the investigation began. A more thorough conception of the title was to be reached by going back to Daniel and Jewish literature of the same kind; a view founded thus on the ideas of the time would be free from arbitrary notions. An old theologian (Weisse) had thought that to go to Daniel was an assault on the originality of Jesus; now it was held that this very procedure would lead to the discovery of the authentic thought of Jesus. The debate now went outside the literature of the N.T. and discussed the presence of the title in the Jewish apocalyptic literature and its Messianic meaning there. Attention was drawn to the Messianic and *eo ipso* eschatological sense of the name in the Gospels (*e.g.* its use in the passages about the Parousia). Was there a continuity between the Jewish apocalyptic usage and that in the N.T.? But then Jesus could hardly have used the title in the extravagant meaning of Jewish Apocalypse. Some scholars weakened more or less the apocalyptic sense. Besides, the usage in the Gospels was peculiar and puzzling, and many desired to find an interpretation more available for modern faith. The name was still a riddle. Some found a claim in it; the personage thus described belonged to the future after the Ascension; some even reached in this way the old conception of the heavenly ideal man. Thus 'the current which started from Daniel was crossed and checked by an undercurrent created by Jesus.' Some suggested that the apocalyptic idea of the word reappeared in the Christian community and its gospel literature, and was not in the mind of Jesus at all. This is the *historical* and *psychological* stage.

Next comes the third stage, the 'Aramaic,' which is called the *philological* and *linguistic*: the title is translated into the mother tongue of Jesus, and the meaning of this original investigated. Wellhausen and Eerdmanns (1894) give the name in Aramaic as *barnash* (*barnasha*). This means simply 'man,' and so, according to Wellhausen, Jesus called Himself 'the man.' The Dutch scholar held that the title could not possibly mean 'Messiah,' especially as it did not exist in the Jewish apocalyptic in this sense. Jesus did not claim Messiahship, and by this name hinted in opposition to the Messianic expectations around Him, that He was only a man. The Greek translation, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, is the cause of the Aramaic expression being wrongly taken as a Messianic title. So began the linguistic attempts. 'Investigation of the original words used by Jesus was now in the air, and was soon to ripen further researches.'

A. Meyer in his book, *Die Muttersprache Jesu* (1896), aims to discover the actual dialect spoken by Jesus. This dialect is West-Aramaic-Galilean. Now retranslations from Greek, especially where the idiom in the Gospels is not Greek, might lead to the real sense, and the expression 'Son of Man' is treated in this way by Meyer. He rejects the meaning given by Wellhausen, because the hearers of Jesus could not tell whether He meant by it Himself or man generally. *Barnash* is used in different senses: = 'man in general,' Mk 2^{28}, Mt 12^{32}; = 'I' (distinguished from other living creatures), Mt 8^{20}; = 'anyone,' Mt 11^{19}. It is not a title at all, and the meaning of Jesus is to be

found in the context in each case. Thus a number of passages lose any apocalyptic meaning. But Meyer has not disposed of the great mass of the passages, the sayings about the Parousia and the prophecies of the sufferings of the Son of Man. And the investigation of the Aramaic use of *barnash* was not thorough enough, *e.g.* the examples quoted for *barnash* = 'I,' seemed only emphatic idioms of rare occurrence.

Lietzmann in his book, *Der Menschensohn* (1896), attempts to go through the entire Aramaic material, and thus discover out of these sources the meaning of *barnash* in all its different acceptations. His result is that the formula was not usual in Judæan Aramaic, but in Galilean was the word most used for 'man,' not a definite man nor the genus man, but a colourless expression for individual man. Like 'son of' in all Semitic languages, *bar* in Aramaic is used to make plain something relating to the subject, and if the word in the genitive is a person, it is quite pleonastic; *e.g.* son of the ungodly = the ungodly.

Wellhausen in 1899 replies to Meyer and Lietzmann. He thinks *barnash* is not peculiarly Galilean, but belongs to all Aramaic dialects in sense of ὁ ἄνθρωπος, and *bar* is not pleonastic, for *nash* is a collective (= people) which *bar* individualizes. Jesus, then, speaking Aramaic could not make any distinction between 'the man' and 'the son of man.'

Could Jesus apply such a name to Himself? If it means the true man, Jesus was not a Greek philosopher nor a humanist, and not likely to make a speculation about the true humanity the centre of His teaching. Why, if so, is the name not used always, and why, for the most part, only in Messianic passages? It cannot mean 'a man like any other,' for in the apocalyptic passages Jesus alone is referred to. The expression, indeed, is so unnatural and incomprehensible that, to use Wellhausen's phrase, the people 'would take Jesus for possessed.' Was no one found to inquire the reason of this strange procedure of Jesus? There is no trace of such in the Gospels. Hence, if the Aramaic expression in its true sense is incompatible with Jesus' use of the phrase, and, besides, cannot mean 'the Messiah,' as ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου certainly does in the majority of places, then Jesus cannot have applied this title to Himself, because such a title did not exist at all in Aramaic. Thus Lietzmann infers that Jesus never used the name Son of Man, and Wellhausen in 1899 agrees with him.

A strange conclusion! We began to investigate the meaning of the phrase, assured that thereby we should discover the central meaning of the person of Jesus, and we reach the result that Jesus had nothing to do with it. Again, Aramaic study was to put an end to the subtleties founded on the Greek expression; now it is indeed agreed that *barnash* cannot mean the Messiah, but as to its actual positive meaning Meyer criticises Wellhausen, Lietzmann criticises Meyer, and Wellhausen both. Thus the ambiguity of *barnash* bids fair to equal that of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Here Baldensperger permits himself a doubtful jest. All these attempts to locate the Son of Man have brought about the conclusion that whether the passages about the Son of Man are genuine or not, there is a profound truth in the saying that the Son of Man has no home or resting-place.

The results reached through the Aramaic are now brought into harmony with passages in the Jewish Apocalypses which mention the Son of Man (Daniel, Enoch, 4 Ezra). Here, Baldensperger thinks, too strict demands are made upon these clumsy Apocalypses. The strange turns and the elasticity of the Jewish and the early Christian exegesis are forgotten. The figurative sense in Daniel, and the use of the comparative particle 'like' ('one *like* a son of man,') are insisted on. In Enoch the passages containing the name are not indeed *en masse* treated as Christian interpolations (as by Bousset; not so Beer in Kautzsch's *Pseudepigraphen*), but Lietzmann and Wellhausen lay stress on the fact that the pronoun 'this' or 'that' generally precedes, hence it is not a title and not the same as Messiah. 4 Ezra, which speaks of Messiah rising out of the sea like the form of a man, goes back to Daniel, and we are to note (they tell us) that he gives the correct translation 'man,' not 'son of man.' But all minute points of this kind leave out of view the positive tendencies of this literature. Enoch and 4 Ezra make plain references to Dn 7, and allude to the details in that picture without naming the old familiar source; this surely shows how much reflection there was about the 'One beside the Ancient of Days with the appearance of a Son of Man.' The transition to use as a title is not indeed complete in Enoch, but it is on the way, and our logic must not regulate the process. If, as these

scholars imply, the early Christian apocalyptic writers who stand close to Judaism were able to make the phrase into a title, this surely proves what was possible for purely Jewish circles. Again, why speak of Messiah as 'the man' in face and form (the same could be said of the angels and other persons in the context), unless some particular man, the special man of Daniel, is meant? Here we have what is almost a title (cf. the use of 'the elect one' of Messiah in Enoch). If the transition is not complete in Enoch, there is still room for development in the days of Jesus. It is very probable that other Apocalypses, and these with more advanced Messianic conceptions, existed. And the interpolations in the similitudes of Enoch (unless these are certainly Christian) give us information about this development.

We are next pointed to the fact that except in the Gospels the title is not found in the Christian literature. But, not to speak of Ac 7^{56}, which goes along with the Third Gospel, this is not so certain. The Apocalypse 1^{13} 14^{14} (we are told) uses the name as Daniel does, though plainly referring to Jesus the Messiah; but the writer speaks there as an apocalyptic seer, and keeps strictly to the turns of phrase in the pattern Apocalypse. Hebrews refers to Ps 8 (Son of Man), and Paul, also, in 1 Co 15^{27}, where he combines it with Ps 110, certainly considered Messianic. Paul, indeed, speaks of the heavenly man, when we should expect him to use the name Son of Man; perhaps he thought the former more suitable. At anyrate the *argumentum ex silentio* is a doubtful one; and arguments based on the mere use of a word lead to strange results, as, *e.g.*, if we should make inferences from the subordinate rôle of the kingdom of God in Paul to the teaching of Jesus on this subject.

All that precedes, according to Baldensperger, both the argumentation and the Aramaic researches, touches only the periphery of the problem. As regards the Aramaic question, it has now been practically settled by Dalman in his book, *Die Worte Jesu* (1898), in which there is a chapter on the Son of Man. This great Aramaist calls the view of Wellhausen and the others, that the Aramaic for 'man' can only be 'son of man' (which is hence an impossible title in Jesus' mouth), a serious error. Jewish Aramaic of older date uses *anash* for 'man'; the singular *barnash* was unusual and an imitation of the Hebrew *ben adam*, which again is rare, and, in the apocryphal literature, used only in allusion to the O.T. passages. The Galilean of Jesus' time was no exception. Only at a later date was *barnash* used as = man. In Dn 7^{13} we have no prosaic idiom, but a phrase of the same character as the 'Ancient of Days,' and one that might readily become a title. With the article it means 'the son of man' not 'the man.' The strangeness of the expression is brought out in the strange Greek, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, with double article. Dalman also shows that the Jews had the usage where a speaker speaks of himself in the third person. It would not seem strange to His hearers that Jesus should do so. Further, Dalman considers it a great illusion to suppose that by a linguistic argument the Messiahship of Jesus, which has so many roots in the original Christian soil, can be got rid of. Even if we had clearer knowledge of the linguistic facts of Jesus' time, we should need always to exercise reserve on this point. Might not, for instance, the language of religion have differed often from the language of everyday life? Must Jesus have always used Aramaic expressions even when the holy things of the O.T. were discussed? In regard to the title in question, Dalman holds that Jesus has put His own stamp on it though there are preparations for His use of it in Jewish Apocalypses. He describes Himself by it as the child of man, who is by nature weak, but whom God wills to make Lord of the world. It is not a title expressive of glory, but a declaration of humiliation.

There still remain the passages about the Parousia, which are not sufficiently considered by Dalman. These were the first, in Wellhausen's view, in which Jesus was made to name Himself Son of Man. Linguistic grounds led Wellhausen to use his critical knife on all these passages. If the linguistic grounds fall away, and Dalman's authority as an Aramaic scholar settles that point, what then? Indeed, how in any case were they smuggled into the Gospel tradition and not into eschatological passages alone, but into others as well?

The impression left by the whole debate, concludes Baldensperger, is that in the last resort the decision of the question still depends on each man's total conception of the Person and Work of Jesus. Are we to understand the Messiahship of Jesus as an actual historical fact, the corner-stone of His inner life, or only as a mere accident?

Interpretations which weaken the sense of the phrase 'son of man' will find a ready hearing with those who lay the chief weight on 'rational' motives. The Aramaic solution owes its rapid growth and popularity to the rationalistic leaven which still works on in the theological world. Lietzmann will not identify the problem of the Son of Man with that of the Messiahship, but if the former is unhistorical, such a shock is given to the Messianic position of the Gospels that it amounts to a practical annihilation of it. A last point: Did Jesus, besides the special Messianic reference to Himself, mean to imply prerogatives which have force for all men? Lagarde once thus formulated it: '"Man" is with Indo-Germans a word of honour, with Semites a word of blame.' When he added that Jesus ennobled it, he only characterized himself thereby as an Indo-German. In Jesus' view, there is for man only one goal: to be a child of God, or perfect as the Father in heaven.

To the above we may add a short account of an independent and, it seems to us, successful study which has appeared since Baldensperger wrote his articles.[1] Fiebig does not think that Dalman has settled the Aramaic question, and complains that he does not give a clear statement of the linguistic evidence. He has himself searched through all the relevant Aramaic literature, and the most valuable part of the little book gives the results of this arduous undertaking. The evidence leads Fiebig to the conclusion that all the words for 'man' in Aramaic are ambiguous; thus, *barnasha*, *barnash*, and *nasha* may all mean 'a man,' 'the man,' or 'anyone.' Wellhausen is wrong when he holds that *bar* individualizes the collective *nasha* in the expression *barnasha*. Dalman is equally wrong in making *barnasha* = 'son of man,' and different from *nasha*. Lietzmann also is mistaken in saying that *barnash* is the only Aramaic for 'anyone,' and that it has this colourless sense alone. Fiebig's clear summary of the evidence and his account of the Aramaic expressions for 'man,' are very interesting. We turn to the Gospels, and start from the basis that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is a literal version of an ambiguous expression (either *barnasha* or *barnash*, not *nasha*), which may mean either 'the man' or 'a man' or 'anyone.' It is possible, then, that the Greek may contain a mistaken translation, and that Jesus did not name Himself, but used the expression *barnash(a)* in the indefinite sense. Thus in Mk 2^{10}, 'The Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins.' The people seem to have understood the word in the indefinite meaning, for they 'praised God who had given such power *to men*.' They were wrong and the Greek is correct, for Jesus' argument proves that He spoke of Himself. Similarly, Fiebig deals with the other passages where mistranslation is suspected and finds it nowhere. Jesus used the name 'the man' of Himself, but the expression was ambiguous and might be misunderstood.

Whence comes this strange name? And why has the Greek ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and not ὁ ἄνθωπος? The passage in Daniel (7^{13}) is the source, and there the LXX have ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, of which ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is the definite form. Fiebig then brings together all the places where the name occurs in the synoptic Gospels under three heads: (1) where 'the man' means the Messiah with manifest allusion to Dn 7^{13}, *e.g.* Mt 16^{28}; (2) where 'the man' = the Messiah, but without direct reference to Daniel; (3) where 'the man' virtually = I. The latter two are not easily distinguished, for even in (3) the name is not colourless but ever suggests the Messiah. It is altogether wrong with A. Meyer to say that *barnasha* can be a simple substitute for 'I.'

What does the name mean? Daniel is the point of departure but not the limit of the sense. It is eschatological in Daniel, but on Jesus' lips it is fuller and richer in sense, and loses its particularism. But was Jesus original? Was this name for the Messiah in general use or at least familiar in certain circles? This is denied. It is an impossible name, say W. and L., nor can Jesus have used it. This is absurd. Other general expressions have become titles, and facts must decide. Fiebig finds the title in 4 Ezra and in Enoch, and argues point by point with L., who wishes to prove that it is not a *terminus technicus* where it occurs. I cannot go into details. Fiebig holds that the usage was not confined to narrow circles, as against Dalman, who does not believe it was a current title for the Messiah. Fiebig agrees with Wellhausen that the Gospels presuppose the name as well known and readily understood. Did then Jesus openly proclaim Himself Messiah? That was not His manner. The solution of the riddle

[1] *Der Menschensohn, Jesu Selbstbezeichnung, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des aramaischen Sprachgebrauches für 'Mensch.'* Von Paul Fiebig, Lic. Th. Mohr, 1901.

is that whenever Jesus used it it was always possible for those who heard to misunderstand Him, while believing that they understood. Jesus availed Himself of the inherent ambiguity of the name (cf. the example above, Mk 2^{10}). Even if 'the man' was a familiar Messianic title, where nothing Messianic marked the context or the occasion, men might readily mistake His meaning, and where the Messianic reference was clear, that Jesus meant Himself was not so clear. Fiebig finds the use of the name by Jesus historical, and is clearly right. His lucid discussion of the various passages makes this view more easy to hold and defend. Wellhausen, in the latest edition of his history (1901), still agrees with Lietzmann. The verdict of the future will decide against him.

Why did Jesus choose this title? It was not unknown, but admitted ambiguity. It was in its origin particularistic, but not so much so as Son of David. It involved more of what Jesus intended the Messiah to be, *e.g.* a judge to every human soul. He could develop it as it suited Him, as it was in His time a variable and fluid term. The conception of 'suffering' is an original addition. Again, it was an exalted name—a fit expression for the lofty consciousness of Jesus, placing Him in the company of God rather than of man. Finally, Jesus saw, in Dn 7^{13}, as it were, the sign of His calling to which He was to be obedient unto death, a true ἀρχηγὸς τῆς πίστεως.

The passages where the name occurs in the Fourth Gospel agree in usage with the Synoptics, and bring out into clear relief the pre-existence involved in the expression. A discussion of these and references to the rest of the New Testament literature conclude this interesting and clearly written essay.

The Great Text Commentary.

THE GREAT TEXTS OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

ACTS II. 1–4.

'And when the day of Pentecost was now come, they were all together in one place. And suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them tongues parting asunder, like as of fire; and it sat upon each one of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance' (R.V.).

EXPOSITION.

'And when the day of Pentecost was fully come.'—Literally, 'was now being fulfilled,' *i.e.* it had begun, but was not yet past. This day was one of the three great festivals when the law required the attendance of all Israel at the temple, and Jerusalem would be thronged with pilgrims. As the Passover fell rather early for the navigation season, Jews from the West especially would prefer to make their pilgrimage at the time of Pentecost, as we find St. Paul doing later on. Pentecost was also called the Feast of Weeks, because it fell seven (*i.e.* a week of) weeks after the Passover. To be exact, it was the fiftieth (Greek *pentecoste*) day after the offering of the sheaf of the first-fruits of the harvest during the feast of unleavened bread.—RACKHAM.

'Together in one place.'—Rather 'together in company,' or 'in fellowship'; see 1^{15} $2^{44.\ 47}$. Emphasis on mere unity of place seems superfluous.—BARTLET.

'A sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind.'—Literally, 'a sound as if a violent gust were being borne along.' St. Chrysostom rightly emphasizes the ὡς, so that the sound is not that of wind, but *as* of the rushing of a mighty wind (so, too, the tongues are not of fire, but *as of fire*). The words describe not a natural but a supernatural phenomenon.—KNOWLING.

'It filled all the house.'—For the hundred and twenty must have occupied more than one chamber.—RACKHAM.

'Where they were sitting.'—A Hebraism for 'were dwelling,' or 'abiding.'—COOK.

'Tongues parting asunder.'—The present part. denotes a process seen in actual operation.—RENDALL.

THE fire-like appearance, originally one, broke up into tongues of flame, as it were, and distributed itself among those assembled, and sat upon each one of them. The phenomenon is taken in the narrative to symbolize the gift of tongues described in the next verse, namely, as one in source and essence, but various in manifested forms.—BARTLET.

'And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit.'—There is some danger of forgetting that this was the main fact, of which the 'speaking in tongues' was but a *transitory* consequence.—PAGE AND WALPOLE.

I SEE no warrant in Scripture for the very common impression that the Holy Spirit was now first given to the Church. The language here employed is also used of

Elisabeth (Lk 1[41]), Zacharias (Lk 1[67]), and John the Baptist (Lk 1[15]), and in the O.T. there is repeated mention of the influence of the Holy Spirit on the minds of prophets and others (Nu 11[25. 26] 24[2. 3], 1 S 10[10] 19[20], 2 S 23[2], 2 Ch 20[14], Neh 9[30], Is 48[16], Ezk 2[2] 3[24] 11[5], Zec 7[12], Mt 22[43]). That which is peculiar in this event is that (1) now for the first time *all* were filled with the Holy Spirit, not merely the apostles, but the entire Christian assembly; and (2) the influence was not occasional and transient, but abiding. That which distinguishes the N.T. from the O.T. dispensation is that under the O.T. dispensation the Holy Spirit guided a few prophets, who thus became the inspired leaders of the people, while under the N.T. dispensation He is given to all. Thus Moses' prayer is fulfilled (Nu 11[29]), the Lord puts His Spirit upon all His people (Ac 4[31] 10[44], Ro 8[14], 1 Co 3[16] 12[7-11], Gal 5[16. 18], Eph 3[16-19]).—ABBOTT.

'And began to speak with other tongues.'—*Began* conveys the twofold idea that what is here received happened for the first time, and that it was afterwards repeated or continued.—ALEXANDER.

'With other tongues.'—Called 'new tongues' in Mk 16[17]. It means languages which they had not known before, and from the history it would appear that some of the company spake in one and some in another language, for the crowd of foreigners, when they come together, all find somebody among the speakers whom they are able to understand.—FARRAR.

'As the Spirit gave them utterance.'—The word (ἀποφθέγγομαι) is peculiar to Acts (cf. 5[14] 26[25]); in the LXX it is used not of ordinary conversation, but of the utterances of prophets (cf. Ezk 13[9], Mic 5[12], 1 Ch 25[1]).—KNOWLING.

CRITICAL NOTE.

THE literature of the Gift of Tongues (Ac 2[4]) is voluminous. The following are accessible and worth consulting:—Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, ii. 271 ff.; McGiffert, *Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, 50 ff., 521 ff.; Wright, *Some N.T. Problems*, 277 ff.; Robertson in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. 793 ff.; Henson, *Godly Union and Concord*, 55 ff.; also the commentaries on Ac 2, especially Meyer-Wendt, Knowling, Rackham, Bartlet, and on 1 Co 12, 14, especially Meyer-Heinrici, Stanley, Godet, Edwards, Ellicott.

THE SERMON.

The General Preparation for Pentecost.

By the Rev. R. H. Lovell.

When the Church of Christ is to do some great thing every precaution should be taken against failure. There should be plan, force, method. God planned this great inauguration at Pentecost, even as to minor details. (1) The day and time were chosen. It was the harvest festival. (2) It was the best time for travelling and for open-air preaching. (3) It was the best attended feast of the year. (4) It was the only feast at which all the sacrifices were offered. (5) It was the largest union of diverse nationalities. (6) The disciples were not only met together with one heart, but (7) they were all in one place, not one has a prior engagement, promising to be with them in spirit. (8) They all had the gift in fulness.

The Special Preparation.

By the Rev. Andrew Murray.

The disciples were specially trained for Pentecost. Wherein consisted their preparation for the baptism of the Holy Spirit?

1. They were men who had forsaken all to follow Jesus. I am not speaking of forsaking *sin*, —that is forsaken at conversion,—but of absolute surrender of everything.

2. They were intensely attached to Jesus. Some forsake all for the sake of their religion—and it may be a false religion; some for the sake of their fellow-men. We must forsake all for Jesus' sake, for personal love to Him and joy in Him.

3. They were men who had been led to despair of themselves. They gave up their nets at the beginning of the three years with Jesus, themselves at the end. To be filled with the Spirit we must first die to self.

4. They were men who had accepted the promise of the Spirit in faith. He said, 'Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.' They could not tell what He said. But they took His word for it and waited. Say, 'This promise is for *me*.' A promise from God is as much as a fulfilment.

5. On the strength of the promise they waited in united prayer. Look to God, and *expect God to do something*.

The Day of Pentecost.

By the Rev. John Morgan, M.A.

1. They waited for it. They waited in prayer. They waited with one accord in one place.

2. Two signs were associated with the gift of spiritual power that day. (1) The first sign met the ear. It was a thundering voice to Moses, a great strong wind and earthquake to Elijah, a rushing heavenly hurricane to the disciples. It suggests irresistible and overwhelming force; and the movement is downward, manward, a gracious bestowment of God's own hand. 'It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing.' (2)

The second sign appealed to the eye. Fire represents the life-giving energy and consecrating power of the Holy Ghost. But these spires of flame were an investment of power—promised power—to qualify them to be Christ's faithful and true witnesses.

3. Behind these signs was the thing signified—'they were all filled with the Holy Ghost.' (1) They were *filled*. It suggests many vessels, all empty at first, all filled at last. Of all sizes, they are filled to the brim. 'The whole nature,' as Dr. Maclaren phrases it, 'filled with Him will flame with new brilliance, like a bit of black carbon in a stream of electricity.' (2) They were *all* filled. High as this dignity is, it is conferred on every single true member of the Christian Church, and sanctions the royal priesthood of all believers.

4. The *manifestation* of the power enabled them to begin evangelizing the world at once. Although in its special form temporary and provisional, it has been prophetic. In the end of the nineteenth century there is hardly a tribe of earth's heathen millions that has not among them some Christian teacher who is trying to reduce their rude language to written form, and to give them in their own mother tongue the Bible and the Gospel.

Illustrations.

It has been said, whether by poetry or science matters not, that there is a certain point in the upper air, in which all the discordant sounds of the earth—the rattle of wheels, the chime of bells, the roll of the drum, the laugh of the child—meet and blend in perfect harmony. Surely it is more than a pleasant conceit, that when once lifted up in fellowship in Christ Jesus we meet in a high and heavenly place where all things are gathered together in one.—W. Adams.

It may be a profitable exercise for us to note the intimate connexion between the divine promise and men's prayers. It might appear as if the promise superseded the necessity for the prayer. But it is emphatically the other way. The promise is the warrant for prayer; and prayer is the condition of its fulfilment. 'I the Lord have spoken it, and I will do it. Thus saith the Lord God, I will yet for this be inquired of by the house of Israel, to do it for them.'—J. Morgan.

I know a man of great wealth, who lives in a fine mansion-house, surrounded by every element and influence fitted to make life a luxury and delight; and yet that man is miserable, and drags out a dwarfed and wretched existence. He lives in two rooms, and denies himself the ordinary comforts of existence, lest he come to want and die in the workhouse.—J. Morgan.

Blessed be the hour when that tongue of fire descended from the Giver of speech into a cold world. Had it never come, my mother might have led me, when a child to see slaughter for worship, and I should have taught my little ones that stones were gods.—W. Arthur.

Some two or three years ago a young lady missionary came out to South Africa, and she spoke so much of the blessing she had received at Keswick. She told me how, from a child, she had loved the Lord, and been educated in a godly home. I said to her, 'What then is the difference between the life you then led and the life you entered upon afterwards?' Her answer was simple and ready and bright, 'It is just this,' she said, '*the personal fellowship with Jesus.*'—A. Murray.

When the Spirit of God fills a man he speaks so as to be understood. If my friend talks in a Latinized style to a company of costermongers, I will warrant you the Holy Ghost has nothing to do with him. If a learned brother fires over the heads of his congregation with a grand oration, he may trace his elocution to Cicero and Demosthenes, but do not let him ascribe it to the Holy Spirit, for that is not after His manner.—C. H. Spurgeon.

Fire is always a sign of the divine presence. So it was at the burning bush and throughout the Old Testament. Pagan writers also recognized the symbol, as when Virgil describes the portent which appears to Æneas (*Æn.* ii. 682–4, Conington's trans.)—

> Between us while Iulus stands
> 'Mid weeping eyes and clasping hands,
> Lo, from the summit of his head
> A lambent flame was seen to spread,
> Sport with his locks in harmless play,
> And grazing round his temples stay.—
>
> R. B. Rackham.

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Lovell (R. H.), First Types of the Christian Life, 205.
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Vaughan (C. J.), Church of the First Days, i. 37.
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Recent Foreign Theology.

The Phoenicians.[1]

THE *Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft* is doing excellent work in making available to the educated public the results of modern research in the history, literature, and religion of Western Asia.

Four numbers of their popular series on these subjects are to be obtained for a subscription of 2s. a year; single numbers may be obtained for about 8d. each, while three or four of them have been already translated into English, and are thus more widely available.

This particular number contains an excellent account of the Phœnicians — or rather of the Northern Phœnicians; for the author has not attempted to follow that branch of the people which, according to the discoveries and writings of Bent, Glaser, and others, passed across Arabia into Africa as far as Mashonaland. Perhaps this is as well for the present, since scholars have much to do in this department before any certain results can be given to the public.

The plan of the work is necessarily simple. The introductory pages are followed by an account of the name Phœnicia and of the cities which the Phœnicians inhabited, for Phœnicia was a collection of cities and not a kingdom. In the description of these cities will be found an account of some of the chief monumental remains. The second half of the work is given to the history of the cities, more especially of Tyre and Sidon from the time of the Tel el-Amarna tablets to the Roman period. Their relations with the Egyptians, Assyrians, Hebrews, Persians, Alexander the Great, the Seleucids, and Ptolemies, are all touched upon briefly but lucidly.

One special feature of the introduction deserves mention, namely, the suggestion that the Phœnicians came into a land already civilized, and having connexions of its own with the North African coast, and that the Phœnician settlements in Africa were the result of conquest, and not simply of commercial connexions.

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[1] *Die Phönizier.* Von Wilhelm Freiherr v. Landau. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1901.

Two Great Dogmatic Systems.[2]

IT has often seemed to the present reviewer a somewhat unpromising feature of British theology that it has studied but little systems so rich in speculative interest as those of Biedermann and Lipsius. These must carry a deep attraction for every one with any genuine interest in critico-speculative theism. We gladly hail Fleisch's book, for the subject is an inviting one. Those who have studied the *Dogmatik* of Biedermann must have felt the masterly power and unwonted intellectual interest of the work, while the critical and constructive abilities of Lipsius are no less striking. Clearness, precision, intrepid candour, iron-like consistency, piety, and nobility of mind —these are the qualities of Biedermann. Philosophical acuteness, subtlety, analytic power, and religious profundity are among the chief virtues of Lipsius. To consider the relations of these two thinkers, in respect of their theories of knowledge and the metaphysical bases of their systems, is the task essayed by Fleisch. In a somewhat lengthy and interesting Introduction, he gives an account of the rise of Neo-Kantianism and its chief exponents, and also of the friendship that existed between the two great dogmatists, spite of the fact that Lipsius was so severely critical of Biedermann's speculations. Nobly one they were in championing the cause of scientific theology. Where they mainly differed was, that Biedermann disallowed alike the personality of God and the continuance or persistence of the individual spirit, both of which Lipsius strenuously upheld. Their differences did not keep them from a large measure of theological agreement in the working out of their respective systems. And Fleisch asks whether the fact that these two thinkers in so different ways come at last to like result does not argue for the correctness of the conclusion.

The first section of the book is devoted to Biedermann. Biedermann declares his theory of knowledge to consist of the principle of pure

[2] *Die erkenntnistheoretischen und metaphysischen Grundlagen der dogmatischen Systeme.* Von A. E. Biedermann und R. A. Lipsius. Kritisch dargestellt von Urban Fleisch, Lic. Theol. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1901. Pp. iv, 204.

realism. The term is meant only in a methodological sense, not a metaphysical one. After the essential moments in this connexion have been set forth, Fleisch expresses his agreement with critics like Lipsius, Lüdemann, and others in thinking that Biedermann has not kept out ontological questions, as he intended, but given metaphysical considerations very real place. Fleisch thinks it significant that a thinker who proceeds with so much circumspection as Biedermann, has not been quite able to proscribe ontological questions in connexion with his theory of knowledge. This anticipation of the metaphysical result is apt, in the view of many, to prejudice the psychological inquiry which follows. Fleisch corrects this impression, and then sets forth the psychologic process at some length. Pursuant to the fuller determination of the limits of metaphysical knowledge, Biedermann's relations to Kant and Hegel are next dealt with. He is no despiser of Kant, though he for the most part places himself in stiff opposition to that thinker. His great objection to Kantism is its abstract dualism — between form and matter, between thing-in-itself and appearance, and between pure and practical reason. Touching his relation to Hegel, the central Hegelian conception of pure thought is adopted by Biedermann. That is to say, he agrees with the fundamental Hegelian position that the essence or substance of spirit is logical being, to be comprehended only in logical categories. But from this position Biedermann works out his way quite differently from Hegel. Biedermann's way, briefly put, is not that of *à priori* deduction, but that of empirical induction; his way proceeds not from above to below, but in inverted fashion from below to above. Biedermann, in fact, roundly rejects the method of Hegel, and his conception of pure thought is essentially different from Hegel's. This is specially evident if we inquire what power of performance Biedermann attributed to pure thought. For the practically unlimited power postulated for it by Hegel is in marked contrast with the modest claims set up for it by Biedermann. The section on Biedermann concludes with interesting discussions on religious knowledge in its relation to metaphysic, and on the way to God.

The second division of the book follows a like treatment with respect to Lipsius and his distinctive religious and philosophical positions. Not the least interesting part of the work is the third section, consisting of the author's own critical and constructive attempts. There is much valuable discussion of points of speculative importance, such as the problem of experience, the nature of metaphysics, and the relation of metaphysic to dogmatics. The task of dogmatics is then dealt with, in which connexion Fleisch effectively criticises both Biedermann and Lipsius, the former because he deals not satisfyingly by religious experience, and the latter because he does not give critical speculation its due place. Fleisch maintains well his independence, on the whole; his sympathies are, however, mainly with Biedermann; on some points of importance, as, for example, the personality of God, our own leanings are, on the other hand, decidedly with Lipsius; but this fact abates not one jot or tittle of our appreciation of Fleisch's extremely useful and ably executed performance.

JAMES LINDSAY.

Kilmarnock.

The Christian Doctrine of Grace.[1]

IN 1893 the University of Jena conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity on Pfarrer Dieckmann for his essay on 'The Christian Doctrine of the Wrath of God, with a Criticism of Albert Ritschl's Teaching.' The studies, of which that essay was the first-fruits, have been continued during the last eight years, and Dr. Dieckmann's latest treatise on 'The Christian Doctrine of Grace' is much more than a reply to Ritschl's *Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, — it is an able apologetic which aims at showing the central significance of grace in the kingdom of God.

In defining his own attitude to Ritschl, Dr. Dieckmann says truly that to-day many march under the flag of Ritschl who have little first-hand acquaintance with his works. True respect to a great teacher is shown by learning directly from him, without of necessity adopting all his opinions.

[1] *Die christliche Lehre von der Gnade.* Apologie des biblischen Christentums, insbesondere gegenüber der Ritschlschen Rechtfertigungslehre. Von Lic. Dr. August Dieckmann. Pp. xvi, 424. Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn. Preis M.8.

The link of connexion between Ritschl and some who claim to belong to his school is now worn very thin; writers like Lipsius bear far stronger testimony to the greatness of Ritschl's influence, for the results of his researches have modified their conclusions, although they never allow his confident self-assertion to override their own judgment. In an appreciative reference to Harnack's *What is Christianity?* there is a significant sentence which applies to other writers of our day: 'It shows that the *historic* judgment cannot come to a satisfactory conclusion on the questions at issue, if the *dogmatic* standpoint of the historian is not definitely fixed.'

Dr. Dieckmann leaves his readers in no doubt as to his own standpoint. On the one hand, he maintains that Ritschl, in his earnest polemic against Catholicism and Pietism, has given a one-sided representation of the orthodox doctrine of Justification, and has laid too exclusive stress on its juridic aspect; on the other hand, he reminds defenders of Protestant orthodoxy that it is heterodox for them to refuse to revise dogmatic statements in the light which historical criticism has shed upon the writings to which Protestants appeal as the source of doctrine. 'Modern researches in the domains of exegesis and biblical theology have added to our knowledge; the time has come for a revision of the central dogma of Protestantism—Justification by grace through faith.'

The reason why the Christian doctrine of Grace has been so often misunderstood is that dogmatic theology has greatly erred in limiting the conception of grace to the forgiveness of sins. A forceful protest is, therefore, entered against the substitution of the conception of justification for that of grace. It would be easy to name influential English theologians against whom this charge cannot be made; nevertheless, English readers may, with advantage, be reminded of the twofold use of the word *grace* in the Bible. In its wider meaning, grace is the condescending love of God as it is made known in His dealings with men; in its narrower meaning, grace is one species of divine love, viz. sin-forgiving love. In the Christian view of the world, grace describes the attitude of God to all men; the grace that pardons the sinner re-establishes the normal relation of man to God. 'In the teaching of Jesus, grace, in the narrower sense, appears as a restitution of grace in the wider sense.' Between these two conceptions of grace, it is argued, there is no chasm; neither must be sacrificed to the other. It is grace that says to the elder son: 'Thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine'; and it is grace that runs to meet the returning prodigal and kisses him before the prayer for forgiveness has passed his lips.

Issue is joined with Ritschl when it is shown that Justification or the Forgiveness of Sins does not exhaust the significance of Christ's appearing. 'In the person of Jesus Christ, who had no fellowship with sin, the grace of God is revealed in union with perfect righteousness, and this perfect righteousness is seen to have its roots in reverence for the God whose entire nature is grace.' According to the Christian conception, God's love to men is essentially and under all circumstances grace; condescending love is grace, and such is the disposition which the God who made us cherishes to all men as His creatures. When grace is rightly understood, God's greatness and His condescension, His holiness and His love, are seen to blend in perfect harmony; moreover, such a conception of grace renders it impossible to imagine any conflict in the divine nature between grace and righteousness. These theses are shown to rest on Scripture, and are contrasted with Ritschl's inadequate treatment of the holiness of God.

Subsequent divisions of the book deal respectively with 'Faith in its Relation to Grace,' 'Sin in the Light of Grace,' and 'Redemption through the Grace of God in Jesus Christ.' On these vast themes Dr. Dieckmann has thought for himself, and to good purpose. The exposition of the significance of the death of Christ from the ethical point of view is fruitful of suggestion, its leading idea being that whilst the grace of God gives to the death of Christ its atoning virtue, the grace must never be separated from the positive righteousness of Christ which was fully revealed upon His Cross. There are passages which must be marked as resting on a faulty exegesis, as, *e.g.*, when it is said that 'as in Jesus the Word became flesh, in us also it must become flesh. The very purpose of the appearing of Jesus on earth was that we, in all our earthly life, might give expression and form to the Divine Spirit.' But far more frequently the reader of this stimulating book will note sentences which shed welcome light on questions raised by recent theological discussions, as, *e.g.*, 'Faith in Christ rests on faith

in God, and the former is the proof of the genuineness of the latter'; or, 'Our thoughts do not descend but ascend, when, after describing the nature of grace in general, we strive to set forth the nature of sin-forgiving grace. The latter involves no breach in the universal principles of God's government, rather does it mark the culmination of the grace which operates in them all; . . . the prodigal son did not find on his return home that his father's disposition had changed, the difference was that until then he could not appreciate his father's love, only then did he realize what a treasure he had always possessed in the grace of his father. The father was the same, but the son had become another man.'

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König on 'Old Testament Criticism.'[1]

Professor König possesses a combination of qualifications for the office of guide on questions of Old Testament criticism during a transition period like the present. An uncompromising defender of criticism, as at once a right and a duty, he is at the same time absolutely free from that subjectivity and arbitrariness which have so often brought criticism under suspicion. The tractate which forms the subject of this notice will help to reassure those who feel that in the main the O.T. critics are right, but who are somewhat apprehensive as to the final issue of the course to which they have committed themselves. It will also secure the respectful attention (due to anything that comes from Dr. König's pen) of those critics, against some of whose methods and conclusions our author finds it necessary to protest.

The leading aim of the work may be said to be, to indicate the principles upon which O.T. criticism ought to be conducted, and to point out instances of the abuse or the neglect of these in some well-known recent publications. It is shown, for example, how the firmly established laws of grammar may at times decide unerringly on questions of text, and how the history of the language and of the ideas of the Hebrews, may guide to certain conclusions as to the date or the genuineness of particular passages. Conclusions based on style (in which connexion some of Duhm's utterances in his Commentary on Isaiah are examined in detail), or on supposed metrical or strophical laws (*e.g.*, those contended for by Bickell, Ley, or Grimme), introduce us to a more debatable region, where one is thankful to have so competent a guide. The same is the case where the comparative history method is applied (for instance, in dealing with the patriarchal narratives, and the origin of the tribes of Israel). In this connexion Dr. König's examination of Gunkel's contrast between legend (*Sage*) and history is marked by singular ability and interest. Altogether the book will be found of much value, and deserving of study by O.T. scholars of all shades of opinion.

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[1] *Neueste Prinzipien der alttest. Kritik geprüft.* Von Ed. König, ord. Prof. d. Theol., Bonn. Berlin: Edwin Runge. 1900. Price M.2.

Eusebius.

The great German undertaking, entitled *Die griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, which is carried on under the auspices of the Royal Academy of Prussia, is making steady progress. The first volume of the Works of Eusebius[2] has now been published, edited by Dr. Ivan A. Heikel (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs). It contains three writings: (1) The Life of Constantine; (2) The Translation of Constantine's *Oratio ad Sanctorum Coetum*; (3) The Oration at the Tricennalia of Constantine. Professor Heikel's Introduction occupies 107 pages, and it is full of matter at once pertinent and well expressed. There is no space wasted. Eusebius himself may be an interesting and even a puzzling personality, but it is the works of Eusebius with which Professor Heikel has to do, and in particular the three works before him, and he gives himself to that, so that we are told all that is known and worth telling about them. There is no translation; but, besides the Introduction there are textual footnotes to every page; and at the end complete indexes of texts,

[2] *Eusebius Werke*: Erster Band: über das Leben Constantins, Constantins Rede an die heilige Versammlung, Tricennatsrede an Constantin. Von Dr. Ivar A. Heikel, Professor an der Kaiserl. Alexanders Universität in Finland. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902.

proper names, and Greek words. The last index fills nearly 100 pages, three columns to a page. We have not yet been able to examine the book by use, but testing it here and there, have been impressed with its German thoroughness and the wonderful accuracy of its proof-reading. This edition of Eusebius will take the place of all others.

Some French Books.

In the year 1898 M. Israel Lévi published an edition of Sirach 39^{15} to 49^{11} in the recently discovered Hebrew, with Introductions, a Translation (in French) and Notes (both critical and expository). He has now published the second volume of that work. It contains chaps. 3^{6}–16^{26}; extracts from 18, 19, 25, 26; 31^{11}–33^{3}; 35^{19}–38^{27}; 49^{11} to the end. That is to say it contains all the rest that has yet been discovered. In the two volumes, which are published by M. Ernest Leroux in Paris, we have the whole of the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus yet unearthed, with the best available commentary, and with all other information in its most scholarly and compact form.

No French (or Swiss) commentator has taken a strong hold on English readers since Godet. Perhaps no man has given himself with a like combination of gifts, both natural and spiritual, to the exposition of Scripture. We should be most unwise, however, if we were to imagine that the exposition of Scripture is at a standstill in Godet's fatherland, or had nothing to teach us. The new edition of Dr. Bonnet's commentaries is in touch with the latest scientific knowledge, and at the same time manifests much originality of treatment. St. John's Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles appear in one volume, revised and enlarged by M. Alfred Schrœder (Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie). With the keenest sensitiveness to criticism M. Schrœder unites the frankest evangelical fervour. This is the great distinction between the German and French commentator—the German is content to be scientific, the Frenchman or Swiss wishes to be religious also. And his religion (or even his unction) does not hinder but only tests his science.

The notes are full, but the introductions are brief. There is only one complaint we make—we should desire a somewhat closer acquaintance with English work; there is no lack of knowledge of German.

M. Victor Lecoffre of Paris has begun the publication of a 'Library of Church History.' Five volumes are already issued, and many are under way. Of those already issued two have been sent for review. They are *Le Grand Schisme d'Occident* by L. Salembier, and *L'Église et les Origines de la Renaissance*, by J. Guiraud. They appear in what we call crown 8vo, well printed, and of course unbound. The price of each volume is 3 fr. 50 c.

We cannot write Church History so well as French theologians can. We cannot combine grace of style with accuracy of description so perfectly. Both these volumes are what we should call masterpieces, and yet they take their place without distinction in the series. In one respect, however, we can surpass the French historian. We can usually be more tolerant. It seems to be difficult for a French theologian to avoid being an advocate. We can be more like a judge. It must be confessed, however, that these volumes are as free from bias as one could desire. It is evident that the utmost care has been taken to be historical rather than polemical. If they were well translated, they would serve a good purpose in the English tongue.

Miscellaneous.

The 4th 'Abtheilung' of the *Theol. Jahresbericht* (Schwetschke & Sohn, Berlin) has reached us. This completes the record of theological literature for the year 1900, and is devoted to Praktische Theologie (price M.8). This issue contains also an obituary list prepared by Dr. Nestle. We have to notice at the same time that the publishers have issued what will prove to be an extremely handy volume. This, which is entitled *Bibliographie der Theol. Litteratur*, contains a complete classified catalogue (without the critical remarks) of all the works in theology that were dealt with in the four separate parts of the *Jahresbericht*. It will be a great convenience thus to have the list in a single volume, instead of having to turn from one to another, and the price (M.2) is extraordinarily low (the list running to 344 pages).

Pirke Aboth is generally recognized to be one of the most important Mishnic treatises. In our own country we have the very careful edition by C. Taylor (*Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*). Professor Strack, who published an edition of it as long ago as 1882, has now issued a third edition, improved in many ways. For exercise in reading Hebrew it will be found of much use, the text being pointed, and notes explaining all peculiarities, especially differences from the Hebrew of the O.T., being added. *Yoma*, *Aboda zara*, and *Shabbath* have also been published by Dr. Strack, who hopes also to issue annotated texts of *Berakhoth* and *Pesachim*. The full title of the work before us is *Die Sprüche der Väter, herausgegeben und erklärt*, von Professor H. L. Strack. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1901. Price M.1.20.

A mere notice of their appearance will suffice for H. Winckler's *Himmels- und Weltenbild der Babylonier, als Grundlage der Weltanschauung und Mythologie aller Völker*, and A. Wiedemann's *Die Unterhaltungslitteratur der alten Ägypter*. Both these belong to the admirable series 'Der alte Orient' (published by J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig), of which we have frequently spoken in terms of the highest commendation. Each issue of the series costs only 60 pfennigs, and in every instance is the work of an expert.

The Song of Deborah has a special interest for the O.T. student, on account of its undoubted antiquity and the light it casts upon the early tribal history of Israel. We have much pleasure in commending Professor C. Bruston's *Le Cantique de Debora* (Montauban, Librairie Laforgue) as a tractate that contains much valuable material both for the text and the exegesis of the Song. Professor Bruston argues forcibly in favour of the author (who can be easily shown not to be Deborah) having belonged to the tribe of Naphtali, and having thus been a compatriot of Barak.

The Marvels of the Day of Pentecost.

By the Rev. David Smith, M.A., Tulliallan.

Whatever diversity of opinion there may be regarding the narrative in Acts 2, on one point there must be absolute unanimity—that something happened on that Day of Pentecost which has exercised a mighty influence on the history of the Church and of mankind. That day found the disciples a perplexed and timid band; it left them strong and courageous, conscious of their mission, and eager to go forth and win the world for their Risen Lord. Would we realize the completeness of the transformation? Then let us think of Peter quailing at the mockery of a mischievous maid-servant and denying his Lord in abject terror; and then consider the selfsame Peter a couple of months later—the same, yet how different!—facing the Sanhedrin undaunted, and meeting their threats with this sublime defiance: 'Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye; for we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.' What was it that wrought this amazing transformation? The Scriptures say it was the power of the Holy Ghost; and what less can it have been?

The Lord's parting injunction to His disciples had been: 'Tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high'; and they had tarried at His command. For just a week they waited, expecting 'the Promise of the Father'; and then came the Day of Pentecost. In the morning at the hour of prayer—9 o'clock—they repaired to the Temple and seated themselves in the House of God (v.[2]) among the multitude of worshippers who had come up from far and near to the Holy City to celebrate the Feast of Harvest. There were a hundred and twenty of them; and, though they sat in a group by themselves (v.[1] πάντες ὁμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό), there would be nothing to distinguish them from the other worshippers who thronged the Temple, save perhaps their poor attire and dejected aspect.

There sat the great congregation, hushed and reverent, waiting till the hour should strike and

the voice of the priest be heard; when suddenly the stillness was broken by 'a sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind,' and the astonished worshippers, raising their heads which had been bowed in silent prayer, and looking about them, saw, as it were, a heavenly light gleaming on the faces of the hundred and twenty. διαμεριζόμεναι γλῶσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρὸς is the phrase, and, as Erasmus says, *Potest geminus intelligi sensus, ut vel accipiamus ipsas linguas fuisse sectiles, vel ut intelligamus eas e cœlo delapsas sese in singulos discipulos fuisse dispartitas.* Surely the latter is the true interpretation. It was a light that shimmered from face to face, irradiating first one and then another, like the dawn breaking on peak after peak. The Promise of the Father had been fulfilled; the Risen Lord had baptized His waiting disciples with the Holy Ghost and with fire. 'What does this mean?' the spectators would exclaim; and immediately those simple peasants, a moment ago so timid and retiring, burst into eloquence and declared what God had wrought. And, though their hearers were mostly strangers from distant lands, there was no one that did not understand the wondrous story.

Now there are three marvels here: the sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, the light that gleamed on the disciples' faces, and that strange power which was given them of reaching the understandings of all those diverse hearers and stirring their emotions. Endless is the diversity of views which have been taken of these marvels, and one may well hesitate to pronounce a dogmatic judgment on a subject which is not only obscure but very sacred, and should be handled with equal diffidence and reverence. There are two errors to be avoided in the treatment of such a theme: on the one hand, the irreverence which would lightly explain difficulties away, and, on the other, the false reverence which clings to traditional misinterpretations and encumbers the sacred text with alien and needless difficulties. It may be that, if we consider this narrative with open eyes and unprejudiced minds, we shall discover that it admits of a simple, natural, and illuminating explanation.

The Descent of the Holy Spirit would, in the first instance, be attended by no outward manifestation, according to that deep saying of our Lord, 'The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation.' It would be an inward experience in the hearts of the disciples. But scarcely had the Heavenly Visitant taken possession of their souls when His power was felt and His presence seen. He illumined their minds, revealing to them the meaning of the Gospel and showing them their high calling as the representatives and ambassadors of their Risen Lord. It was like the illumination of a landscape by a vivid lightning-flash or the sudden opening of a blind man's eyes. All that Jesus had done was clothed with a new and unthought of significance; and words of His which they had forgotten or puzzled over, were remembered and understood. It was the fulfilment of His promise: 'The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in My Name, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you.'

It was a sudden and overpowering visitation. An exclamation of surprise, a murmur of astonishment, broke from the lips of the hundred and twenty, and there was a rustling as they rose in their places. Amid other surroundings the commotion might have attracted no attention, but in the breathless stillness of the Temple where a pinfall could be heard, the sudden stir seemed a very storm. It was like 'a sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it filled all the House,' echoing through pillared aisle and vaulted roof.

The great assemblage was startled, and, looking round, they saw the hundred and twenty on their feet as they had started up in sudden surprise, and a strange light gleaming on their faces. What was it? It was a look of wonder and awe, the effulgence of the glory which had flooded their souls, the outward reflection of the holy presence within. What is there here miraculous or incredible? When Moses came down from the Mount after forty days and nights of communion with God, 'the skin of his face shone.' He 'wist not' of it, but the people saw it, and he seemed to them as one transfigured—'apparelled in celestial light.' And is it not written of Stephen that, as he stood before the Sanhedrin, they 'saw his face as it had been the face of an angel'?

What is there incredible or even mysterious in this? The flesh is the spirit's tenement, the face the mirror which reflects its every emotion and passion, the eyes the windows through which it looks. It is no poetic fancy but a familiar fact

that the soul has power to transfigure the flesh and clothe the face with a new aspect. One of the masterpieces of Praxiteles was a statue of Love, and it is said that, if a bandage was bound across its eyes, the face looked plain and sad; but when the bandage was removed, it was transfigured into beauty and a sweet smile played upon it. And what was the secret of the transfiguration? It was the soul within that looked out through the uncurtained windows and glorified the face. How beautiful the plainest countenance appears when the lovelight is on it! What a transfiguration the thought of his Beatrice wrought on Dante. 'When she appeared in any place,' he says in the *Vita Nuova*, 'it seemed to me, by the hope of her excellent salutation, that there was no man mine enemy any longer; and such warmth of charity came upon me that most certainly in that moment I would have pardoned whosoever had done me an injury; and if one should then have questioned me concerning any matter, I could only have said unto him "Love," with a countenance clothed in humbleness. And what time she made ready to salute me, the spirit of Love, destroying all other perceptions, thrust forth the feeble spirits of my eyes, saying, "Do homage unto your mistress," and putting itself in their place to obey: so that he who would, might then have beheld Love, beholding the lids of my eyes shake.'

And what wonder if a like transfiguration be wrought on one whose soul is visited by the Love that excelleth? Have we not seen a man of mean aspect stand up before his fellows to proclaim the Great Salvation, and been offended by his uncouthness? But presently he spoke of Jesus and His Love, and, behold, what a transfiguration! The rude tongue became eloquent, and the plain face shone with a strange light till it seemed like the face of an angel; and, looking over the congregation, one saw the reflection on their faces as though they had caught the glow.

And now what of the sudden eloquence which burst from the lips of the hundred and twenty? Here we have the earliest mention of that γλωσσολαλία which prevailed in the primitive Church. The common notion is that it was a supernatural endowment whereby men were enabled by sudden inspiration to speak strange languages. The subject is involved in much obscurity, but a careful perusal of the *locus classicus*, 1 Co 14, may lead us to a somewhat different conclusion. The apostle there makes two statements which seem pretty decisive. One is that, when a man spoke in a tongue, he spoke not unto men but unto God; no man understood, but in the Spirit he spoke mysteries (v.[2]). The other is that speaking in a tongue was like the music of a harp or a pipe—mere sound without words (v.[7]). Hence it would appear that, when a man spoke in a tongue, he spoke no language whatsoever. Such at any rate was the Corinthian γλωσσολαλία. It was a sort of dithyrambic outpouring, the impassioned utterance of a soul in ecstasy. One is tempted, even at the risk of appearing irreverent, to trace this Corinthian γλωσσολαλία to an heathen origin, when one remembers that in ancient days insanity was regarded as a divine possession, and that the Pythian priestess was a mad woman, and her frenzied ravings were accepted as inspired oracles. It is no wonder that St. Paul looked askance at the excesses of the Corinthian *glossolalists*, so alien to the sanity of the Gospel.

It was no such frenzy that seized the disciples on the Day of Pentecost. Their γλωσσολαλία was the eloquence of minds divinely illuminated and inspired with a holy enthusiasm. Their lips were opened, and they spoke as they had never done before—'with other tongues' (v.[4]). It is inconceivable that they should have spoken strange languages, nor indeed is there anything in the narrative, rightly interpretated, which implies that they did. Greek was the universal language in the East at that period, and it would be perfectly understood by all those strangers who had come up to celebrate the Feast at Jerusalem. It is a pity that our versions should have fostered the prevailing error by a palpable mistranslation in v.[8]. The word there translated 'tongue' in A.V. and 'language' in R.V. is διάλεκτος, and here is Erasmus's just comment: *Græcis dialectus est linguæ proprietas aut species, velut apud Græcos cum una sit lingua, quinque tamen sunt dialecti, ut qui Græce calleat mox possit agnoscere Atticus sit qui loquitur, an Doricus, Ionicus, an Lacedæmonius.* The marvel was not that the disciples spoke a variety of unknown languages. They all spoke Greek, but every stranger heard the peculiar accent with which it was spoken in the remote province where he dwelt. Such is the plain meaning of the words ἤκουσεν εἷς ἕκαστος τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ λαλούντων αὐτῶν (v.[6]); and, as though to put the matter beyond the possibility of misunderstanding,

it is added in v.[11], 'we do hear them speaking *with our tongues* (ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις) the mighty works of God.' It is as though there were an assemblage in London, and, while all the speakers spoke the English language, one spoke it with the accent of Aberdeenshire, another with that of Fifeshire, another with that of Lancashire, and another with that of Dublin; so that strangers from every province of the land were addressed each 'in his own dialect' and 'with his own tongue.'

Now what is the explanation of this marvel? (1) It is more than likely that the hundred and twenty were not all Galilæans. It was natural that the spectators, recognizing the eleven as Galilæans, should leap to the conclusion that their followers were Galilæans likewise and slump them all in the same category (v.[7]). But it is probable that not a few of the hundred and twenty were not Galilæans nor even Palestinians, but strangers who had visited Jerusalem on the occasion of some of the sacred festivals and had there been 'apprehended of Christ Jesus.' Here is one of them who was born in Mesopotamia, and of course he speaks in the Mesopotamian dialect and with the Mesopotamian accent.

(2) Even if they were all Galilæans, it is no wonder that their words should have gone home to their hearers' hearts with a thrill as of their kindly mother-tongue. There is an accent of the heart as well as of the lips, a dialect of faith as well as of speech, and when the burning eloquence of the disciples kindled the souls of their hearers, it would seem no alien tongue but the voice of brethren. It is told of a godly Highlander who understood not a word of English, that he once visited the Lowlands and went to church in the place where he was staying. On his return home he dilated with much fervour on the sermon he had heard; and when asked how it could be that he had received so much edification from it when it was preached in a strange language, he answered that the name *Christ* had never been out of the preacher's mouth. He had understood that, and it had been as a feast of fat things to his soul. Hearing that, it was as though he were listening to his own mother-tongue. It was with a foreign accent that St. Bernard spoke when he preached the first crusade to the nations of Northern Europe; yet he roused the enthusiasm of multitudes and moved them to forsake home and kindred on that perilous enterprise. When St. Francis Xavier went among the savages of India and the China seas, he knew little or nothing of their barbarous tongues; yet he melted their hearts and won them for Christ. Love has an eloquence of its own, though it have no other speech than looks and tears. And the language of Love is man's mother-tongue the wide world over.

At the Literary Table.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.[1]

One of the last acts recorded of James Russell Lowell by his biographer was to re-read Boswell's *Johnson* for the fourth time. Would he have read his own biography twice? Perhaps he would, for he had ever a healthy interest in the things concerning himself. But will others read it twice?

Yet it is a successful biography. It does all that a biography professes to do, and does it well. It tells us all we need to know of the life of James Russell Lowell, and it never wearies or worries us in the telling. It is just because it is so good a biography, just because it fulfils its proper purpose so satisfactorily, that it will not be read twice. Having read it once we know the man. We do not need to read it twice. And being a biography and not a work of literary art, it will be read once by everybody, twice by none. If Boswell's *Johnson* had been as good a biography as Scudder's *Lowell*, James Russell Lowell would not have read it for the fourth time. Boswell's *Johnson* is literature, but it is not a biography; Scudder's *Lowell* is not literature, and will not last, but it is nearly as good a biography as it could be.

James Russell Lowell was a prophet. He seemed to be a politician. He was also known as a poet. He had more title to the name of critic. He might

[1] *James Russell Lowell: a Biography.* By Horace Elisha Scudder. Macmillan.

be called all three—poet, critic, politician; but he was really only a prophet. He never took seriously to the writing of poetry. He would not spend time on it, to make it even a perfect vehicle for his prophecies, but it was only as a vehicle for his prophecies that he took it up at all. He had more title to be called a critic. He did spend time on that. He read his author twice, and then laid him aside for a while, that he might not lose the impression of the whole in the memory of the parts. He strove to be just. He would let all the ends he aimed at as a critic be Truth's. And why? Not because he counted criticism his life's work, but because he knew that the most difficult office the prophet has to fulfil is the office of judge. His own message he receives, and he can rush out into the streets with it. But other men have their messages from God. If they seem to differ from his, he must consider the difference carefully and take time. The office of critic is the most difficult office on earth. He was also a politician. But that was simply because the prophet must always speak to the men of his own time. And Lowell's time being the time of the abolition of slavery, he had to be conspicuously a politician or be no prophet. How could a man be a prophet who did not take a side between North and South in the Civil War? Lowell had even a certain 'sagacity,' as Mr. Watts-Dunton calls it, which in later years made him an acceptable ambassador to Spain and to England. But he was not a politician. He was a prophet, taking his side.

Do not think that this notion that he was a prophet is thrust upon Lowell by the paradox hunter. He made the discovery himself. 'I had a revelation last Friday evening. I was at Mary's, and happening to say something of the presence of spirits (of whom, I said, I was often dimly aware), Mr. Putnam entered into an argument with me on spiritual matters. As I was speaking, the whole system rose up before me like a vague Destiny looming from the abyss. I never before so clearly felt the Spirit of God in me and around me. The whole room seemed to me full of God. The air seemed to wave to and fro with the presence of Something, I knew not what. I spoke with the calmness and clearness of a prophet.'

Lowell was born in 1819. This occurred in 1842. He was on the threshold of manhood. And it is significant of God's ways with men that it came when the whole manhood was moved at the presence of earthly love. This is the great chapter in the biography. The biographer feels it. For a moment it seems as if the book were to be less a biography and more a work of art. New thought and deep feeling combine to produce a chapter of the literature that will last, the literature that will be read again. And it must be said for the biographer, that if he descends to prose again and pure biography, he does so reluctantly, and never loses sight of the revelation. From that day Lowell is a prophet even to his biographer.

His biographer sees quite well that he was at least more of a prophet than anything else. 'In his eager impulsive desire to right wrongs and his impatience at compromise, he chafed under the restraints laid upon him.' He would not take time to be a poet pure and simple. He would be a poet like Isaiah or St. Paul, not polished but fervid, not artistic but earnest. It worries him to read his proofs for press. But in order to be a prophet he seizes on the vernacular with its impossible spelling—though that spelling makes the proofs doubly difficult to read—and hurls the *Biglow Papers* at an astonished community of easy-goers. This is the language of the people, the people who feel the inequality of slavery. It is their own 'A man's a man for a' that.' It gives them heart and hope. It gives them laughter—and there is triumph in laughter. The *Biglow Papers* are Lowell's claim to be a poet. But they settle his title to be called a prophet.

There were poets near him who were poets indeed, who were only poets. He was not always patient with them. Bryant was one. Bryant thought Lowell's poem 'To the Past' was suggested by a poem of his own with the same title. 'Does he think that he invented the past?' asks Lowell, 'and has a prescriptive title to it? I might have knocked him into a cocked hat in my satire [the 'Fable for Critics']. But that, on second thoughts, would be no revenge, for it might make him President, a cocked hat being now the chief qualification. It would be more severe to knock him into the middle of next week, as that is in the future, and *he has such a partiality toward the past.*'

The italics are ours. But Lowell was able to appreciate Bryant's poetry. 'Bryant's "Waterfowl,"' he said once, 'has begun that immortal flight that will be followed by many a delighted eye long after ours shall have been darkened.'

With other poets he was more in sympathy throughout, perhaps because they had more of the prophet in them, especially with Longfellow. Longfellow was not the prophet Lowell would have made him. In an early letter to Longfellow he says: 'Christ has declared war against the Christianity of the world, and it must down. There is no help for it. The Church, that great bulwark of our practical paganism, must be reformed from foundation to weathercock. Shall we not wield a trowel, nay, even carry the heavy bricks and mortar for such an enterprise?' Longfellow read that, and listened to Lowell personally, but he never felt the 'burden.' 'Lowell passed the morning with me,' he notes in his diary under date 23rd October 1845. 'Amiable enthusiast! He proposes to write a book in favour of fanaticism.' But yet, when Longfellow's sixtieth birthday occurred in 1867, Lowell, whose love never wavered, wrote a poem, and printed it in the daily paper which he knew would be laid on Longfellow's breakfast-table.

But what do prophets do for us? That is to say, What has Lowell done? There are three things which might be mentioned. He looked to the future. His Paradise lay there, not as with the poets in the past. He also linked himself with the past. A prophet must be in the succession. He must not speak from himself; but what he hears, that he must speak. And all the prophets receive the same message, to be applied by them to the circumstances of their own day. Lowell did not bring slavery to an end. Neither did St. Paul. But Lowell linked himself to St. Paul and said, 'God made man in His own image.' And when the day came for the practical vindication of that principle, Lowell was where St. Paul would have been. Finally, he believed in God as the God not of the dead but of the living. He believed that God was the God of this world.

> Careless seems the great Avenger; history's pages but record
> One death-grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the World;
> Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne,—
> Yet that scaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim unknown,
> Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above His own.

Lowell wrote that.

THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

THE CONFLICT OF TRUTH.[1]

Mr. Capron is a very clever man and a very skilful debater. He has written a great book on the Creation, developing in it a line of defence (or rather of attack) which he suggested in an earlier and smaller volume a year or two ago. He has met the men of science on their own ground, accepted their principles and adopted their very words, and he has proceeded to prove that the account of the Creation in Genesis is strictly and scientifically true.

We are not convinced by the book. There are places where it seems to prove too much; we feel under the glamour of Mr. Capron's clever rhetoric all through. But as an answer to Huxley or Haeckel it is perfect. Huxley would not have condescended to notice Mr. Capron. He had a cunning and convenient way of selecting antagonists with name and position and without the necessary equipment. Haeckel will not notice him either. He is too well satisfied with his own impossible and ridiculous position to notice anybody. But the innumerable multitude who care for the truth more than for Huxley or Haeckel will see that if the account of the Creation in Genesis is wrong, it is not Huxley nor Haeckel nor even Herbert Spencer that is entitled to say so.

We are not convinced by the book, because we feel that it ignores the origin or at least the affinity of the Creation narratives in Babylonian lore. That the narratives in Genesis and the narratives on the Babylonian tablets are the same in substance no one can doubt. Mr. Capron would perhaps answer that the author (or authors, for he does not touch the critical questions) of the Genesis narratives was instructed to separate out the polytheism and error from the Babylonian account, and even to bring it into line with the scientific discovery of all time. But that would have demanded another chapter, perhaps several chapters.

[1] *The Conflict of Truth.* By F. Hugh Capron. Hodder & Stoughton, 1902.

It may be, however, that Mr. Capron has for the moment afforded welcome relief to many disturbed minds. If all this can be said for the strict scientific accuracy of the Book of Genesis, who will undertake to prophesy how far we may be from a new conception of revelation? And assuredly Mr. Capron has rendered one estimable service by his book. He has shown that the common division of the Bible into elements human and elements Divine is as unscientific as it is destitute of religious worth.

HISTORICAL CHRISTIANITY.[1]

The Dean of Christ Church undertook a bold task when he determined to show that historical Christianity—the Christianity that existed before criticism was born—is the best religion yet discovered for the life of man. He found that the two greatest religious needs of man are Communion with God and Immortality. These needs all the highest religions have tried to satisfy. But they have all miserably failed. In Greece art rose till it reached a climax and then declined. At its climax the art of Greece became a permanent possession for mankind. But the religion of Greece has done nothing for mankind. Only the religion called Christianity has enriched the world and satisfied the soul of man.

And it is historical Christianity. Dean Strong does not deny a place to criticism, but it is the Gospels as they stand that have made the impression upon men, it is the Christ of the Gospels that has given them communion with God and brought life and immortality to light. In the result there is a prominent place even for the Fourth Gospel. And thus Dean Strong will let the keenest critical dissecting knife carve away. Christ and the Christianity of Christ have been, and will still be, the supreme satisfaction of the life of man.

PRINCIPLES OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION.[2]

Mr. Kidd is an evolutionist. That is nothing, however. We are all evolutionists now. Mr. Kidd is a Darwinian. He even goes one beyond Darwin. He looks before and after, especially does he look before; Darwin only looked after. He holds that Darwin as an evolutionist had this great defect, that he thought all the struggle for existence was in favour of the existing individuals, to make them as nearly perfect as possible. Mr. Kidd shows that it has no such purpose. The struggle for existence is all in behalf of those that have yet to be born.

Darwinism rests on two conceptions. The first is that the rate of increase of all living creatures is so enormous that if unchecked it would speedily overreach the conditions of existence. The second is that in all forms of life individuals show a tendency to variation, together with the capacity of transmitting these variations to their offspring. These two principles produce the phenomenon which Darwin described as Natural Selection, and which constitutes the right of the name Darwinism to exist. Out of the hosts of living creatures that come into the world, a few are always selected to continue their kind. They are selected naturally. They are selected because they have acquired certain characteristics which give them a superiority in the battle of life. They survive and propagate; the rest perish. Thus the earth moves on, and the living beings in it steadily advance toward perfection, and its sky is not blackened nor its green grass devoured by even the most prolific of the creatures which swarm upon the face of it.

Darwinism as thus outlined 'has stood the test of attack and examination from innumerable points of view in one of the most strenuous and remarkable intellectual periods in history.' It holds its ground. But within the most recent years a remarkable discovery has been made, a remarkable development of Darwinism has taken place. Darwin understood that whenever an individual possessed characteristics which gave it a better chance in the struggle for existence, that individual was benefited by the possession. It is not so. The great discovery has been made that the individuals do not exist for themselves but for their posterity. Their advantage in the race of life is not theirs but their offspring's. Darwin said, 'Natural Selection works solely by and for the good of each being.' Mr. Kidd and others have discovered that Darwin was wholly wrong. In the struggle for existence the individual and

[1] *Historical Christianity the Religion of Human Life.* By Thomas B. Strong, B.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. Frowde, 1902.

[2] *Principles of Western Civilization.* By Benjamin Kidd. Macmillan, 1902.

the present are ever sacrificed in the interests of the future and the race. The title of *Natural Selection* must now give place to the title of *Projected Efficiency*.

One result is this. It is no advantage that any creature should live long. Darwin thought it was. It seemed to give more time for the development and enjoyment of the useful qualities. But now that we see that the individual exists for the sake of posterity, a long life is a positive hindrance. If it has lived long enough to propagate its kind and pass on its acquired characteristics, the sooner the individual dies and makes way for the next generation to do the same, the better for the process of evolution.

Now this principle of Projected Efficiency applies to human society as well as to the lower animals. It is the principle in which progress has been made in all the ages of the world, and especially in the civilization of the Western nations within the Christian era. Let Mr. Kidd's book prove and illustrate that position. Critics have been crying it down, but it is a great book, and will outlive the critics' envy. We do not think, however, that the discovery is so new as Mr. Kidd would have it. Was it not made long ago by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews when she said (Harnack assures us that Priscilla is the author), 'These all, having had witness borne to them through their faith, received not the promise, God having provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect'?

APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.[1]

Apostolic Succession is not the title of Canon Henson's book. His title is *Godly Union and Concord*. And no doubt his own title is the more dignified and comprehensive. But Apostolic Succession is the subject of the book. It is Apostolic Succession that is the hindrance, in Canon Henson's belief, to godly union and concord, and from first to last Apostolic Succession is in his mind and ours.

Canon Henson does not believe in Apostolic Succession. He believed in it once. In a frank and positively fascinating preface, he tells us that once he wrote to the *Times* protesting against the action of the late Bishop of Worcester in admitting Nonconformists to communion at Grindelwald; and a little later he wrote to the *Guardian* criticizing a sermon of Archdeacon Sinclair which advocated a recognition of the non-Episcopal Churches. But he has come to think that he was wrong, and says so. He said so some time ago, first in one volume and then in another. But it was not till he said so boldly in the pulpit of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and with the authority of a canon of Westminster, that people stayed to listen to him.

Canon Henson has delivered a number of sermons on Apostolic Succession in St. Margaret's, Westminster, and one or two elsewhere, and it is these sermons that he has now published under the title of *Godly Union and Concord*. Now it may be said at once that they are deeply interesting sermons, and that their deepest interest lies in the preacher's personality. Canon Henson preaches himself. Not offensively, not instead of Christ, but his own mind, his own convictions, himself. He holds back nothing of what he has received. But, besides that, there is the interest of scholarship. Canon Henson has studied his subject. He did not deny his own past without a struggle, it came as the result of the evidence, and he searched for the evidence and sifted it for himself. In the preface to this volume he criticizes Canon Moberly's *Ministerial Priesthood* in a way which shows that he knows what he is speaking about. Canon Moberly is a scholar too. It is not on that ground that Canon Henson has the best of him, it is on the ground of resolution to be guided by the evidence. But if he were not a scholar he would not know the points to touch, he would not see where Canon Moberly's theories clash with fact.

And then, finally, there is the interest in this book, and an intense interest it is, of the forlorn hope. Canon Henson does not realize that yet. He knows that there are two classes who will have nothing to do with him, but he does not know that there is not one class who will say, Well done. He does not know how absolutely forlorn his hope is. One might expect that the 'non-Episcopal Churches' as he calls them, might hail him brother, but they will not do so at present. They say they have had 'Irenicons' and things of that kind too often. They do not ask recognition. They have a higher sanction than Canon Henson

[1] *Godly Union and Concord*. By the Rev. H. Hensley Henson, M.A., Canon of Westminster. Murray, 1902.

can give them or any who may agree with Canon Henson, and they are content. For the present they ask to be left to do their own work for God. Canon Henson is leading a forlorn hope, and when he sees that, we shall learn how heroic he really is.

CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION.[1]

The Bishop of London called together a certain number of Church of England theologians to his palace at Fulham and set them down to discuss Confession and Absolution. He wavered between that and the relation of National Churches to the Church Catholic. He decided in the end that Confession and Absolution was more pressing and more likely to unite the theologians. He chose his theologians carefully and well. Canon Hay Aitken, Father R. M. Benson, Canon Body, Dr. C. V. Childe, Principal Coles of the Pusey House, Principal Drury of Ridley Hall, Principal Gee, Viscount Halifax, the Hon. Canon Lyttelton, Canon Mason, Canon Moberly, Chancellor Smith, Dean Strong, Professor Swete, and Prebendary Wace—that is the list. You see how they represent every shade of theological opinion within the Church. The Bishop of London told them to spend two days, with two sessions in each; he would not be present himself and no reporter would be present, but Dr. Wace, who was chosen Chairman, would take some notes, and he himself would attend at the close of the last session and pronounce the benediction. It all came off. The book before us has been made out of Dr. Wace's notes, corrected by each of the speakers.

The first impression is admiration of Dr. Wace's ability as a reporter. The gist of the speeches is here, and all is most intelligible and orderly. The book will live, not only on account of the historic occasion which gave it birth, but on account of its actual contribution to the 'pressing' subject with which it deals. The result of the Conference was expressed by the Chairman to the Bishop at the close of the last sitting. The members all agreed that our Lord's words in St. John's Gospel, 'Whosesoever sins ye remit,' etc., were addressed not to the apostles or clergy only but to the whole Church; and they further agreed that Confession and Absolution (private of course) were permitted by the formularies 'under certain circumstances.'

[1] *Confession and Absolution: Report of a Conference held at Fulham Palace on 30th and 31st December 1901, and 1st January 1902.* Longmans.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY AND PAGANISM.[2]

When the Dean of Gloucester wrote his history of the Church of England he called it *A History for the People*. He has now written a history of Early Christianity. He might have called it *A History for the People* also. Its purpose is plain. Perhaps Dr. Spence cannot write but for the people. This book in any case demands no previous study and demands the very minimum of study now. It is written for the people.

Now it is clearly impossible to write a popular history of Christianity covering that immense and momentous period 'from 64 A.D. to the Peace of the Church in the Fourth Century' in a few pages. Accordingly, Dean Spence's publishers have given him scope. The volume is a thick octavo of 560 pages. Besides this generosity of space, however, they have added to the book a large number of full-page engravings, the first of which is done in green and gold. They have entered into the plan and resolved to make it, out and out, a history for the people.

The history is divided into great spaces with attractive titles. 'Nero,' 'The Revival of Paganism,' 'A Chapter of Martyrdoms,' 'The Catacombs of Rome,' are some of the chapter headings. These titles indicate subjects which are worth pursuing. They are pursued at some length. Less interesting matters are left alone. The main thing is to get the people to read. And when a good subject is in hand it would be folly to drop it when the people are interested in it, for the sake of symmetry or completeness. To tell the people the story even of the Catacombs is to accomplish something.

Dean Spence says he has worked his history mainly off contemporary records and remains. It is difficult to understand that. Of course he has read Eusebius and the 'Cambridge Texts and Studies.' But he has read Neander also and Milman and Schaff, even the 'Eras of the Christian Church.' There is no fault to be found with that. It is not what one reads that makes the difference, it is what one does with the reading. On the whole the Dean of Gloucester uses his materials

[2] *Early Christianity and Paganism.* By H. Donald M. Spence, D.D., Dean of Gloucester. Cassell.

well. He has not the supreme gift of language which makes the reading alive and irresistible. But he is orderly and reasonable, and never rests content unless he has made the matter intelligible. There are a few misprints. We have noticed that Ramsay's book is sometimes called 'The Church *and* the Roman Empire'; we notice Bithynia spelt *Bythinia*, Barlaam *Baalaam*, and, worse than all, Professor J. Rendel Harris is called S. Reader Harris wherever he occurs.

THE PSALMS IN THREE COLLECTIONS.[1]

A new commentary on the Psalms, for that matter a new commentary on any book of the Bible now, must justify its existence. And the only justification is that, better than other books, it translates the Psalms into the language of to-day. It need not present us with a formal and complete rendering, though Dr. King does that in the work before us. It need not follow the customary method of explaining clause by clause and phrase by phrase in footnotes, though Dr. King does that also. One of the best recent commentaries is Mr. Rackham's *Acts*, and instead of a translation he gives a free and easy paraphrase, instead of footnotes he discourses easily but most accurately in the body of his book and in good round type on the author's meaning and its application to our day. The manner used to be everything, it is nothing now. Two things only are asked now: Does this commentator know his author intimately, and can he make him intelligible to us?

Some years ago Dr. E. G. King published the first part of a new commentary on the Psalms. In three 'Collections' he said it would appear. That was the first Collection. He has now published the second. It contains Pss 42–89, or Books ii. and iii. of the Psalter. Out of the multitude of commentaries on the Psalms that first Collection rose, and was well received. Daily use has increased men's respect for it. The author is a scholar. Without parade of reference, he shows that he has read the commentators that have gone before him as well as the Psalms themselves. But his great merit is that he is not so literary as human. The usual symbols J, E, D, P are known to him. But they are more than literary symbols. They are men and address men. They do not write because they are writers, but because they are men. So is it with all the nameless Psalmists. And this humanity enables Dr. King to fix dates. His Psalmists are not incapable of imitating the ancients, but they are more concerned to declare the truth as they understand it, and their place in the historical training of Israel can be fixed with sufficient closeness.

The interest of this book is human then. Not human as opposed to Divine, though the old notion of a mechanical dictation is far enough from Dr. King's idea of inspiration. It is human as opposed to literary. The Psalmists move amongst men. They receive and they give. And so across the centuries they take our hand. We have made progress even in the conception of God and truth since their day. That is one of the very lessons the Psalter teaches us. But our aspirations, our highest hopes, are theirs also. They speak for us when we are most moved.

[1] *The Psalms in Three Collections.* Part II. Second Collection. By E. G. King, D.D. Deighton Bell.

THE HARMONY OF THE COLLECTS, EPISTLES, AND GOSPELS. By Melville Scott, M.A. (*Bemrose*). — To preach from the Gospel and Epistle for the day is one thing, to teach them is another. Yet they were chosen to be taught. How they fit in, and how the Collect fits in with them, day after day throughout the year, and what lessons then arise naturally out of them—that is the object Mr. Scott has had in writing his book. His book is a complete course of systematic theology, and there is not the simplest believer but may follow it all.

SHALL WE UNDERSTAND THE BIBLE? By the Rev. T. Rhondda Williams (*Black*).—More and more the willing preacher is finding it possible to adjust himself to the new interpretation of the Old Testament with its new conception of the God of the Old Testament. More and more he is finding some such adjustment profitable and victorious. Mr. Rhondda Williams writes as a strong man running a race. He has lost nothing, he says. He says he has gained precious and enduring substance. One sweeping chapter is on 'The Idea of a Devil.' He runs risks in that chapter, but he is very courageous, and his courage tempts us to run risks with him.

THE FIRST THINGS. By the Rev. John Buchan (*Blackwood*).—Mr. Buchan first asks the

question, Does evolution dispense with God? So he accepts evolution, he, a working pastor, a preacher to working men. He accepts it as—well, not blind force working blindly, a conception which can only be called a miracle of unbelief—but as the method whereby God, the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, governs all His creatures and all their actions. He accepts evolution. But that demands a re-examination and restatement of all the fundamental things of the Faith—the Creation, the Fall, the Fatherhood of God, the groaning and travailing Creature. It is all done under the influence of the evolutionary acceptance, and yet all the old doctrines are held with all the old definiteness. If Calvin had been alive in Darwin's day, he would have accepted Darwinism (readier than some of us), and been a Calvinist still.

LIFE AND LIBERTY. By the Rev. Gordon B. Watt, M.A. (*Chr. Lit. Co.*).—The teaching of this little book—the very tone, the very attitude, as well as the substance, of it — reminds one strongly of the late G. H. C. Macgregor. And that is to bestow great praise on the book, to secure it a great circulation.

IS CHRIST INFALLIBLE AND THE BIBLE TRUE? By the Rev. Hugh M'Intosh, M.A. (*T. & T. Clark*).—A third edition of this book has already been issued. It is unabridged but cheaper. Mr. M'Intosh is himself astonished at its success.

THE TEMPLE BIBLE: DEUTERONOMY. By C. Wilkins, M.A., B.D.—I. AND II. SAMUEL. By James Sime, M.A., F.R.S.E. (*Dent*).—The editor of this series has gone out of the beaten track in seeking for his commentators, and in so doing he has recorded some welcome surprises. If his men had had more space. But even within their space they occasionally show the hand of a cunning workman. The Introductions give the best opportunity. In both volumes they are worth reading, though Mr. Sime's is more for reading than remembering. His task was the more difficult, and he has not all the technical familiarity that he should have had. We are not sure if he has discovered how difficult his task was.

THE DIVINE AUTHORITY OF THE SCRIPTURES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By David M. M'Intyre (*Drummond*). — The Reformation, we are told, substituted an infallible Bible for an infallible Church; now we are trying to subsitute an infallible Saviour for an infallible Bible. But we are not all trying. To Mr. M'Intyre and to many more the Bible is infallible still. This is his *apologia* for it. It is a generous, fine-toned, well-informed *apologia*. And after all we find that it is the infallible Christ that is most dear to him. If Jesus had not said 'Moses and the prophets,' Mr. M'Intyre would not have urged so earnestly the divine authority of the Old Testament.

THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX (*Headley Brothers*).—The great classics of Religion are few, but Fox's Diary is among them. Let them be gathered into the library and read. Most of them are now easily and attractively accessible. Messrs. Headley Brothers have published for the Friends' Tract Association *The Journal of George Fox* in two handsome volumes at a most moderate price. It is called the eighth edition. Eight editions in two centuries! And the modern novel which is wholly of the earth, earthy, will run into eight editions in eight months. For still the many savour not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men. And yet this is just the book to show how certainly the few are right, the many wrong. George Fox often called his contemporaries before God's judgment seat. God's judgment seat is here. His enemies were very numerous, his friends very few; yet who would be found to take his enemies' side to-day? We *see* them stand before God's judgment seat: out of their own mouths we hear their judgment.

TWENTY-TWO TALKS ON EVERYDAY RELIGION. By T. L. Cuyler, D.D., LL.D. (*Isbister*).—The old-fashioned sermon was three heads and an application, and the application cost the preacher more than the three heads. Here are twenty-two applications. Dr. Cuyler has no time now to write sermons, he has time only for applications. He can write applications better than any man living. They have all the doctrinal pith of a great sermon in them, and yet they are thoroughly practical. His mind is a literary mind, and it has been won for the king-

dom, so that all he says is for God's glory, and all is in most exquisite literary form.

THE CENTURY BIBLE: CORINTHIANS. By J. Massie, M.A., D.D. (*Jack*).—Professor Massie has the keenest intellectual interest in the New Testament. Almost any book could be put into his hands, and he would do it well. He has done the Epistles to the Corinthians very well indeed. Long familiarity has shaken out all the irrelevant things and left the essential matters exposed to view. The difficult places are seen to be difficult, and sometimes their difficulty is resolved. Especial care is spent in the explanation of the apostle's thought, that the purpose of the Epistles may be seen to be fulfilled in them. And this is accomplished by having the utmost respect for the apostle's felicity of language. St. Paul was no blunderer with words.

FOREIGN MISSIONS. By Henry H. Montgomery, D.D. (*Longmans*).—In this summary Dr. Montgomery confines himself to the work of the S.P.G., the C.M.S., and the L.M.S. And even of these three agencies he gives but a sketch. Yet he knows the field, and can select with judgment. He also affords the means of fuller study by recommending a list of books at the head of every chapter. And above all, what he does say is memorable, for his love abounds in knowledge and in all discernment. The little book fulfils its practical purpose admirably.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THESSALONIAN EPISTLES. By E. H. Askwith, B.D. (*Macmillan*).—Mr. Askwith has re-examined all the old objections to the Pauline authorship of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and even suggested some new ones. He is wise to suggest all the objections he can think of, and so prevent objectors to come. And he makes out a good case, a marvellously strong case indeed. What classical book of the first century could stand so searching and unbiassed an examination? But the most original contribution which Mr. Askwith has made is on the eschatology of the Second Epistle. That is the great difficulty. He has handled it with much subtlety and persuasiveness.

WORDS OF FAITH AND HOPE. By the late Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L. (*Macmillan*).—This is no doubt the last volume we shall have from the late Bishop of Durham. It is not altogether new. Its contents range, indeed, from 1866 to 1901. It is all good, however. And it has the marks of finality on every page. First come three sermons on 'Disciplined Life'; next five sermons—addresses on certain signs of the life of the Spirit within the Christian community; and then five sermons which partake of the nature of prophecy and look toward the future. The last is the sermon delivered to the miners on the 20th July 1901. Perhaps the Article which most clearly covers them all is this: 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church.' And yet how different was the Bishop's conception of the Church from the so-called Catholic, or even the extreme Anglican one. 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church,' he seems to say in every sentence of every sermon, but he does not define boundaries and erect barbed-wire fences. 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church,' he says, and his eyes are toward the future. *Ubi ecclesia ibi Christus*—yes, he is willing to take the sentence that way, for he remembers, 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end,' and he calls it 'the crowning promise.'

DANIEL IN THE CRITICS' DEN. By Sir Robert Anderson, K.C.B., LL.D. (*Nisbet*).—It is a pity that Sir Robert Anderson chose so ephemeral a title. It may give his book greater popularity, but it will scare away the earnest student. And it is the earnest student that in the end decides the mind of the public. It is also a pity that he has not taken more time and made more modifications. There are statements which the unlettered reader will see to be too sweeping. But he has no patience with hesitation. He says in one place 'Dr. Driver (*more suo*) takes a middle course, and brands it as *doubtful*.' He himself is never doubtful about anything. It makes his book the more delightful reading to those who are wholly with him, but it makes the earnest student sometimes doubtful about him. For there *are* difficulties in Daniel.

THE DIACONATE OF JESUS. By C. R. Davey Biggs, D.D. (*Rivingtons*).—Dr. Biggs would have the distinction between priest and deacon made more emphatic. It is clear enough in the Prayer-Book, but it is ignored in practice. Now the model for the deacon is the *human life* of

Jesus. He was here as 'one that served' (ὁ διακονῶν). And the deacon will find the pattern of his service in the year (the acceptable year) of Jesus' public ministry in Galilee. Christ's work as deacon consisted in worship (Lk 2^{49}), witness (Lk 4^{43}), resolution (Lk 13^{33}), and relaxation (Lk 19^{5})—and in each case a *must* introduced the statement of it. Let the deacon follow Jesus, and let him say, 'I must.' Do not become a deacon if you can help it.

THE CONTINENTAL REFORMATION. By the Rev. B. J. Kidd, B.D. (*Rivingtons*).—Within the bounds of one of the Oxford Church Text-Books—and we know how contracted their bounds are—Mr. Kidd has given a history of the Reformation on the Continent quite full enough for the ordinary reader, and as pleasant to read as the most popular octavo. He is also careful as to fact, and fair in his judgments. The picture of Luther is not the masterpiece Professor Lindsay made it in the 'Epoch-Makers' series, but it is distinctive and memorable. Even Calvin is discovered of heroic mould. To Zwingli Mr. Kidd is least generous, scarcely allowing himself even to be just.

SEDBERGH SCHOOL SERMONS. By H. G. Hart, M.A. (*Rivingtons*).—These are not the usual school sermons. There is a note of distinction. They are extremely personal for one thing. They separate each boy by himself, and address him alone. Even as we read them we are boys in the school and separated to be spoken to seriously. And then it is simple goodness that they canonize. Cleverness is not once in it, nor even industry. Even at a public school it is the good boy that is made the hero. And the good boy is again described as he who sees most good in others.

DISCOURSES ON PHILIPPIANS. By the Rev. Frederick A. Noble, D.D. (*Robinson*).—These discourses are thoroughly exegetical. They have great merit, and it comes from the fidelity with which they cling to their text. Dr. Noble is a clever man, but he shows it here by acknowledging a cleverer. He thinks that no independent words of his will be so weighty as the words of St. Paul, and he bends all his energies to let them be heard in their sublimity and force. There are sentences, even phrases, in this Epistle that demand a whole discourse for their mere elucidation, and Dr. Noble has given it. He does not throw away a pointed modern illustration, but he counts it his business just to let the apostle speak for himself.

Mr. Robinson of Manchester, the publisher of Dr. Noble's *Discourses on Philippians*, has also published a new edition of Charles Finney's *Sermons on Gospel Themes*. These sermons being thus made so accessible, let us lay aside all other statements of the evangelical faith till we have mastered them.

REDEMPTION ACCORDING TO THE ETERNAL PURPOSE. By the Rev. W. Shirley (*Stock*).—This is an effort to receive the doctrine of Evolution into the bosom of the Catholic Church. It is received by the appearance of a compromise. There is evolution for a good way, and then there is a gap; again the evolution goes on, and again there is a gap. At these gaps occur the special creations which the Bible records. Darwin admitted these gaps. He said 'all but.' Evolution, he said, all but bridged the gulf between life and no life, between animal and man. Mr. Shirley finds God's hand, and introduces the old biblical doctrine of special creations at these 'all buts.' So it is rather the Catholic doctrine that is admitted into the bosom of Evolution, than Evolution that is admitted into the bosom of the Catholic Church. Still, since at one of these gaps Christ can be let in, all is altered, and the Catholic Church has its own.

A LAMP UNTO MY FEET. By M. Bidder (*Stock*).—This title is chosen for a most useful book of suggestion on the principles and practice of Bible study. The great question is, Why is the Bible studied to so little profit? Mere reading of the Bible may do nothing for us; deep study seems to do no more. We may find out our mistakes ourselves. But this practical book will reveal them to us more readily. Its chief revelation is that the study is worth little which costs little, though the amount of gain may not be commensurate with the anguish. We may vex ourselves in vain over the study of the Bible. But still, it is through much tribulation that we enter into this possession also.

THE TWIN SISTERS.—By John Oates (*Stockwell*).—The twin sisters are the Roman and Anglican Communions. Mr. Oates has written his book to show that Roman and Anglican are identical in certain doctrines and practices, that these doctrines and practices are unscriptural, but have arisen through historical corruption, and should now be rejected. The doctrines and practices are the Primacy, Infallibility, Baptismal Regeneration, Auricular Confession, Priestly Absolution, Transubstantiation, Penance, Indulgences, and Purgatory.

OPTIMISM AND THE VISION OF GOD. By B. A. Millard (*Stockwell*).—It is not easy to discuss in the pulpit the difficulties that science has raised up for the Christian faith. And it is not necessary. For some time science has been answering herself. The pulpit is most powerful when it is least apologetic. Mr. Millard is well informed, but he is strongest when he tells the story of the Cross.

CHRIST IN ASTRONOMY. By the Rev. John Spence, F.R.A.S. (*Stockwell*).—There is nothing alarming in this little book. It does not mean that Christ is among the stars. There is no subtle new idolatry of the heavenly bodies introduced. The author is firmly convinced that Christ is all and in all, and he finds that a knowledge of the stars gives one the command of many beautiful and impressive illustrations. It is a new irenicon between science and religion, and the only one likely to be of use.

THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By J. H. Weatherall, M.A. (*S.S. Association*).—Usually such a book as this would be called an Introduction to the Old Testament. After an introductory chapter—comprehensive and clear, which at once sets our minds at rest as to Mr. Weatherall's capacity—the Hexateuch is described in reference to its sources and dates after the latest findings of the higher criticism, and then the books of the Old Testament are similarly dealt with in order. Mr. Weatherall can write popularly on the most unpopular theme without wasting a word. His position is not extreme. He has no pet theories to advocate. He gives no needless offence. We may agree or disagree, but this is a clear capable account of what modern scholarship believes regarding the way in which the Old Testament came outwardly into existence.

THE FAITH OF AN AGNOSTIC. By George Forester (*Watts*).—There is a fine pleasure in 'objecting' which may always be worth the pains it costs. But to enjoy the fruit of Agnosticism fully one must be less serious than Mr. Forester seems to be. As long as he holds before his mind that great sore of modern religion which he calls 'Church-Christianity,' every attempt at demolition may be agreeable. But to demolish all the reasons for an after-life must be painful in the extreme to one who longs for an after-life so ardently. What is the matter with Mr. Forester? He says that one of the chief causes of the persistent success of Church-Christianity is 'atavism.' We fear Mr. Forester suffers from 'atavism' also. His forefathers were agnostics, so is he. But he must not think that all the knowledge is on his side and all the ignorance on the other. On the last page of his book he quotes Mr. Leslie Stephen as saying, 'what is mystery but the theological phrase for agnosticism?' and agrees. It shows how much both he and Mr. Stephen have to learn about theology and the language of the Bible.

The Books of the Month include:—*Christ the Way*, by the Bishop of Oxford (Longmans); *Renunciation, and other Poems*, by William Hall, M.A. (Sonnenschein); *Dreams and Realities*, by G. E. Morgan, M.A. (Morgan & Scott); *Frithiof the Bold*, by Frederick I. Winbolt (Sonnenschein); *The Bible and the Critics*, by the Rev. John M'Ewan, D.D. (Hunter); *A Friday Night Horror*, by C. Stander (Passmore & Alabaster); *The Sign of the Son of Man in Heaven*, by Arch. F. Gibson; *The Second Coming of Christ*, by W. M. Pascoe (Stock).

A SUBJECT-INDEX TO CURRENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

BOOKS.

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'Select Narratives of Holy Women.'

In the two companion volumes, forming Nos. ix. and x. of the important series 'Studia Sinaitica,'[1] Mrs. Lewis has laid readers in general, and Syriac students in particular, under a fresh obligation, and has definitely increased our knowledge of a very curious literature.

These 'Select Narratives' form the upper writing of the famous palimpsest of the so-called 'old Syriac' Gospels which Mrs. Lewis discovered in 1892, and they were written by John the Recluse, 778 A.D. Although, of course, greatly inferior in importance to the gospel text which lies below them, these narratives are not without their value and interest; and Mrs. Lewis's time and labour have been well spent in their publication. The first of the two volumes contains the Syriac text of eleven of the narratives, and of fragments of a hymn of S. Ephraim found amongst them. These are followed by appendices, giving the text of the story of Susanna; collations of the texts of the stories of Thecla, Pelagia, Theodosia, and Theodota; a portion of a Greek text of S. John's Gospel; fragments of a Syriac text, with translation, of the Acts of Judas Thomas—this being due to Mr. F. C. Burkitt; and a valuable note by John the Recluse throwing light on the colophon at the end of the narratives. An index of proper names, and eight handsome reproductions of pages of the famous palimpsest, complete the volume. In the second volume Mrs. Lewis gives a translation of the eleven narratives, and of the hymn named above. These translations leave very little to be desired; they are characterized by a delightful smoothness, and are quite pleasant reading, in spite of the fact that here and there John the Recluse's stories are certainly a little dull. Preceding the translations are useful 'introductory notes,' which give some brief account of the holy women, together with explanations of the method adopted in editing the text.

John the Recluse was not the original writer of these narratives: they are evidently from various sources, and, so far as he can be tested, he reproduced them with sufficient accuracy. Some of the stories are known to exist in MSS written long before John's day, yet the differences between his text and theirs are unimportant. He seems, too, to have resisted the temptation to import the marvellous into the stories, where it did not previously exist. The marvellous certainly did not shock him, or he would never have given his readers such an extravagant tale as that of Irene; yet his account of Theodosia is free from the miraculous, and agrees substantially with the story as told by Eusebius. The narratives accordingly are of various degree of probability, ranging from the almost certainly true to the almost entirely imaginative and legendary. How much did John's pious readers believe of these stories, which sometimes hardly rise above the level of fairy tales? We need not necessarily suppose that they were ultra-credulous—probably they read and were edified by them, much as we may read and be edified by the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Admitting, however, that these pious monks did not believe to be true all the impossible incidents told in these narratives, we cannot so readily acquit them of entertaining very confused and imperfect ideals of Christian conduct. And this suggests a point of view from which these stories may be studied with profit. A popular religious literature gives no uncertain indication of the religious tone and ideals of its age; and, looked at in this way, these narratives throw a curious light on what was then thought to be not unworthy of Christian martyrs, and presumably of those for whom they were set forth as examples. Thus, passing by mere extravagances, some of these heroines treat their parents with scant respect; some pray for vengeance on their persecutors; one of them curses a shepherd who betrays her hiding-place; another persists in a suppression of the truth, notwithstanding that this brings trouble and scandal on a whole monastery, and upon religion in general. All this is very strange, and is in striking contrast to what we find in the histories, as told by Eusebius, of the martyrs of Palestine. Reading the vivid pages of his deathless records, we feel ourselves in a real world with nothing in it contrary to the spirit of the New Testament: but John the Recluse's stories testify to a lamentable degeneration and confusion of Christian ideals; and we cease to wonder that the monks, among whom the

[1] *Studia Sinaitica.* IX. *Select Narratives of Holy Women*, from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest, as written above the Old Syriac Gospels by John the Stylite of Beth-Mari Qanun in A.D. 778. Edited by Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S. Syriac Text. Cambridge University Press.—*Studia Sinaitica.* X. *Select Narratives of Holy Women.* Translated by Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S.

tales were popular, exercised so little influence for good in the regions where they dwelt. At the same time, there is much in these stories which breathes a better spirit; and from every point of view they will well repay careful study. There is only one matter for regret, namely, that Mrs. Lewis did not print in full the text of the four narratives of which she has only given collations.

Thanks to Mrs. Gibson's careful search for errors, the short list of errata requires but few additions. Among these may be noted, in vol. x. صدلى on p. xiv, which should be صدلى; 'twenty-eight' on p. xxiv, which should be 'eighteen'; 'Magdu' on p. 113, which should be 'Magedo'; and on p. 67, 'the besoms of the prison-house' hardly represents the original. In vol. ix., ܐܢܗܡܟ in the list of errata, is an obvious printer's slip for ܐܢܗܡܟ. These, however, and a few other trifling errors, the critical reader will correct for himself; they do not detract from the general excellence of these volumes; and Mrs. Lewis, and those who have assisted her, are to be congratulated on the successful carrying through of a difficult and important work.

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Contributions and Comments.

An Interpolation in 'Ambrosiaster.'

THERE is a certain number of passages in the printed text of 'Ambrosiaster's' commentary, as it appears, for example, in the Benedictine (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* xvii.) edition, which are wanting in the majority of MSS. I am unaware that any attempt has been made, in modern times, at least, to track these passages to their sources. I propose here to indicate the source of one of them, in the hope that others may be traceable to the same origin, and that some light may thus be cast on the vexed question of the transmission of 'Ambrosiaster's' text.

In the commentary on 1 Co 6^{18} occur the following words:—'"Fugite fornicationem." Recte fugiendam monet fornicationem, per quam filii dei fiunt filii diaboli. "Omne peccatum, quodcumque fecerit homo, extra corpus est." [Quia cetera peccata, etsi per corpus generantur, non tamen animam ita carnali concupiscentia faciunt obstrictam et obnoxiam, quem ad modum commisceri facit animam cum ipso corpore usus libidinis, agens in opere carnalis fornicationis; quia in tantum adglutinatur anima corpori, ut in ipso momento nihil aliud cogitare homini liceat aut intendere, quia ipsam mentem captiuam subdit ipsa submersio et absorbitio[1] libidinis et concupiscentiae carnalis. Unde subditur:] "Qui autem fornicatur, in corpus suum peccat." Ostendit grauissimum,' etc.

The passage within square brackets is interpolated from Augustine, *Sermones*, 162, 2 (a sermon on the above text), a document which is known only from the excerpts of Eugippius. Knöll's edition of the latter in the Vienna *Corpus* (vol. ix. p. 1028, 2 ff.) offers some trifling differences of text, which do not affect the argument. The Benedictines, in their note on the passage of 'Ambrosiaster,' say: 'Hic articulus abest a mss. nostris, at contra in cunctis exstat edit.' The passage is absent also from seven of Father Brewer's MSS, collations of which he has lent me, and, according to Ballerini, from the MSS of Monte Cassino and Monza Rabanus Maurus, bishop of Moguntiacum (Mainz) in the ninth century, in his vast commentary on the Pauline Epistles, which is a 'catena' of passages from patristic commentaries, including those of 'Ambrosiaster' and Augustine, reads the above passage thus (Migne, *P.L.* cxii. col. 60A):—'"Fugite fornicationem." Recte fugiendam monet fornicationem per quam filii dei fiunt filii diaboli. "Omne peccatum quodcumque fecerit homo extra corpus est, qui autem fornicatur in corpus suum peccat." Ostendit grauissimum,' etc. He thus knew nothing of the interpolated passage. It is probable that it exists in no MS., but as to this I cannot make a definite statement. If this should be the case, however, we should be led to the conviction that the early editors added anything which

[1] It was this word which gave me the scent. See my note in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* i. (1900), *s.v.*

seemed profitable to the text as it appeared in the MSS. Such a belief is warranted by a comparison of other patristic writings, as printed, with the early MSS now known to us.

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Wages in Ancient Israel.

There are few references to paid workmen in the Old Testament, because most work was done by members of the family or by slaves. Free labourers were a comparatively small class, and of these many were their own masters, smiths, carpenters, etc., the price of whose services is to be distinguished from wages paid to a worker wholly employed by a single master. Yet the 'hired servants,' *sākhêr*, were sufficiently numerous to be the subject of ordinances in the later codes (Dt 24^{14}, Lv 22^{10} H, Ex 12^{45} P). The 'hireling' is not referred to in the JE legislation (Ten Commandments, Book of the Covenant, etc.), so that, apparently the class was small in early times, and increased with the growth of civilization. This increase would be furthered by the attempt of the Priestly Code (Lv 25^{39-55}) to minimize the slavery of Jews. Still even in the Apocrypha and the N.T. there are comparatively few references to 'hired servants.' The 'hireling' seems to have been at the mercy of his employers as to the amount of his wages and even as to getting them paid at all. Both the prophets and the law intervene on his behalf in this matter (Dt 24^{14}, Jer 22^{13}, Mal 3^{5}); he was to be paid promptly, usually, as it seems, at the end of each day (Dt 24^{15}, Lv 19^{13}, Job 7^{2}); but Lv 25^{53} refers to a 'servant hired year by year.' The 'hireling' was considered inferior in industry to a slave; of whom it is said (Dt 15^{18}) 'to the double of the hire of a hireling hath he served thee.' In the earlier periods of Israelite history, when almost every family had its own land, it would be the exceptionally poor ne'er-do-well who was out with his kin or the foreigner who hired himself out; Dt 24^{14} speaks of the hireling as 'poor and needy . . . of thy brethren or of thy strangers.' Naturally the connexion of the hireling with the family is less close than that of the slave; he has no share in the family *sacra*; he may not eat the passover (Ex 12^{45} P); nor may the hired servant of a priest eat the holy food (Lv 22^{10}). But, on the other hand, Moses' grandson was hired by Micah of Ephraim for a yearly salary to be priest of his sanctuary, and afterwards transferred his services to the Northern Danites in their sanctuary of Dan (Jg 17, 18). The narrative is fair ground for supposing that such hiring of priests was not uncommon. An important class of 'hirelings' consisted of the mercenary bodyguard of the kings. The social status of the 'hireling' was similar to that of the 'mean white' in the slave states of America.

The term *sākhêr*, 'hireling,' 'hired servant,' seems confined to persons not reckoned as belonging to the family; but there must often have been relations who practically received wages from the head of a family. Jacob speaks of receiving wages, *sākhār*, from Laban, which consisted partly in wives and partly in a share of the increase of the flocks which he tended. Doubtless, the narrative describes a typical arrangement, otherwise we have no information as to how the income of a family, in the larger Eastern sense, was divided amongst its members.

In the *Apocrypha*, the angel Raphael, professing himself to be a man of a distinguished Jewish family akin to Tobit, is hired by the latter as travelling companion to his son, and subsequently sent to collect a large debt. Apparently hired servants were sometimes placed in positions of trust. So, too, Sir 7^{20} speaks of the 'hireling who giveth thee his life (*Mg.* soul).' On the other hand we are bidden (Sir 37^{11}) not 'to take counsel . . . with a hireling in thy house about finishing his work.' It was still necessary (Sir 34^{22}, and later still, Ja 5^{4}), to denounce those who kept back the wages of their hired servants. Mercenary soldiers appear in 1 Mac 6^{29}.

In the New Testament Zebedee has a paid crew for his fishing-boat (Mk 1^{20}); and hired servants appear in the Parables of the Prodigal Son (Lk $15^{17.19}$) and of the Labourers in the Vineyard (Mt $20^{1.2}$). The former implies that the household of a wealthy man included several 'hired servants'; and the latter that there was a class of free labourers, who were, as in the O.T., hired and paid by the day. So, too, the reaper receives wages (Jn 4^{36}, Ja 5^{4}.) The service of the 'hireling' is still lightly esteemed; 'the hireling . . . fleeth, because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep' (Jn 10^{13}); the apostles style

themselves and their fellow-Christians the 'slaves,' never the 'hired servants' of Christ. Christ's ministers receive 'hire' from men whom they serve (Lk 10^{7}, 1 Ti 5^{18}, 2 Co 11^{8}). God is said to give 'hire' or 'wages,' *misthos* (Mt 5^{12} 20^{8}, Heb 11^{6}, etc.); on the other hand, there are 'the wages (*opsonia*) of sin' (Ro 6^{23}), and 'the wages (*misthon*) of unrighteousness' (2 P 2^{15}), etc.

As regards rate of wages, Judah's payment of a kid to Tamar (Gn 38^{17}) can hardly be brought into relation to our other data. Jacob purchased a wife by seven years' service, and afterwards was paid by a portion of the increase of the flock (Gn 29, 30). Micah's Levite was promised ten pieces of silver (shekels), a suit of clothes, and his board and lodging (Jg $17^{10.\ 12}$). No doubt this was fairly liberal, yet when the Danites invited the Levite to go with them, 'he was pleased' (*Polychrome Bible*), probably expecting a larger income. The angel Raphael, when acting as courier to Tobias received a drachma a day and all found, with a promise of a bonus at the end of the engagement (To 5^{14}). Similarly the labourers in the vineyard received a *denarion*, or denarius, whose value 'was the same as that of' the drachma 'in ordinary transactions.' The shekel contained rather more silver than a half-crown, and the denarius about four-fifths as much silver as a shilling. Obviously Jacob, and probably the labourers in the vineyard, received food. The mere statement of the weight of silver tells us nothing as to real wages, and we must not forget, as many do, to allow for food when that was given. These facts as to wages do not so much inform us as to the real wages of labour, but furnish data for determining the value of silver. If we may reckon the price of wheat in New Testament times at from 16s. to £1 a quarter, a denarius or drachma, about 9½d. a day, with food, would be very roughly equivalent to the present wages of a London charwoman, about 2s. a day, with food, wheat being about 29s. a quarter. But when we consider what has been said about the status of the hireling, the control of the labour market by the employers, and the full advantage which the latter took of the situation, we may be sure that the usual rate of wages afforded only a bare subsistence to the free labourer. The description of the miserable condition of the working-classes in Job 24^{1-12} will refer to hired servants. In the case of the *corvée* or compulsory service for public works, no wages were paid beyond food and lodging. The *corvée* was used by Solomon to build the Temple (1 K 5^{13} 12^{4}), and doubtless by other kings and nobles (Jer 22^{13}).

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'Our Lord' in the Sinai Syriac Palimpsest.

There is nothing to be gained, as far as I know, by discussing Mr. Bonus' statistics any further at present. I may, however, remark that Mrs. Lewis reports, as the result of a recent examination of the MS., that in Jn 13^{23} the codex really has *Maran* (the last two letters are quite clear). Mrs. Lewis also detects the reading in Jn 6^{12}, where the Curetonian shows no trace of it.

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The Date of the Septuagint.

Does not the time approach when we may be a little more definite, perhaps even dogmatic, as to the date of the LXX? If we can, the result for biblical criticism will be very important. Space is precious, so I can deal only in brief assertions; there is no room for proof. But if any of the assertions be challenged, we shall know better where we are, and proofs can then be added. To-day it is hardly disputed that the Pentateuch was translated into Greek in Egypt in the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus, *c.* 280 B.C. This is our *terminus a quo*. Only the man with some theory to serve has any reason to dispute that the translation of the whole O.T. must have been finished before the days of the well-known prologue of Ben-Sira's grandson, 132 B.C. (or quite possibly earlier); nor does the prologue indicate that the translation had been finished recently. Here, then, should be our *terminus ad quem*. The tradition is that the whole LXX belongs to the third century B.C. Of this being true there is both possibility and, in some ways, very strong likelihood; see Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, pp. 22–23. What facts contradict the tradition? Facts there are really none; but of important suppositions there are three.

1. That the vocabulary of many books of the

LXX is late, and cannot be dated before Polybius, *c.* 150 B.C. Our lexicons till quite recently did tend to make us think so; but the many finds of Egyptian papyri have changed everything. The proof is far from complete yet, but it all tends to show that it would be highly dangerous to affirm that any word in the LXX *must* be later than 200 B.C. Swete (p. 292) gives a list of 38 words, from all parts of the LXX, very rare elsewhere, which have now been found in papyri of the early Ptolemies; and Deissmann (*Bible Studies*) has also picked out some valuable crumbs to show us how misleading even our best lexicons are.

2. The Book of Daniel must be of the Maccabean age. Many high in repute think so; and the case founded on the possibilities of predictive prophecy is formidable. But if this one point be barred, as, on strictly scientific grounds, it should, what then? Few present-day students seem aware that every scrap of evidence we possess, apart from theories as to prophecy, points and points strongly to the conclusion that our Daniel must have been compiled before 300 B.C. Denial of this raises very formidable difficulties, though the student will certainly not find the strength of the case either in Canon Driver or Mr. Bevan.

3. A good many of the Psalms must be Maccabean also. Many high in repute think this too; but the point has always been a debatable one, and therefore surely not to be pressed as a crucial piece of evidence. The case for the existence of *any* Maccabean Psalms has certainly been seriously weakened by the discovery of the Hebrew text of *Ecclesiasticus*, both because of the vocabulary of Ben-Sira and his actual quotations from the Psalter. Even Canon Cheyne, our chief 'Maccabean' champion, feels acutely the cogency of this (*Expositor*, 1899, ix. 258).

Thus we have found nothing conclusive against the third century date; is there anything more to be said in its favour? At any rate there is no shred of a hint in history that the LXX was made at any other time. Our earliest authorities, the pseudo-Aristeas and Aristobulos, *c.* 170 B.C., speak definitely only of the Law. Our next authority is Ben-Sira's prologue; then comes Philo, Jew and Egyptian, who seems definite enough as to the whole Scripture, if only he were a little earlier. But any way, to this man born *c.* 40 B.C. the LXX was no thing of yesterday, it was already holy and reverend. It is a favourite assertion of those with a theory to maintain, that the Palestinian and the Alexandrian canons of the O.T. were quite distinct. Dr. Swete does not think so. 'Nothing was farther from their [the Egyptian Jews] intention than to create an Alexandrian canon.' 'The point is one important to remember' (p. 22). Indeed it is.

Almost all agree the canon of the O.T. prophets must have been completed by 200 B.C. Now, according to every authority we possess up to the death of Origen, Daniel stood then in the canon of the prophets. There is no evidence for placing Daniel in the Hagiographa until we come to the fourth century A.D. And the testimony of St. Matthew, Josephus, and, in particular, the very explicit words of Melito of Sardis, ought to be witness enough to all unprejudiced persons that Daniel was once in the Palestinian prophetic canon as well as the Alexandrian. Again, the stories of *Susanna* and *Bel and the Dragon*, so far as we know, have always formed part of the Greek Daniel. If the LXX was already a sacred document when Philo was a lad, then these stories cannot, as Driver would fain affirm, 'be assigned without improbability to the first century B.C.' There is nothing in them to prevent their being placed in the third century B.C., and their origin must go back to the days of the Persian monarchy. They certainly presuppose our Daniel, and yet their whole tone is so palpably different that a good while must have elapsed between their composition and our Daniel's.

Finally, we have the much-despised little note in the Greek Esther, which tells how this book was brought to Egypt in the fourth year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, *i.e.* either 189 or 178 B.C. The note may be a forgery; if so, it is a curious and rather aimless one. If not, it serves to show both that the Hebrew Esther, one of the latest books in the O.T. canon, was then in existence, and also that the Greek version with its apocryphal additions was all in writing then too.

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'The Carcases of Your Idols.'

LEVITICUS XXVI. 30.

ונתתי את־פגריכם על־פגרי גלוליכם׃

THE remarkable phrase, פגרי גלוליכם, 'the carcases of your round blocks or logs,' occurs in the M.T.

only here (however, cf. Jer 16[18] for a similar phrase).

The word פגר, like the Syriac ܦܓܪܐ, is used of an inert mass, and its being used here in connexion with men and idols shows that life was lacking in both.

It would seem that just as the man became a corpse when fallen to rise no more, so the idol ceased to be a god when fallen down and broken. Still the man might fall and yet not be dead, so too the god. Dagon falls before the ark of Jehovah and, because unbroken, is set up in his place again (1 S 5[3]), but when, on the morrow, broken (like a man grievously wounded, to rise no more) Dagon is not set up in his place again. Dagon, on whom the hand of Jehovah had been sore (1 S 5[7]), had become a פגר, and so we find that Dagon is not mentioned again by name, save in 1 Ch 10[10], which passage after all only proves (if trustworthy) that the sanctuary still retained its old name of 'the house of Dagon.'

In close connexion with Lv 26[30] we should compare Ezk 6[5], 'I will lay the carcases of the children of Israel before their idols,' but in the following verse we read that the idols גלולים are to be broken and cease, and so this passage brings out the same thought that life is lacking, both in the men's carcases and in the broken idols, which, because broken, cease to have *numina* residing in them. Going back to earlier times, it is clear that the *numen* was not supposed to take up his residence in the stone until the stone was set up. At the place where Jacob had a Theophany, he set up the stone for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it, and the stone became 'God's house' (Gn 28[22]).

A more striking instance, however, occurs in Jos 24[26. 27]. Joshua took a great stone and set it up, and when it was set up, then the *numen* entered the stone and was looked upon as capable of hearing words spoken: 'Behold this stone shall be a witness against us; for it hath heard (כי־הוא שמעה) all the words, etc.' The Hebrew is remarkable and emphatic.

If, then, the god only entered the stone when set up, it would be quite in accordance with olden ideas that the *numen* should leave the stone when fallen down and broken, and so for all practical purposes the god would be dead. And it is for this reason that we so constantly read that the idols and images and *maṣṣēbahs* were to be thrown down and broken in pieces.

It was, of course, not until much later that these idols were looked upon as dead, even when 'standing' or 'set up.' In Ps 106[28] we read: 'They ate the sacrifices of the dead,' referring to the orgies at Baal-peor. But at the time spoken of, the idols (*maṣṣēbahs*, or whatever else they might have been) were certainly standing. The enlightened writing-prophets had taught that the gods of the people round about were no gods. And the writer of Ps 106 (see vv.[46] and [47]) would have their teaching behind him. And so the author of Ps 106 reads into the story of Baal-peor the prophetic teaching, and calls the 'standing' gods dead. For in ויאכלו זבחי מתים I think it is clear that the Psalmist refers מתים to the gods of Baal-peor. It is hardly necessary to point out that this interpretation would not need a ל before מתים, for we have a similar instance in Ps 51[19] זבחי אלהים.

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Dies Irae Dies Illa.

THE new *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, by Ch. Bigg (T. & T. Clark, 1901), quotes, p. 215, on 2 P 3[10], 'the opening lines of the famous hymn—

> "Dies irae, dies illa
> Soluet saeclum in fauilla,
> Teste Dauid cum Sibylla"';

and prints them, as it is perhaps mostly done, in the preceding form, with comma after *irae*, without comma after *illa*. May I be permitted to point out that the first line is in all probability a sentence for itself, *dies illa* being the subject, *dies irae* the predicate; for it is a quotation from Zeph 1[15], where in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin the sentence is quite identical, יוֹם עֶבְרָה הַיּוֹם הַהוּא, ἡμέρα ὀργῆς ἡμέρα ἐκείνη, '*dies irae dies illa*,'[1] rendered in the A.V. and R.V.: 'That day is a day of wrath.' The opening lines must therefore be printed

> Dies irae dies illa,
> Solvet etc.

EB. NESTLE.

Maulbronn.

[1] Whether the variant reading, 'Dies irae dies illE,' quoted by Sabatier from 'Gild. Sap. l. de excid. Britann., p. 714 c,' rests on good authority, I do not know. As it comes from a British writer, it may be mentioned here.

Printed by MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED, Tanfield Works, and Published by T. & T. CLARK, 38 George Street, Edinburgh. It is requested that all literary communications be addressed to THE EDITOR, St. Cyrus, Montrose.

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

THE remarkable communication from Mrs. Lewis to this issue of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES is sure to attract attention, and scarcely need be mentioned here. Copies of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES will be sent to all the great libraries throughout the world, and to all scholars who are in a position to assist in the search.

The fourth volume of the *Dictionary of the Bible* has been published. It contains 994 pages or 1988 columns. Its first article is PLEROMA by Professor Walter Lock, its last is ZUZIM by Professor S. R. Driver.

It is the largest volume of the four, and contains more than its share of the great theological articles. Beginning with PLEROMA, it gives us POOR by Professor Driver, an exhaustive article on a theme that is almost new to English readers; POWER OF THE KEYS by Professor Mason, his only article in the Dictionary; PRAYER by Canon E. R. Bernard of Salisbury, who also writes the articles on RESURRECTION and SIN; PREDESTINATION by Professor Warfield of Princeton, an unflinching representation of the Bible doctrine, to be read along with Professor Stanton's article on the WILL; PROMISE by Professor Denney; and PROPHECY by the late Professor A. B. Davidson.

The article on PROPHECY fills forty-one columns. It is the finest work we believe that Professor Davidson ever published. We do not know if that was his own judgment. Of the previous articles which he contributed to the Dictionary, he himself said that none of them was better than JEREMIAH, but most of the reviewers gave the preference to the article in the same volume on GOD in the Old Testament.

There are many other theological articles in this volume. PROPHET in the New Testament has been written by Professor Gwatkin, and PROPITIATION by Professor Driver. Propitiation is a subject which has been strangely shunned of late, even by evangelical preachers, the result, perhaps, of unscholarly misrepresentation. Dr. Driver's article puts the facts forth plainly and exhaustively. It proves that propitiation is the very heart of the Gospel. RANSOM and REDEMPTION have been contributed by Professor Adams Brown of New York, REGENERATION and SANCTIFICATION by Professor Bartlet of Oxford, RECONCILIATION by Mr. Adamson of Dundee, and REPENTANCE by Mr. W. Morgan of Tarbolton, RIGHTEOUSNESS in the Old Testament by Professor Skinner of Cambridge, and in the New by Professor Stevens of Yale. The SACRAMENTS have been dealt with by Dr. Plummer of Durham, and SACRIFICE by

Professor Paterson of Aberdeen. Then come the two important articles on the Son of God and the Son of Man, the former by Professor Sanday, the latter by Professor Driver. Professor Stanton of Cambridge has written Truth and World, and Dr. Moulton has contributed an article on Zoroastrianism.

In other departments than that of theology this volume is not so conspicuous. Only a few of the books of the Bible fall within its range. But the Book of Psalms does so, the article being written by Professor W. T. Davison; Revelation also, written by Professor Porter of Yale, whose article on the Apocrypha was declared by the late Professor Davidson to be the best thing ever written on that subject. We have also Romans by Principal Robertson of King's College, Samuel by Mr. Stenning, Song of Songs by Professor Rothstein, Thessalonians and the Pastoral Epistles by Professor Lock, Tobit by Principal Marshall of Manchester, Wisdom by Professor Siegfried, Zechariah by Professor Nowack, and Zephaniah by Dr. Selbie. Some of the great Versions are here. Besides the general article by Principal Bebb, we have the Syriac Versions and the Septuagint by Professor Nestle, who also writes on Sirach and the Text of the New Testament, the other Greek Versions by Mr. Redpath, the Vulgate by Mr. H. J. White, and the English Versions by Mr. Milligan.

For the Geography of Palestine General Sir Charles Wilson's name is as conspicuous in this volume as that of General Warren was in vol. iii. and of Colonel Conder in vols. i. and ii. Some difficult places have been described by Professor Driver. Professor Max Müller has written on Put and Tarshish, Professor Margoliouth on Sheba, Dr. Pinches on Shinar, Professor Rendel Harris on Mount Sinai, Professor G. Adam Smith on Trachonitis, Mr. Ewing on several places in Palestine, Dr. Mackie of Beyrout on Tyre and Zidon, Professor Patrick and Mr. Relton conjointly on Rome, while Professor W. M. Ramsay has as formerly done all the Asia Minor work.

Next to the Biblical Theology, there is no department so strong as that of Antiquities. The articles on the Tabernacle and the Temple fall within this volume, the former by Professor A. R. S. Kennedy, the latter by Professor Witton Davies. Professor Kennedy also writes the article on the Weights and Measures of the Bible, and the articles on Sanctuary and on Urim and Thummim. An article on Pottery, illustrated from recent discoveries, is contributed by Dr. F. J. Bliss. Professor Graf Baudissin gives a full account of Priests and Levites, while Professor Bacher has handled the allied subjects Sanhedrin and Synagogue. The volume also contains Sabbath by Professor Driver, and Sabbatical Year by Mr. Harford-Battersby, Sepulchre by Professor Nicol, Slavery by Principal Whitehouse, Shekinah by Principal Marshall, Precious Stones by Professor Flinders Petrie, Confusion of Tongues by Professor Driver, and Gift of Tongues by Principal Robertson, Trade and Commerce by Professor Bennett, Uncleanness by Professor Peake, Time by Mr. Abrahams, War by Professor Emery Barnes, Water by Mr. James Patrick, Woman and Worship by Professor Adeney, and Writing by Dr. Kenyon.

There is an article in the *Sunday School Times* of Philadelphia of 26th April on the superiority of the American Revised Version. The article is written by the Rev. Louis Agassiz Gould. He shows the superiority of the New Testament of 1901 over that of 1881 by printing parallel quotations.

The first quotation he prints is Mt 6^{27}, 'Which of you by being anxious can add one cubit unto his stature?' That is the Revision of 1881, the American Revision reads, 'can add one cubit unto the measure of his life.' The next important

passage is Ac 17^{22}, 'Ye men of Athens, in all things I perceive that ye are somewhat superstitious.' The American Revisers prefer 'very religious.' Take 1 Co 15^{33} next. 'Evil company doth corrupt good manners' says 1881. 'Evil companionships corrupt good morals' says 1901. In Ph 2^{6}, 'Who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God,' becomes, 'Who, existing in the form of God, counted not the being on an equality with God a thing to be grasped.' Mr. Gould says that the new translation of He 11^{1} 'is worth the price of the book.' The English Revision gives, 'Now faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the proving of things not seen,' the American, 'Now faith is assurance of things hoped for, a conviction of things not seen.'

Those are the best examples. Of the rest we notice that instead of 'a penny' in Mt 22^{19}, the American Revision gives 'a denarius,' with the marginal note, 'about seventeen cents.' 'Bewrayeth thee' in Mt 26^{73} is changed into 'maketh thee known'—which does not seem to hit the meaning. 'The perfect' of 1 Co 2^{6} becomes 'full-grown,' 'mortify' in Col 3^{5} is 'put to death,' 'instant' in 2 Ti 4^{2} is 'urgent,' and 'conscience of sins' in He 10^{2} is 'consciousness of sins'—all good changes, and more necessary than our Revisers seem to have been aware of.

There is an article on the same subject in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April by Professor Whitney. Its title is 'The Latest Translation of the Bible.' It is less laudatory of the American Revision. Professor Whitney is dissatisfied with all the translations that exist.

For he holds that Western translators have never realized the difference between their own and an Eastern tongue. There is a boldness of figure in the East which takes a Western's breath away. This figurative language has for the most part been tamely translated into literal English. And then it has often afforded occasion for protracted disputes in theology. And besides that, there is a plainness of speech in the Bible which is easily capped in modern Arabic, but which our translators have been afraid to reproduce, being much concerned for the dignity of the sacred page.

When Professor Gould, in his commentary on *St. Mark* in the 'International' series, translated the words of our Lord to the evil spirit, 'Shut up!' (Mk 1^{25}), his reviewers burst into ridiculous laughter. Professor Whitney would probably approve the translation. There is a passage in Lk 12^{49} which, he says, has never yet been translated correctly. The Authorized Version gave, 'I am come to send [how much better *cast*, says Professor Whitney in a parenthesis] fire on the earth, and what will I if it be already kindled?' The English Revisers made two slight changes in the passage, but left the words, 'What will I if it is already kindled?' in their obscurity. The American Revisers were bolder. 'What do I desire if it is already kindled?' is their version. But they were not bold enough. Professor Whitney believes that they were feeling towards the translation, 'What do I care if it has been already kindled?'—that is, by John the Baptist—but did not dare to be so familiar.

Of the figures of speech Professor Whitney gives many examples. One of the boldest of the metaphors is found in Hos 14^{2}, 'So will we render the calves of our lips.' The Septuagint and the Syriac translations watered this down to 'the fruit of our lips,' and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews seems to have been content with that. The Revisions attempt a paraphrase, both English and American having 'So will we render as bullocks the offering of our lips.' But it is too clumsy, says Professor Whitney. He does not say how he would render it.

A telling instance of the mischief which a literal rendering of a figure may do is seen in 1 S 20^{30}. Addressing his son Jonathan, Saul says, 'Thou son of the (R.V. "a") perverse rebellious woman.' The

words seem to cast a slur on Jonathan's mother, as well as on himself. Saul has no such intention. His words simply mean that Jonathan is himself a perverse rebel. The same figure is used in the next verse, where Saul says that David is 'the son of death.' But here the translators have dropped the figure entirely and rendered 'for he shall surely die.'

Some reference was made last month to the occurrence of *hendiadys* in the Bible. Professor Whitney finds some examples. In Ro 2^5 all the versions read, 'After thy hardness and impenitent heart.' But the English idiom is 'After the hardness of thine impenitent heart.' In Mt 11^{25} our Lord is represented (to our ears) as thanking the Father that He has hid the mysteries of the kingdom from the wise and prudent and has revealed them to babes. It is an instance of hendiadys. The Hebrew or Hellenistic idiom joins two co-ordinate sentences by *and* to make a single affirmation. Jesus did not thank the Father for hiding truth from anyone, only for revealing it. The translation may be difficult, but now the sense is clear. Take one more example. 'Ought not Christ to have suffered these things and to enter into His glory?' (Lk 24^{26}). The versions all retain the *and* with childlike literality. The meaning is, 'Did not the Christ have to suffer these things *in order* to enter into His glory?'

The second part for 1901 of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* opens with an article by Dr. J. P. Peters on 'The Religion of Moses.' The history of the religion of Israel according to the new critical interpretation must be written soon. This is one chapter of it.

Dr. Peters seems to understand that it is the first chapter of it. For he says that the first thing one must find who sets out to write the history of Israel is an ethical foundation for it. And he believes that that foundation must be sought in the teaching of Moses, or at least in some acts or events connected with Moses.

Does the critical view of the history of Israel find its ethical foundation in Moses? Not in the most popular, the Wellhausian, form of it. The most popular form of the critical interpretation, says Dr. Peters, is a reaction from the impossible traditional picture, and like most reactions it has swung too far. It reduces Moses to the ranks. It makes him a creature of his time. It denies him any ethical or religious outlook beyond that of the commonest men and women among whom he lived and moved. And this it is driven to do, so it believes, in the interests of the evolutionary view of history and of religion.

Now Dr. Peters does not deny the evolutionary view of history or of religion. He does not keep the history or the religion of Israel outside its scope. He believes that no religion, ancient or modern, has been created *de novo*. Each religion has been, to a greater or less extent, evolved out of pre-existing ideas, and has been affected, in its development, by the historical, climatic, and other conditions of the people who adopted it. And if this is true of a religion, it is equally true of every man who possesses a religion. A man is explained by his antecedents and his environment.

But neither a man nor a religion is altogether explained by antecedent and environment. A man is after all himself. He is affected by his environment, but he has something which his environment has not given him. And the greater the man the greater will this peculiar individual element in his character be. Now place the man and the religion together. The religion owes its origin or its new impulse to the genius of the man. If he is the author of it, as Mohammed may be said to be the author of Islam, he uses all the forces of heredity and environment to assist him. But he adds his own individuality,

and that gives individuality to the religion. Dr. Peters says that modern critical students have shown a tendency to apply the doctrine of evolution and environment to the religion of Israel to an extent which eliminates the personal factor altogether. They are determined to stand so straight, he says, that they lean backward. The old view made Moses the creator of the religion of Israel; the new denies that Moses was spiritually or mentally in advance of those about him.

Dr. Peters holds that Moses was the founder of the religion of Israel in very much the same sense as Jesus Christ was the founder of Christianity, Mohammed of Mohammedanism, Zoroaster of Zoroastrianism, and Gautama Siddhartha the Buddha of Buddhism. 'He was a unique man, towering above his time, anticipating future ages, reaching out beyond his own.' The reformers of Israel referred their reforms to Moses. The more the religion of Israel developed, the greater was the inclination to make Moses and his law the standard for comparison.

But if Moses was the founder of the religion of Israel in the same way as Mohammed was the founder of Mohammedanism, why is the religion of Israel not called Mosaism? Dr. Peters answers, because we do not feel that we have sufficient information regarding the life and teaching of Moses to warrant the use of the name. We know less about Moses and his work than about the life and work of any of the great founders of religion. For Moses lived in a more remote age and under conditions less civilized and less adapted to the exact transmission of tradition than any of the others who have been named.

It is evident that Dr. Peters does not accept the history of Moses as it stands in the Pentateuch. He mentions the points of that history. They are familiar enough. We need not mention them after him. What incidents in the traditional career of Moses does he accept?

He accepts the sojourn in Egypt of the tribes of Israel, or at least a section of them. He believes that they dwelt in Goshen and were oppressed by the Egyptians there, the oppression taking the form of conscription for enforced labour. He believes that the Israelites rebelled and fled to the wilderness, and that in that flight they felt, through the force of certain providences, that they were brought into a peculiar relation to the Deity. He believes that Moses was their leader in the flight and the interpreter of God's action towards them. He believes that in the wilderness of Sinai and Horeb the Israelites found kindred tribes. These tribes were either some of those which were afterwards known as the twelve tribes of Israel, but which had not gone down into Egypt nor shared the oppression there; or else they were tribes, like the Kenites and Kenizzites, of somewhat more remote kindred, but still capable of amalgamation with the Israelites who fled from Egypt. The dwelling-place and sanctuary of these tribes, he believes, was the Horeb-Sinai wilderness. Moses was connected with one of them and even with its priesthood.

The early history of Moses, you see, is soon written. Those are all the facts that even Dr. Peters feels it safe to rest upon. But now Moses assumes the leadership of the whole of those tribes that have gathered in the wilderness, and at that moment his genius or inspiration makes itself felt and the religious history of Israel begins. For it is evident to Dr. Peters that Moses united the tribes of Israel by a religious bond, and that that bond had a local association, connecting them with the wilderness that lay to the south and east of Judah. It is the Song of Deborah that makes this clear to him. That song may not have been written by Deborah, but at least it is contemporary with the prophetess and with the events which it narrates. Now the Song of Deborah describes the tribes of Israel as a united people, bound to Yahveh their god and bound to one another under Him. If any tribe or portion of a tribe denies the bond and refuses to come to

the aid of Yahveh and the nation, the curse of a nation and a god is invoked at once—

> Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of Yahveh,
> Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof;
> Because they came not to the aid of Yahveh,
> To the aid of Yahveh like heroes.

Before the tribes of Israel could have recognized the claim of Yahveh, before the curse of Meroz could have had any terror, a bond of union must have been formed, and Yahveh must have been recognized as the one God over all. Now it is clear that this bond was made in the wilderness and under Moses. Because, though the tribes are settled in Palestine when the events take place which are recorded in the Song of Deborah, yet Yahveh is not the God of the land of Palestine yet. His dwelling-place is still at Horeb-Sinai, in the wilderness of Seir, where the home of the Israelites used to be. When the battle with the native Canaanites is to take place, Yahveh comes forth out of Seir, He marches out of the field of Edom.

This leads us to the name by which the God of Israel is known, the name of Yahveh. For whenever a religious bond was formed between various tribes, it was formed under the recognition of one God, and the God thus recognized received a new name. As Mohammed united the tribes of heathen Arabia under the name of Allah, so Moses united the scattered tribes of Israel under the name of Yahveh.

Not that Moses was able, or perhaps attempted, to obliterate the older names for God among the Israelites. The evidence of proper names is enough to show that El or Elohim was still the favourite designation for God among the Israelites down to the time of the kingdom. Nor is it claimed that Moses was the first to make use of the name of Yahveh. On the contrary, it is clear to Dr. Peters that the name was already in existence, that it was the name of the God of the tribes who inhabited the Sinaitic wilderness when the fugitives from Egypt under Moses' leadership joined them. What Moses did was to persuade those who had fled with him out of Egypt to embrace the God of the wilderness of Sinai as their God under His name of Yahveh. He was the God of the land. Horeb-Sinai was His home. That name is general, and covers the mountainous territory to the south and the south-east of Palestine. It was there that He had, according to tradition, first made Himself known to Moses. Moses himself was already bound to Him as worshipper and priest. And when he persuaded the tribes which fled from the oppression of the Egyptians to receive Him as their God, he formed that union which created the nation of Israel, and he laid the foundation of that religion which in Christ Jesus is to become the religion of the world.

Of the ritual of the religion of Moses not much can be affirmed. Its most significant embodiment was the Ark. There is no question in Dr. Peter's mind that the Ark is to be traced back to the Mosaic period of Israel's history, and that it was brought with Moses out of the wilderness.

Now the unique circumstance connected with the Ark was that it was carried from place to place. This involves two surprises. First it involves a double tradition. By the one the dwelling-place of Yahveh is at Horeb-Sinai. By the other it is the Ark which moves from place to place. But more remarkable than that, it involves the entirely new idea of the God being no longer confined to a locality or a building, but being capable of moving as the march of His worshippers led Him—or leading His worshippers with Him wherever He marched. There is no such conception in any of the nations that were akin to the Hebrews or surrounded them in Palestine. The nearest analogy is the boat in which the Egyptians carried their god in solemn procession through his land. And on the whole Dr. Peters is inclined to think that the Egyptian boat was the source of the Hebrew Ark. But the connexion is by no means obvious. And in any case it seems to show that

under the skilful guidance of Moses there was a certain giving and taking among the tribes that assembled in the wilderness. If the fugitives accepted the God of the land, the tribes who dwelt there permitted Him to be moved from His home, and carried about from place to place.

The Ark contained no image of God. There are those who hold that, from the time of Moses to at least the time of David, the Ark contained a rude stone or fetich, and that its presence in the camp of Israel was really a proof of Israel's idolatry. Dr. Peters does not believe it. That in the time of David the Ark contained the two tables of the Law is evident to his mind, and that in the unethical period between David and Moses a rude stone fetich should have been displaced by the two tables of the Decalogue is simply beyond belief. Dr. Peters holds that the Ten Commandments were contained in the Ark as it moved from place to place in the wilderness. He believes that Moses was their author.

The great difficulty is with the Second Commandment. Its form in the Ark Dr. Peters believes to have been, 'Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image.' Yet David consulted Yahveh by means of an ephod; in David's time teraphim, sometimes of considerable size and in human shape, were in use as household deities; Jeroboam set up golden bulls, and neither Elijah nor Elisha, nor yet Amos condemned them. Dr. Peters believes that during all this time the Second Commandment was known to Israel, but simply was not understood to refer to such 'aids' to the worship of Yahveh. It was supposed to forbid the worship of other gods under the form of images. When the party of reform, led by Hosea, began to denounce all such 'aids' to the worship of Yahveh as essentially idolatrous and rebellious, the Second Commandment received a new interpretation, and was then used with irresistible effect in carrying the reformers to victory.

If, then, the religion of Moses had the Decalogue within it, it is worthy of the name of religion. Dr. Peters is assailed with the impossibility of so spiritual a code arising out of so primitive and heterogeneous a nation or being of any use to them. But he does not give way. The second pentad of the Decalogue is the most spiritual, and yet it is just the second five of the Ten Commandments that are paralleled in the Egyptian sacred law. Dr. Peters has not forgotten his evolution. He believes still in heredity and environment. He sees that as Moses may have got the idea of the Ark from Egypt, so also out of the confessions which may still be read in the Egyptian Book of the Dead he may have received the spiritual thoughts which he afterwards embodied in the Ten Commandments.

The Jewish Passover in the Christian Church.

By the Rev. George M. Mackie, M.A., D.D., Beyrout.

The Hebrew manual for the Jewish Passover relates with evident approval about Rabbi Eliezer, Rabbi Joshua, Rabbi Eleazar, Rabbi Akîba, and Rabbi Ṭarphon, how that they began talking, one evening, about the deliverance from Egypt, and were still deep in the discussion when their pupils opened the door, and announced to their surprise that it was time for Morning Prayer!

I. Passover and the Writers of the Epistles.

1. *Preparation for Passover.*—The Passover night is still regarded in Israel as 'a night much to be observed unto the Lord' (Ex 12^{42}). That which once recalled how the nation began has ever since the Dispersion been maintained,

although without the Temple sacrifice, as a bond of brotherhood in different lands and a time of prayer for visible reunion. In every Jewish family the chief event of the year is the turmoil caused by the attempt to remove every particle of leaven from the house.

When the work of inspection and cleansing is completed, a formal declaration is made to the effect that any crumbs of unleavened bread still lying unseen in the house are to be reckoned as dust of the earth. This is no easy judicial assumption, for the formula is only pronounced after every endeavour has been made, and because it is felt that the work is still unfinished. St. Paul's words seem to issue from the same familiar mould of thought when, in warning the Corinthians against the evil around them, he refers to the influence of ordinary leaven, and then quickly passes on to the illustration from the unleavened bread of Passover (1 Co $5^{6,7}$).

2. *Passover as a Family Festival.*—Whatever may be the ultimate definition of Inspiration, the fact will be recognized by all, that the nation to which the writers of the New Testament belonged was a nation living for religion. In Israel the greatest event of the year was the Feast of Passover. It was a commemoration in which the children, always so ready to be impressed by things new, and so capable of remembering what was wonderful, were especially represented. This annual observance, which thus impressed itself by its novelty and rarity, became endeared afterwards as a time of family reunion and a bond of kinship uniting all classes in the nation.

In the Hebrew manual the deliverance from Egypt is referred to as a change from bondage to freedom, from darkness to light, from sorrow to joy, and had so many points of likeness to the gospel deliverance from sin, that the truths and symbolisms of the one were very easily and effectively applied to the other. And so when the apostles came to write of the bondage of sin and the new liberty and life in Christ, their teaching would be all the more easily understood and more lovingly accepted, because to many of their readers it recalled the Passover table of the family and the sound of silent voices. Thus the leading facts of the Passover feast and the terms of expression used in referring to them, and the modes of thought thus made popular, would inevitably provide a fund of quotation and become a medium of instruction acceptable alike to speaker and hearer, to writer and reader. Inspiration does not lose its authority, nor the Bible become less the word of God, because it employs the experiences of human life and sometimes sets its truth to the music of home memories.

3. *Passover as a Perpetual Memorial.*—In the Passover service-book it is said that 'although all the Israelites were without exception men of wisdom and fully instructed in the Law, it would still be their duty to recall and show forth the departure from Egypt.' Very similarly St. Peter declares his purpose to remind his readers of the calling and promises of God, of the escape from corruption, the life of holiness, and the entrance into the eternal kingdom, although they were already familiar with those things (2 P 1^{12}).

4. *Passover, its Fulness of Blessing.*—In the same office the enumeration of God's mercies at the Exodus and in the Wilderness takes the form of a chant, which begins by saying, 'If He had brought us out of Egypt and had not sent judgments upon the Egyptians, it would have sufficed us; if He had sent judgments upon the Egyptians and not upon their gods, it would have sufficed us; if He had sent judgments upon their gods and had not destroyed their first-born, it would have sufficed us.' The recapitulation then passes on and up from the death of the first-born to the possessed wealth of the Egyptians, the dividing of the Red Sea, the passage of the Israelites, the drowning of the Egyptians, the maintenance of life in the Wilderness, the gift of manna, the approach to Mount Sinai, the bestowal of the Law, the settlement in the Land, and the building of the Temple. A similar literary form is used by St. Peter when he adds virtue to faith, knowledge to virtue, temperance to knowledge, patience to temperance, godliness to patience, love of the brethren to godliness, and love to love of the brethren (2 P 1^{5-7}).

Here the two pyramids have a similar scale of ascending values, although in one case it is made up of outward blessings, and in the other of inward graces. The two ladders slope upwards in the same way, but it will be noticed that in the one the angels are all descending, and in the other all ascending. Again, in the 11th verse of the same chapter the Christian parallels of the calling and deliverance of the children of God fill the Passover mould and overflow into that of the

Wilderness temptations and the inheritance of the Land.

5. *Passover, its Personal Significance.*—Several times in the Hebrew ritual of the Passover, the duty of personal interest in the Passover, and of personal identification with its deliverance, is insisted upon. The manual commands each partaker to regard himself as an eye-witness and a redeemed one, and quotes in justification Ex 13^8: '*It is because of that which the Lord did for me.*' It was but a fresh application of an old form when the Apostle Peter appealed to his audience on the day of Pentecost, and said, '*To you* is the promise, and to your children' (Ac 2^{39}).

6. *Passover, the Fulfilling of God's Purpose.*—Again, in the Passover office the Israelites are reminded (Jos 24^2) that their fathers dwelt of old time beyond the River and served other gods, but that God had brought them nigh to His own service. So, when the wall of separation between Jew and Gentile was removed in Christ, the Gentiles were similarly told that they who had once been far away had been brought near, and were no longer strangers and foreigners but fellow-citizens with the saints and of the household of God. This was the stone of stumbling. Calling involved separation, but how could Israel remain distinct if others were to be called along with them? How could one nation be the people of God if others also were to bear His name? Thus Israel fell over its own barrier of self-preservation.

II. Passover: the Order of its Observance.

Many other instances of Passover symbolism and suggestion might be quoted from the writings of the apostles. Before dealing with the closer affinities of the Passover and the Lord's Supper, it will be found helpful to give a brief description of the order observed at the Jewish Passover. When the hour of Passover has come after sunset on the 14th of April (Nisan), the family sit down, most of them reclining a little to the left side. During the celebration four cups or small tumblers of mingled wine and water are drunk, and the chief items of the ceremony may best be described in connexion with these cups.

First Cup.—The cup is filled and God is thanked for permitting the family once more to celebrate Passover, which is called 'the time of our freedom, a holy convocation in love, a memorial of the departure from Egypt.' The wine in each glass is drunk or part of it, the hands are washed, and the usual blessing for the fruits of the earth is pronounced over the bitter herbs. The father of the family then draws out the middle cake of the three large unleavened cakes in front of him. He breaks it and puts one half of it in a place by itself as the *aphikômen*, that is, the cake to be used after supper, so that the feast may conclude with unleavened bread. The dish with the two cakes and the half of the broken cake is then lifted up so that all at table may see it, and the father says, '*This is the bread of affliction which our fathers ate in Egypt; this year here, the next in Jerusalem; this year slaves, the next free.*'

Second Cup.—The wine cups are filled again, and the youngest son asks the meaning of the feast with its unusual food and formalities. An explanation follows, chiefly given in the words of Scripture (Ex $12^{8.14.27}$, Ex 13^8, Dt 6^{20}, Jos 24^2), along with various references to the sayings of Jewish fathers. The cup is then lifted up to be seen like the bread, and is called *the cup of the covenant*—the cup of hope in all times of trouble. Reference is made to Laban and Pharaoh and the plagues upon Egypt (Gn 15^{13}, Ex 1, 2, 3, 4^{17} 8^{19} 9^3 12^{27} 14^{31}, Ps 78^{49}, Joel 2^{30}). The chief incidents of the Wilderness journey are recapitulated. A piece of the unleavened bread is again lifted up and the reason for making and eating such bread is quoted (Ex 12^{39}).

A piece of the bitter herbs is similarly held up as symbolical of the embittered life in Egypt (Ex 1^{14}), and every Israelite is charged to consider himself as having been personally present, saying, '*It is because of that which the Lord did for me when I came forth out of Egypt*' (Ex 13^8). The cup is then drunk after a קִדּוּשׁ, Ḳaddîsh, of thanksgiving, and the chanting of Ps 113 and 114, the first part of the Hallel or Hallelujah Psalms.

Third Cup.—The preceding part is all explanatory, and the actual supper now begins by the washing of the hands, the uplifting, breaking, and distribution of the unleavened bread among the members of the family. The usual grace is spoken over bread, and with it the special thanksgiving for the privilege of eating the Passover cakes and herbs. The supper of ordinary food, only without any leavened bread used in its preparation or served with it, is then set on the table and eaten. The meal closes with the distribution and eating of the reserved *aphikômen* cake, and the cups are

filled for the third time and drunk, and grace after meat is pronounced. After this are offered thanksgivings for present mercies, intercessions for the restoration of Jerusalem, and various blessings, with prayer that those partaking may be fitted for the days of the Messiah and the joys of the world to come. A mysterious incident then takes place. The door is opened for the entrance of Elijah the forerunner, and a malediction is pronounced against all the troublers of Israel.

Fourth Cup.—This is filled and the concluding Hallel Psalms, 115 to 118, are sung, along with Ps 136. The observance is here made somewhat weird and mysterious by the chanting of a passage containing a collection of Bible incidents that happened or might have happened 'at midnight.' The celebration then returns to the note with which it started: '*Next year may we be in Jerusalem.*'

III. The Passover and the Lord's Supper.

1. *Attitude.*—At the Jewish Passover the participants are seated, but from time to time, by an act of recollection, the left arm is made to rest on the table or chair and they lean a little awkwardly to that side. It is a faint reminiscence of the reclining attitude observed at the time of the institution of the sacred Christian rite. The change from the original standing posture is explained by the Jews as due to the difference between the state of slavery in Egypt and that of freedom in the land of Israel. The Lord Jesus countenanced the change, and the power to alter forms in order to suit altered conditions is one of the vital rights of the progressive Church of Christ. Thus to receive the sacrament kneeling is an archæological departure, but if accepted by all and without superstition, it might be pleaded as a reverential reminder that He who once, in the days of His flesh, sat with His disciples and washed their feet, is now the risen and exalted Lord.

2. *Unworthy Partaking.*—The Jewish commentators recognize four different types among those who ask the meaning of the Passover and require instruction before partaking of it.

(1) There is the *wise* son who says (Dt 6^{20}), 'What mean the testimonies, the statutes, and the judgments, which the Lord *our* God hath commanded you?' Such a reverent and sympathetic inquiry deserves, the Passover manual says, full attention, even to explaining about the obscure *aphikômen.*

(2) The *graceless* son who holds himself aloof and sceptically asks (Ex 12^{26}), 'What mean *ye* by this service?'

(3) The simple-hearted son who merely asks (Ex 13^{14}), 'What is this?'

(4) The son who doesn't know how to ask, and who has to be helped over the difficulty, according to Ex 13^{8}, 'Thou shalt tell thy son in that day, It is because of that which the Lord did for me when I came forth out of Egypt.' To all these the words of Ex 13^{8} are to be read, but in the case of No. 2 emphasis must be put on the pronoun '*me*' in the reading, so that he may understand and realize that if he had been then living in Egypt he would have been left there!

3. *The Nature of the Bread.*—It is with a Cordelia-like bewilderment of smiles and tears that one discovers in the Jewish Passover both a theory of memorial symbol and a foreshadowing of transubstantiation. There are two Chaldaic-Hebrew readings in the Passover manual, one being הָא כַּלַחְמָא, *ha kelaḥma*, 'this is *like* the bread,' and the other, הָא לַחְמָא, *ha laḥma*, 'this *is* the bread.' The explanation given is that until the temple was destroyed, the former term was used as a reminder of the far-back days of adversity, but ever since then the latter term is used to indicate that it is consubstantial with the original leaven, and has become in deed and truth the actual bread of bondage.

4. *The Elevation of the Bread.*—At the beginning of the Passover ceremony the dish with the unleavened bread is lifted up, and later on a piece of the cake is held up before being broken and distributed around the table. The purpose is simply that all, without exception, may see it and be able to discern that which gives its name to the feast and a meaning to the whole commemoration. There is also another and more devotional reason. It is a custom in Israel at the beginning of their Sabbath, or our Friday evening, and at the forenoon and sunset meals on the Sabbath day, and by the more zealous Jews at other times also, for the father of the family to lift up the bread in his hand while saying grace before food. It is an act of adoration and thanksgiving called 'saying the Ḳaddîsh,' and thus not only at Passover, but at other times also, the bread is elevated, and thus the whole meal is eucharistic, 'sanctified through the word of God and prayer' (1 Ti 4^{5}).

When the early Christians of Jewish origin met to celebrate the Lord's Supper, they could not fail to lift up the bread, both because the omission of such a devout act would seem like godlessness when partaking of bread, and because it *showed forth*, as at the Passover, the very reason and occasion of the ceremony. In this they also followed the example of Him who took the bread and blessed and brake and gave, saying, 'This is My body, broken for you.'

To the Gentile Christians of the early Church the uplifting of the bread would be a solemnly dramatic act that might well have so arrested their attention as to give its name to the entire celebration of the Lord's Supper. The word *Mass* is usually derived from *dimissa* or *missa est*, the intimation given to catechumens and others at the close of the general service, so that they might retire before the communicants began the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The matter is admittedly obscure, but the above seems to be a somewhat helpless and artificial attempt at etymology. If the mass received its name from the fact of shutting out all but those participating, it is difficult to see how there could be a *mass for the dead*.

To any Gentile Christian sitting to-day as an invited guest at the Jewish Passover, and watching the elevation of the bread, the suggestion comes with a strong push of conviction that the name may be due to this act. It was the מַשָּׂא, *massa*, the uplifting of the bread, both for manifestation that it might be set forth and discerned, and as an act of consecration usually performed before bread was broken. In keeping with this meaning the act of consecration was called the *ἀναφορά*, the uplifting, in some of the old liturgies of the sacrament, and on account of the prayer of thanksgiving and adoration accompanying the uplifting, the Communion service was called the Eucharist, the thanksgiving. In the Oriental Greek Church the Arabic equivalent is the Ḳuddâs, the sanctification, corresponding to the Hebrew Ḳaddîsh. The *Mass* may thus be a loan-word, borrowed without acknowledgment from the Hebrew by the Western Church, much in the same way as the Lord's *Passio* was sometimes regarded by it as indifferently derived from *πάσχω*, to suffer, and the Chaldaic-Hebrew, פַּסְחָא, *Paṣ-ḥa*, the Passover.

5. *The Cup of the Covenant.*—This in the Hebrew ritual is held up like the bread, and for the same two reasons, to be clearly discerned by those present and as an act of devout thanksgiving.

It is one of the many impressive incidents in the Passover service when the second cup is raised and the appeal is made to God's covenant with Abraham (Gn $15^{13.14}$). The cup is lifted up, and in a tone of triumphant confidence springing from a hundred deliverances, the families of Israel join in saying: '*This is the promise that has been our fathers' support and our own also, for it is not that one enemy merely has risen up to make an end of us, but many have tried to do so, and the Lord hath ever delivered us out of their hand.*' It is the cup of the Old Testament, and as one listens to the words of grateful remembrance and fervent appeal, one almost sees the uplifting act in the midst of the first disciples, and catches the emphasis of the voice that said, 'This cup is the New Testament in My blood.'

The third cup is sometimes called 'the cup of blessing' (1 Co 10^{16}), because it is drunk after eating the ordinary supper now incorporated with the Passover as a substitute for the Passover lamb slain within the Temple. The wine cup is not referred to in the original Passover, and may have been introduced as a testimony to the state of freedom afterwards enjoyed. The wine is used to represent the wonders that were wrought and all the power that was exerted in order to obtain deliverance. The names of the ten plagues are slowly recited, and the finger is dipped into each cup as the name is pronounced, and a drop of the wine is allowed to fall on the plate of bread and herbs. Something akin to this seems to have been imported into the celebration of the Lord's Supper when a piece of the bread was dipped into the wine, and the sign of the Cross, the remembrance of the shed blood of Christ, was made upon the bread and wine.

Altogether the Passover covenant impresses strongly upon the mind the conviction that the religion of Israel was originally and essentially a personal relationship of the living soul with the living God, of the living God with the living soul, and on the simple natural basis of the *family* life and no other, this bond came to include the whole nation that, as an expanded family, in all grades of rank and stages of education and conditions of wealth, shared the one covenant-relationship.

If so, it tells what a long road must have been travelled before the Christian religion, which in its most sacred rite has received so much from Israel, could become what it is now in Great Britain and America,—a metaphysical nodulation of creeds, catechisms, and Church governments lying like so many boulders of the ice period stranded and stationary on the surface of the soil.

6. *The Passover Lamb.*—At the present day the lamb of the sacrifice is represented by a small blackened shank of bone and meat 'roast with fire.' To the Christian onlooker it is sorely and irresistibly suggestive of the moonshine expedient in *The Midsummer Night's Dream.* To the Jew it is a pathetic memorial of religious atrophy, national disruption, and vanished glory. He lifts it slowly from one side of his plate and lays it down on the other, and withdraws his gaze from it as one would turn away from the grave of an only child.

As explanatory of the Passover and the Lord's Supper it is a reminder of the family meal formerly furnished by the Passover lamb that had to be slain in the Temple area, and of which the blood was sprinkled beside the altar. This temple act gave consecration to the feast, and communion to all the families similarly connected with the same altar. It was by appeal to this fact of communion that the Apostle Paul restored peace and propriety at the celebration of the Lord's Supper in Corinth (1 Co 10^{16-22}). It was one of those transition difficulties that occur constantly in the ever-expanding mission field. The family supper of the Passover was imported into the new rite to make the 'holy convocation in love' of the Hebrew office, which became the *agapé*, or love-feast, of the first disciples. Amid such distraction of family contributions there was danger that the Bread of Passover might be unnoticed, that the Lord's death, the meaning of the whole celebration, might not be discerned. The immemorial supper of the Jewish family became quickly transfigured as the spiritual feast of the household of faith, the communion of all who love Christ with Him and with one another.

The Jewish relic is thus the reminder of a great forfeiture. But it is a national forfeiture, the token of what all alike and together have lost, and perhaps just because of this communion in negation, this fellowship in loss, it may be more pleasing to the great Lord of the Passover than His own Communion table when it is used to furnish statistical lists for Church rivalry.

7. *The Bitter Herb.*—'With bitter herbs shall they eat it' (Ex 12^{8}). Here the connexion is entirely lost. Assuming that the Lord's Supper was instituted at the Passover celebration, we cannot but regard the omission as instructive.

The bitter herb was the symbol of compulsory hardship, recalling the toil and oppression of the bond-slave. It had no affinity with the Life that was willingly laid down. Theology has sometimes spoken unguardedly about the wrath of God lying on the sin-bearer, and in common life we sometimes forget that the Cross has a higher meaning than the bearing of troubles that cannot be avoided. Thus though Renaissance Art may live by the immortality of beauty, yet in an age more truth-loving, and therefore in deeper sympathy with Christ, its face of the Man of Sorrows ceases to satisfy. It is perhaps a seal that no one will ever be able to unfasten, for along with its marks of infinite sorrow the face must have borne as the very soul of its expression the infinite 'joy that was set before Him.'

8. *Homiletic Extravagances.*—The Christian commentator has done much towards equalizing the strangeness of truth and fiction, but the Jewish *darshân* is a strong rival, or interpreter, in this respect. Only too often the sacred Christian rite of the Lord's Supper has been pressed to yield fanciful inferences and artificial applications of sacramental truth and duty. Similarly, rabbinical interpretation finds some of its choicest opportunities in the Passover ceremonial.

Thus Hillel is quoted as teaching that great care must be taken to lay the leaf of bitter herb close to the bread, and to put them into the mouth in this state of juxtaposition, so as to obtain the correct flavour of simultaneousness inherent in the preposition in the verse, '*With* bitter herbs shall ye eat it' (Ex 12^{8}).

Again, by a series of facetious quibblings for God's glory, it can be demonstrated that the catastrophe at the Red Sea amounted to exactly two hundred and fifty Egyptian plagues.

The Passover manual tells how Rabbi José of Galilee was the first to find out that the disaster at the Red Sea was equal to fifty plagues. At the Red Sea Israel saw the great work (*hand*, Hebrew) which the Lord did upon the Egyptians (Ex 14^{31}), whereas in Egypt the magicians could only say

about the plagues, 'This is the *finger* of God' (Ex 8^{19}). Thus, if the ten plagues made a finger, the hand would be five times greater, or fifty plagues.

Then Rabbi Eliezer calls attention to the fact that each plague is capable of a sort of polychrome disintegration.

Each plague is really four plagues according to Ps 78^{49}, 'He cast upon them: (1) the fierceness of His anger, (2) wrath, (3) indignation, and (4) trouble—a band of angels of evil.'

In this way, by multiplying the above result by four, the total amounted to two hundred plagues.

Finally, Rabbi Aḳîba works over this source, and contends that the above-mentioned embassy of evil is not a comprehensive summary of the preceding particulars, but quite an independent item. He therefore multiplies by five and reaches a grand total of two hundred and fifty plagues!

9. *Passover Politics.*—As the door is thrown open for the admission of Elijah as their guest, and for the proclamation of the Lord's day of vengeance, an anathema is read out against all those who have devoured Jacob (Ps 69^{24} $79^{6,7}$, La 3^{66}).

It is practically the same collect that according to the early Church Fathers was added to the eighteen Benedictions of the Jewish prayer-book in order to curse the Christians who had brought confusion into the synagogue.

It is the Te Deum of rabbinical Judaism.

Occurring as it does in the heart of the Passover service, the memorial of escaped slaves, the malediction sounds cruel and unnatural. It reminds one of what was done in a narrow and bitter day in England, when in the eighteenth century, so soon after the deliverance of the Reformation, the national Church made or had to make the partaking of Holy Communion the test of political loyalty and of fitness for public office. Religion was thus refrigerated to the heart, and the dear family covenant of national religion was so enfeebled that Dissent and Nonconformity, the needed protests of the hour, became permanent and painless names, and the parent Church felt relieved by the loss of some of her saintliest children.

10. *Things to Come.*—As the Christian rite is perpetuated 'till He come,' so the Hebrew Passover closes with a prayer that the temple may be rebuilt, and that the long expected Messiah may come. He will come to His own who have hoped in Him, and in His presence the Passover will fade away, and be forgotten with all its remembrances of sorrow and suffering.

The Lord Jesus touched the same tender chord when He said, 'In My Father's house are many mansions: I go to prepare a place for you.'

The Passover, as an embodiment of Judaism, tells what happens when the progressive is made permanent, and an institution more important than the purpose for which it was instituted. Professing to serve and glorify God, Judaism made God the servant and glorifier of Israel. Theirs was the kingdom of God, and the rest of the world consisted of Gibeonite convenience and Canaanite contamination.

The living spirit of the religion of Israel is now facing humanity, and going out into the great world for which Christ died.

That religion still possesses its Passover sacrifice, its unleavened bread, and its altar of Communion, for its Sacrifice once slain is now the living Saviour from sin, its bread of memorial is the witness of a cleansed heart, and its only altar of the holiest is the needs of the world.

This study of Passover meanings and affinities in relation to the Christian Church seems to teach that while the leaves of the Gospel tree are for the healing of the nations, the soil still clinging to its roots is from the old land of Israel.

Recent Foreign Theology.

A New Explanation of the Lord's Supper.[1]

READERS of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES who have followed the course of the keen controversy regarding the Lord's Supper which has gone on in Germany during the last decade, may be interested in having their attention directed to a quite novel attempt that has recently been made to solve the problem. Dr. A. Schweitzer, the latest contributor to the discussion, works upon a much larger and more ambitious plan than any of his predecessors, and, indeed, has set himself to produce a kind of theological trilogy, the last member of which has not yet appeared. The essential features of his theory, however, are sufficiently disclosed in the two *Hefte* already published, and it is to these essential features alone that I wish to refer.

The main stages hitherto in the voluminous controversy that was started in 1891 by Harnack's brochure, *Brot und Wasser: die eucharistischen Elemente bei Justin*, may perhaps be best marked by the contributions of Jülicher, Spitta, and Professor Eichhorn of Halle. Of the host of other writers who have joined in the fray, the majority have contented themselves in the main with criticizing their predecessors, or with giving elaborate summaries of what has been said from one point or another. The views of Harnack, Jülicher, and Spitta are pretty well known, and a brief but adequate account of Eichhorn's startling essay was given in the pages of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES (October 1899, pp. 42–43) not long after it appeared in Germany. Eichhorn virtually ran the discussion into a blind alley, for while all previous investigators had busied themselves with attempting to arrive at the truth regarding the Lord's Supper by applying the methods of historical criticism to the various narratives, he declared the attempt to be useless, inasmuch as there is no ground to believe that we have any authentic narratives whatever of what really took place in the upper room in Jerusalem. For before the date of the oldest stratum of tradition preserved in the N.T., indeed during the very first decade of Christian history, the original tradition must have experienced the greatest transformations of all.

Schweitzer freely admits that critical discussions hitherto have not merely failed to solve the problem, but have only served to bring its difficulties into stronger relief. But the reason, he maintains, is not, as Eichhorn suggests, that historical criticism is utterly inadequate to the task, but that it has hitherto been travelling upon the wrong road. What is needed is a new way, a way that will lead us out of Eichhorn's *cul de sac*. This way he claims to have discovered. Lack of confidence in himself and his theories is not one of his qualities; and it is evident that he firmly believes that he has got nothing less than what has been called 'a Columbus egg' to lay upon the critical table.

In *Heft I.* Schweitzer gives a rapid and interesting sketch of the main conceptions that have been formed of the Lord's Supper, from the time of the Reformation down to the present day, and shows that they fall into two leading groups, according as the representation-moment or the participation-moment is made fundamental. But both representationists and participationists, he holds, have only been deceiving themselves and leading others astray by concentrating their attention on the so-called words of institution. For at the Holy Supper we have to do with a distribution on the part of Jesus and a participation on the part of the disciples, and with two parables ('this is My body,' 'this is My blood') which coincided with the process. They *coincided*; that is the point. In the narratives, from the nature of the case, they cannot be made to coincide, and have to be reported in succession. But go to Ober-Ammergau, or simply represent to yourself the scene as it took place in the upper room, and you will perceive that it was in the course of the distribution of the bread and the passing round of

[1] *Das Abendmahl im Zusammenhang mit dem Leben Jesu und der Geschichte des Urchristentums.* Von Albert Schweitzer. Erstes Heft: *Das Abendmahlsproblem auf Grund der wissenschaftlichen Forschung des 19. Jahrhunderts und der historischen Berichte.* 1901. M.1.60. Zweites Heft: *Das Messianitäts- und Leidensgeheimniss. Eine Skizze des Lebens Jesu.* 1901. M.2.40. Drittes Heft: *Geschichte des Abendmahls von der historischen Feier bis auf Irenaeus.* Erscheint, 1902. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr.

the wine that Jesus spoke the parabolic words. Now all previous conceptions have manufactured a causal succession out of a supposed chronological one, and in so doing have made the problem of the Supper insoluble. Jesus has been represented as summoning His disciples to partake of the proffered bread and wine, inasmuch as they were His body and blood. Yet, as a matter of fact, the disciples did not eat and drink what Jesus had previously consecrated to be His body and blood, but, on the contrary, while they were eating the bread and drinking the wine Jesus said, 'This is My body'; 'This is My blood.' So the parable does not constitute the feast, or even belong to its essence, but only springs out of it. The problem of the Lord's Supper has nothing to do with the two impossible questions, How Jesus gave His disciples His body to eat and His blood to drink, and How the disciples reproduced this feast afterwards in a corresponding way. The problem is quite different. The question is not, What do the parables signify, so that we may explain the Supper? but, What did the Supper signify, so that we may explain the parables? The parables then must be laid aside altogether at the first. This is the only way to a solution of the problem of the Lord's Supper.

Schweitzer now passes to a consideration of the narratives. And, first of all, he draws attention to the peculiarities of Mark's account, which, he affirms, have never hitherto been worked out, but have simply been explained away by the help of the other narratives. The right to do so, however, is an unproved assumption. If we had only Mark's narrative before us, we should never conclude that Jesus distributed bread and wine to His disciples as His body and blood, and summoned them to participation *in this sense.* Moreover, we should interpret the first act of the supper by the second, as regards the temporal relation between the actions and the words, and so should establish it as a fact that Jesus *in the course of the distribution* of the bread spoke the parable about His body, and *not till all had drunk* of the wine the parable of His blood.

This brings us to consider the authenticity of Mark's narrative. Schweitzer lays it down as an absolute principle of historical criticism that that narrative must be pronounced authentic which is found to have been influenced in no way by the conceptions of the feast which afterwards prevailed in the primitive community. He accordingly compares Mark's narrative with those of Matthew, Paul, Luke, and Justin Martyr, with the view of establishing a new conception of authenticity. His criterion is the presence or absence of a tendency to assimilate the two parts of the supper. The peculiarity of Mark's narrative is this, that the two acts differ in their extent and points of view. The first is quite short, being limited to the prayer, the breaking for distribution, and the parable; the second, on the other hand, contains the prayer, the distribution, the mention of participation, the parable, the reference to the saving significance of the death, and, a point on which the author lays great stress, the eschatological concluding words about the drinking of the new wine in the heavenly kingdom. Now history shows that in the later feast of the community the two parts of the supper came to be completely assimilated; and in all of the narratives except Mark's we see this process going on, and gradually nearing its completion. The process of assimilation was undoubtedly due to the influence exercised by the primitive Christian feast upon the idea of the historical one. And as Mark stands quite outside that process, his narrative is certainly authentic. Thus we have gained 'a new conception of authenticity, founded no longer on opinions, but on laws.' Here follows a hit, presumably at Eichhorn: 'Hitherto it passed as interesting to dash off, with a certain sceptical nonchalance, the statement that we can never know anything of the authenticity of the narratives. Even if among our narratives there were an authentic one, we had no means of discovering it among the rest. But by the new conception of authenticity this scepticism is done away.' In Mark's account then, it can be scientifically proved, we do possess an authentic narrative. This being so, it becomes historically certain that Jesus never summoned His disciples to eat His body and drink His blood, but that He spoke two parables in the course of the participation.

But another datum of Mark's narrative is that an eschatological character belongs essentially to the original feast. It is a feature of all the modern historical conceptions of the Supper, according to Schweitzer, that they do not give full value to the eschatological thoughts that are present in all the N.T. narratives. To this state-

ment readers of Spitta's brilliant monograph will be inclined to demur, for Spitta certainly concentrates attention upon the joyful meal of the future in Messiah's kingdom. But his conceptions, Schweitzer insists, do not really rest upon the N.T., but upon the Apocrypha and the Wisdom literature. Moreover, Spitta makes the Messiah offer Himself to the disciples as the food and drink of the coming Messianic meal, whereas, according to the Synoptists, Jesus is not to be the food and drink of His disciples, but is Himself to drink the new wine with them in His Father's kingdom. Spitta apart, however, modern investigators all tend to push the eschatological elements of the situation into the background, and to find the essence of the feast in the thought of the Lord's approaching death. But it was not of His death merely that Jesus spoke, but of His death as followed by a speedy reunion at the joyful meal in the kingdom of God. The thought of the Passion is placed in the very closest connexion with the eschatological expectation. The modern historical conceptions of the Lord's Supper are thus unhistorical, since the thought of the Passion with which they operate shows no connexion with the eschatology. In order to grasp the nature of the last meal of Jesus, however, one must have a view of the eschatological character of the secret of His Messiahship and Passion. The Supper of Jesus, consequently, can only be understood if we have a right understanding of the life of Jesus. Thus the problem of the Lord's Supper becomes the problem of His life. A true conception of the former can only grow out of a new conception of the latter, which so contains the secret of the Messiahship and of the Passion that this ceremonial action at the last meal becomes thereby intelligible.

This brings us to *Heft II.*, in which the author sets himself the rather serious task of rewriting the life of Jesus, with a special view to the discovery of the secret of His Messiahship and Passion. This part of his work is considerably larger than the first part, and it is impossible to attempt to do it any justice. Schweitzer's views are certainly original; but the Daniel-come-to-judgment airs with which he treats all previous investigators occasionally provoke a smile. 'Up to the present,' he tells us, 'the "historical" conception of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus is false, because it does not explain the history.' He offers us, therefore, 'a new conception of the life of Jesus' which has grown out of insight into an existing antinomy which the historical critics do not explain. The tendency of his views, he claims, is distinctly conservative. They make the synoptical question much simpler and clearer, and deliver us from a great deal of the artificial redaction with which critics have hitherto been obliged to operate. They prove that the influence of the faith of the primitive community upon the synoptical narratives does not go nearly so deep as has hitherto been supposed. As to their teaching, the Synoptics reveal, when rightly read, that the absolutely new magnitude which is bound up with the death of Jesus, is the eschatological realization of the kingdom. 'On the Atonement which Jesus provides, there hangs the coming of the kingdom in power. That is the fundamental secret of the Passion.' The modern historical attempts to deal with the life of Jesus are all completely wrong. The eschatological-historical conception is the only right one—that the thought of the Passion is altogether dominated by the eschatological idea of the kingdom.

But to come to the bearing of *Heft II.* on the problem of the Supper. To find the true explanation of the meal in the upper room, Schweitzer takes us to the evening meal at the sea of Gennesaret. Jesus had around Him there a community inspired by the most exalted eschatological expectations. The meal, which took place beside the sea at the evening hour, was not a miracle; that is a later distortion of the historical truth, due to the fact that what was a religious meal, being misunderstood, came to be conceived of as a meal for satisfaction of hunger (a little touch that serves to remind us that the author's conservatism is a somewhat eclective quantity). Essentially it was a ceremonial religious meal. Jesus took the scanty provisions brought for Himself and His disciples, and ceremonially distributed them to the multitude. With the exception of the two parables regarding His body and His blood, we have absolutely the same procedure as at the Last Supper. The fellowship at this meal had an eschatological character; it bore upon the expectation of the manifestation of the kingdom of God. But the full meaning of the meal was meanwhile clear to Jesus alone. He was acting from His Messianic self-consciousness. Knowing

Himself to be the Messiah, He distributed to His followers ceremonial food, as giving them a claim thereby to participation in the future feast.

So a light falls upon the nature of the Supper in Jerusalem. There the disciples represent the company of those who believe in the kingdom, and Jesus imparts to them the same ceremonial food. But now the disciples know their Lord's estimate of Himself. He has discovered to them His Messianic secret, and from that they can divine the relation of His present distribution to the glorious Messianic meal. Jesus Himself gives this signification to His action by concluding the supper with a reference to the reunion soon to take place, when He and they shall drink the new wine together in the kingdom of God. Thus the supper by the sea and the supper in the upper room completely correspond, only at the latter Jesus explains to His disciples the nature of the feast, and at the same time gives expression in the two parables to the thought of the Passion. So one understands, for the first time, how in its nature the Lord's Supper is quite independent of the two parables, and in its essence is nothing else than this—a feast anticipative of the Messianic meal, within the circle of the fellowship of those who believe in the kingdom of God.

A detailed criticism of Schweitzer's theories would be out of place. That they are weak at not a few points appears manifest. Nor are they quite so original as he imagines. To Spitta especially he owes more than he seems to be aware of; while his arguments go to support the view of the latter, that the historic Supper of Jesus was the festival of the Messianic meal. Most readers will probably be inclined to say to Schweitzer, as Harnack said in rejecting the hypothesis of Spitta: 'The words of 1 Co 11^{23} are too strong for me' (*Hist. Dogm.* i. 66). That the death of Jesus was the central thought of the Supper we cannot but believe; but it is possible that more weight should be given to those eschatological elements in the situation which are certainly present in Paul's conception (1 Co 11^{26}), and present very strikingly in the Synoptists, if we connect the words about drinking the new wine in the kingdom of God with the Lord's Supper itself, and not with a preceding paschal feast.

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Fenwick.

Do We need New Revelations?[1]

IN the fiftieth supplement to the *Christliche Welt*, the minister of the German Protestant congregation in Manchester asks and seeks to answer the question, Do we need new revelations? His argument runs as follows:—(1) It is as an *historical reality* that Christianity meets us, and whatever we owe to it has come to us by *historical mediation*. It is a *positive* religion in the sense that 'it indicates a point of time in history which is the hour of its birth,' a period in which an *immediate revelation* was experienced. This immediate revelation is claimed for Christ in a unique mode. While the Christian's consciousness of God's fatherhood is similar to Christ's, yet in Him that consciousness came to be in a fundamentally different way. Mediated for the Christian by Christ, it was immediate for Him. But the question remains, Along with this historical mediation of Christian piety, is the other way of immediate revelation still possible? Such a possibility is indicated in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit found within the Scripture canon itself. As Christ has, however, laid down the normal features of the religious life, every claim to an immediate revelation must be tested by this standard. Any type of piety that contradicts or hinders this only legitimate type or even is in no way helpful to it, must be declared out of place in the Christian religion. If, however, tasks are set to Christian piety, which it cannot discharge with the historical means at its disposal, the possibility of an immediate revelation, fitting it to solve these problems, may be admitted. Three forms of immediate revelation are possible: the mystical, the apocalyptic-gnostic, and the prophetic.

(2) 'The contents of all *mystical* revelation is the union of the soul and God.' Mysticism tends to deny the reality of the world, and to identify the creature and the Creator. It experiences extreme variations of emotion, now enjoyment of God's presence, then loneliness of soul. It is not Christian piety which has a steadfast sense of God's fatherly love.

(3) *Apocalyptic* and *gnosis*, although a closer study might enable us to distinguish them accurately, have much in common. They seek in revelation a solution of the problem of the Universe, its origin, course, and destiny. The mystic revelation

[1] *Brauchen wir Neue Offenbarungen?* Von Willy Veit. Williams & Norgate. Price 1s. net.

is exclusively individual, the secret of each soul. The apocalyptic or gnostic is the esoteric doctrine of a select circle. It is not Christian, for it puts for the soul's trust in God interest in speculative ideas.

(4) The revelations of *prophecy* are concerned with the will, what God would have men do. In contrast to mysticism, prophetic revelation represents God as 'a free, living, active personality,' who in the concrete circumstances of history communicates to men His definite commands. Unlike the apocalyptic or gnostic revelation the prophetic is not speculative but practical. It does not seek to solve the problem of the Universe, but to assign to a man or a nation a task in the kingdom of God. It alone, therefore, is in no way inconsistent with the Christian type of piety. But it is not enough to show this consistency. It must be proved that Christian piety, to meet the demands made upon it, still needs prophetic revelations.

(5) The two poles of Christian piety are love to God and love to man. In man's relation to God Christ's consciousness cannot be transcended. Consequently, 'in the Christian communion of God and the soul, there is no room, no occasion, and no justification for prophetic revelation.' In his relations to his fellows man has tasks set to him, not only the task of relieving such need and misery as he meets with, but also the task of so reorganizing society as to remove the causes of want and woe. Christian love must recognize the truth that is in socialism. The Christian idea of the kingdom of God points in this direction, and in present circumstances the idea of the kingdom of God and the command of love must be combined. The task of Christian piety and of prophetic is thus seen to be the same. There is one aim; must there be the same means? Does Christian piety even as prophetic need immediate revelations? At first Christian thought turned to 'the historical Jesus' for guidance in dealing with these social questions. But it has been discovered that, while 'He gives power and courage, inspiration and constancy,' yet as He only offers general principles, and not their practical application to present conditions, all that is needed is not found. 'If that task of Christian piety is not to be allowed to drop,—which would mean a lapse from true Christianity,—then the courage and ability for this work can be felt only by such piety, as not only feels itself generally called to this work, but with a certainty which cannot be shaken knows itself possessed of concrete divine directions and instructions.' Accordingly we may expect that Christian piety for the same end as prophetic will be afforded by God the same means, immediate divine revelations. This idea may seem strange, but a consideration of the features of the prophetic revelation may help us to feel more at home with it. It will be psychologically mediated, will come without external evidence, but only with inward certainty, and will not encourage ease, idleness, or sloth, for the work will remain to be done, even when God's will has been discovered. For such revelations we must wait, but meanwhile we must work, so far as light is already ours; for if we do our part, God will do His.

This essay may be cordially commended as interesting and suggestive. Its argument should not be dismissed as a pious fancy, but contains much that is worthy of close study. It is significant as an indication of the prominence and dominance of the social aspect of Christianity in much of the freshest religious thought in Germany and England, for it is evident that the author has been influenced in his thinking both by the land of his birth and by the country he has made his home.

Dissent must, however, be expressed on the following points:—(1) It seems a vain logical abstraction to distinguish, as is here done, the emotional, the speculative, and the practical aspects of piety, as none of these is actually found in isolation, although one or other may be more prominent. (2) The comparison of mystic, apocalyptic, or gnostic, and prophetic revelation has too exclusively an historical interest. The essay would have been more valuable had the author dealt with contemporary phases of piety, which in some degree reproduce these distinctive features. (3) The representation of the prophetic revelation seems disproportionate, as the prophets brought more to their people than commands. (4) The writer has not convinced me, at least, that the Christian Church has not in the teaching of Jesus on the one hand, and the study of social phenomena on the other, with the promised guidance of the Holy Spirit, all the means it needs for the discharge of its social task.

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Montrose.

Harnack's Latest Lecture.[1]

'Socrates and the Ancient Church' is the title of the Rectoral Address delivered by Professor Harnack in the University of Berlin at the opening of the academical year 1901. Like his other studies in the great spiritual figures and systems of the past, this address is genuinely eloquent and incisive, marked by power and sympathy in a very impressive degree, and instinct with a learning which is alive to its very extremities. Christ and Socrates—one does not need to be a prophet, he says, to realize that the problem represented by that antithesis will meet us again in all its force within the next half-century. A few pages are given to a concise but adequate statement of the new elements of moral ardour, self-sacrifice, and inwardness which Socrates brought into the spiritual life of Greece—aspects of his work which inevitably appealed to the Christian mind. And yet there is a great gulf fixed: 'he calls men to knowledge, Christianity calls them to faith.' For many years, as is proved in some detail, Socrates enjoyed the highest favour among Church writers. Justin, the first to touch the subject, views him as almost a prototype of Christ Himself; he is named with singular veneration by such apologists as Tatian and Athenagoras. He had died for his creed, as the martyrs died for theirs—this one fact was triumphantly appealed to by the Christians, and recognized as an embarrassing difficulty by the more noble of their opponents. The Christian Platonists of Alexandria only followed their natural bent when they quoted him as an authority even for the Church. The Western theologians were the first to lay their finger upon the real discrepancy between the teaching of Socrates and the teaching of Christ. Tertullian and Lactantius were by no means blind to the higher aspects of his influence, yet their judgment shows too plainly the dark lines of contempt and animosity. Tertullian even ventures in language of strange violence to attack the last hours and parting words of the dying philosopher. And Augustine took the last step in this direction 'by his frightful doctrine that all the virtues of the heathen are but brilliant vices.' Time has taught us better. 'We no longer claim Christ for philosophy, or Socrates for Christianity; yet we confess with Justin that in Socrates also was manifested the power of the Logos.'

Now and then, in this as in his other writings, one is tempted to say that Harnack's ideas need shading. Life does not seem to exhibit the absolute oppositions which figure so constantly in his memorable pages. There was less in the apologists than he would have us believe, of a desire to rewrite natural theology, with the Christian facts brought in merely by way of illustration; they aspired, not without success, to enable their age to think in Christian terms without betraying the faith to heathen philosophers. Does not Harnack himself admit (p. 23) that there is a point of view at which philosophy and Christianity can be seen in friendly correlation, and as mutually interpreting each other?

This may be one of Harnack's slighter pieces, but we are safe to say that scarcely any will be read with more genuine interest and enjoyment.

H. R. Mackintosh.

Aberdeen.

[1] *Sokrates und die alte Kirche.* Von Adolf Harnack. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. Pp. 24. Price 6d.

The Scribes of Palestine.

We have also received a brief pamphlet[2] by Professor O. Holtzmann of Giessen, dealing with the Jewish scribes in the time of Jesus. Originally delivered as a lecture at a theological conference, it succeeds in investing a rather forbidding subject with a real human and historical interest. It was the scribes, he tells us, that called the synagogue into existence, and not *vice versâ*, as some suppose. The scribes were the successors of the prophets, and looked back to Ezekiel as their ideal and original leader. They charged themselves with the distinctively religious education of the people, and in this respect Holtzmann does not hesitate to characterize the work of the scribes as far superior to that of the prophets in incisive and painstaking closeness to life. Not only did they preach in the synagogues; they trained disciples, and frequently filled the place of judges. But while in certain respects their influence told more deeply than that of the prophets, they fell far short

[2] *Die jüdische Schriftgelehrsamkeit zur Zeit Jesu.* Von Dr. Oscar Holtzmann, a.o. Professor der Theologie, Giessen. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 32.

of the prophetic ideal as such. For they were occupied with law, and could not but lay very minor stress on motives. Hence formality and hypocrisy; hence, too, artificiality in exegesis and intolerable aridity of discourse. Vanity, hypocrisy, and avarice were their besetting sins. It was part of Jesus' work, not only to rebuke them, but to antiquate their teaching by reaching back to, and developing more richly, the great thoughts of prophecy. On the other hand, He may be compared to the scribes in so far as He did perfectly what they did with such glaring deficiencies. He retained many of their forms, but the content He poured into them was new and creative. When everything has been said, the scribes still remain as a phenomenon which helped to prepare the way for Christianity, for in character and work they stand between the prophets and Christ, and their zeal for tradition was the medium by which even to Him were conveyed some of the spiritual treasures of the past.

The little *brochure* is eminently instructive, and every page brimful of movement. The author makes his points with great clearness, and writes with a pleasing vigour. His arguments help to correct that habit of indiscriminately condemning certain classes of people in Scripture to which we are all prone; and one who is content to learn what Holtzmann has to teach may be assured that his more charitable views of the scribes now rest, not upon a counter-prejudice in their favour, but upon the basis of better and clearer knowledge.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

Aberdeen.

A Great Danish Thinker.

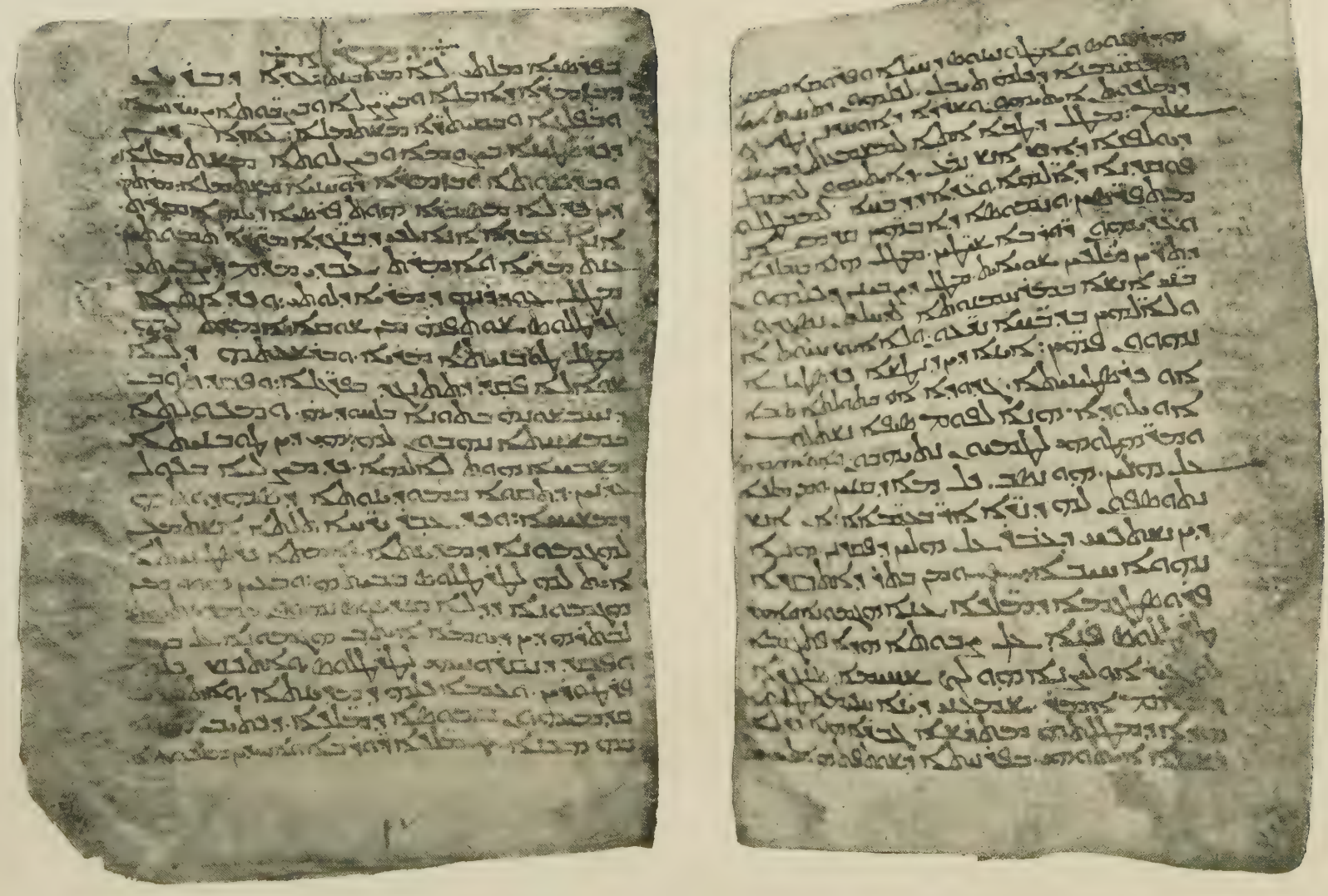
KIERKEGAARD[1] has come to his kingdom slowly. For many years after his death his name was almost unknown beyond the Danish frontier, and even yet one or two magazine articles represent all the influence he exerts in this country. Yet he is not a man to be neglected without loss. One who has been variously designated 'the Christian Socrates,' and 'the Tycho Brahe of modern ethics,' has surely some deep truth to impart to the world. He did not write for the great public. His methods are altogether different from those of the professed theologian. He wrote because he must; and from the first he found discerning readers, whose number at present bids fair to increase.

These two essays were written as far back as 1847, and have at last been admirably translated into German by a loving disciple. They utterly defy analysis or criticism of the conventional kind. The first, entitled 'Ought a man to let himself be killed for the truth's sake?' deals with the absolutely voluntary character of Christ's atoning passion: the second treats of the difference between a genius and an apostle, and contains many memorable sayings upon the authority of the N.T. Scriptures. Suffice it to testify that very seldom indeed do we remember to have read papers of a like originality, ingenuity, subtlety, and elemental and passionate power. Their spirit is profoundly Christian. Like the work of all really great minds, they leave irritating trifles on one side, and go straight to the centre of things. Had Kierkegaard written in German or (which is more difficult to imagine) French, his name would long ago have been a household word. Will some one not translate a selection of his shorter pieces into English? The task would be a comparatively light one, for his style has all the simplicity of nature, and his are thoughts which appeal to the universal heart.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

Aberdeen.

[1] *Zwei ethisch-religiöse Abhandlungen.* Von Sören Kierkegaard. Zum ersten Male aus dem Dänischen übersetzt von Julie von Reincke. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1902. Pp. 72.



FACSIMILE OF THE LEAF OF THE MS. OF THE SYRIAC GOSPELS STOLEN FROM MOUNT SINAI.

A Leaf Stolen from the Sinai Palimpsest.

By Agnes Smith Lewis, Phil. Dr. (Halle), LL.D. (St. Andrews).

All students of the textual criticism of the New Testament will learn with deep regret that a leaf has disappeared from the Syriac Palimpsest of the Four Gospels on Mount Sinai. I missed it whilst I was in the Convent Library in February of this year; but the monks had previously noticed its disappearance. It is f. 101, which contains part of the story of Mary, slave of Tertullus, and in the under-script the text of Mk 2^{21}–3^{21}. I was informed that a party of several scholars had worked for some time at that MS. during the course of last summer; and it is safe to suppose that a fair number of passing travellers have been permitted not only to look at it, but also to handle it. My surmise is that one of these latter, wishing to make an addition to his own collection of Oriental curios, has slipped the leaf betwixt the pages of a book, in the fond belief that it would never be missed.

The manuscript is kept in a box of mahogany, lined with cedar-wood, which I presented to the Convent in 1893, for its safe custody. This box has two lids, the inner one being of glass, so that the manuscript might be displayed to visitors without its having to bear the touch of their fingers. It is further protected from dust by a silken cover, made for it by the late Mrs. Bensly, and the monks are very careful to put it neatly into this; for any want of dexterity in so doing would take something from the crumbling margins. Except for the loss of a leaf, the manuscript has suffered in no way since I last saw it in 1897; indeed, as the years roll on, its pages have tended to become cleaner.

But most of the binding had disappeared before 1895, the cord which held the quires together having given way even earlier. Many quires and several leaves are therefore quite loose, thus the latter offer a too ready temptation to the spoiler.

But who has done this deed? Who has found it in his heart to mutilate one of the most ancient of Gospel manuscripts, a codex eccentric in its readings, if you will, but unique in the light which it has shed on some of our Lord's sayings, and in the interest which its text has awakened amongst biblical scholars? It is not only the monks who have been robbed, it is the Christian world, which has surely a right of heritage in those sacred records which enshrine the earliest forms of the Gospel story. For twelve hundred years that codex has remained unaltered, intact so far as its later script—the Lives of Holy Women—is concerned, and for sixteen hundred years its 142 leaves of the Gospel writing have held together, preserved to us, we may well believe, by something more than mere chance.

The theft has certainly not been the act of a scholar. This we may know from the fact that f. 100 has several rents near the top, as if its neighbour had been roughly and hurriedly torn off. F. 102 is quite detached from it, and now naturally begins the eleventh quire, as will be seen from Dr. Rendel Harris' Table A in the edition of 1894. The thief has evidently been restrained by no scruple about injuring the context; we therefore judge that he was unable to read the Syriac text, and was probably a thoughtless visitor, eager to acquire a specimen of something either for himself or for the Library of his University. Even if we allow that there may have been an excuse for such conduct in the old days, when the manuscript treasures of Eastern monasteries were hidden from the view of scholars, it is surely now a great breach of faith and honour towards the hospitable monks of Mount Sinai, who have spent both thought and money in the rearrangement of their books, and who receive every European visitor with a kindness and a simple trustfulness which should place him on his honour. Suppose the monastery did not exist, there would be no haven of rest for the wanderer in these magnificent solitudes (for a hotel would never pay its way), and no effective power to make the Bedawin tractable. And in case, too, of an accident happening to the thief whilst in the immediate neighbourhood, we are confident that the very slender resources of the monks would have been taxed to the utmost to comfort and succour him.

But this is not all. The man who knowingly injures a fourth-century codex of the Gospels,

commits an act of sacrilege and places himself under the ban of Christendom. On such a one we may well invoke the curse of the *Last Minstrel*—

> Go, mark him well;
> For him no minstrel raptures swell;
> High though his titles, proud his name,
> Boundless his wealth as wish can claim;
> Despite those titles, power, and pelf,
> The wretch, concenter'd all in self,
> Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
> And, doubly dying, shall go down
> To the vile dust, from whence he sprung,
> Unwept, unhonour'd, and unsung.

But there is still a place for repentance. If the possessor of the lost leaf, or any one who may recognize it from our photographs, will send it by post, carefully protected between two pieces of cardboard, either to me at 'Castlebrae, Cambridge,' or to the Editor or the Publishers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, we will undertake to replace it in the codex. No questions will be asked, nor any attempt made on our part to acquire information which is not voluntarily given. Thus the disgrace attaching to the present ownership of the leaf will be rolled away, and in its place there will come a pleasing consciousness of having earned by a timely act of reparation the gratitude of all who love the Gospels.

'Being Burdened.'

BY THE RIGHT REV. C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D., BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

'We that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened.'—2 Cor v. 4.

THE words are taken from a mysterious and difficult passage which comes before us perhaps a little unexpectedly, as we dwell upon the general context of this portion of the Epistle. The general tenor of what has preceded is consolatory,—the light of the present as contrasted with the fulness of the glory of the future,—but it changes into the contemplation of a serious aspect of a burdened present, on which we may profitably dwell.

I have thus chosen the text with some reference to modern conceptions as to the relations of this life and the future, which, in many respects, utterly ignore the scriptural aspects of death, and the whole nature of the passage from the life on this side the grave to the life that is to follow it.

The modern view, which claims to rely on modern scientific disclosures, is that death is merely a passage from one state of physical conditions into another. The body that is here subject to the limitations of our present existence surrenders to the earthly and the material the particles of which its tabernacle was composed, and passes into the mysterious ether of science; therein to continue existence under the new conditions which the change necessitates, but in a form and tenor which certainly differs but little from the more innocent phases of life on this side the grave. Those who are acquainted with conceptions of this nature will know well the source from which they have been derived, but will be not unprepared for my saying that they are completely non-scriptural, and, further, that they tend to obliterate the true conception of death, and of its indissoluble connexion with disobedience and sin. Into the discussion of such views it is certainly not my intention to enter in a sermon like the present.

I should not have alluded to them if I had not known that they find expression in many of the popular treatises on the after-life, and have even found sympathetic notices in the Christian pulpit. The attractive ideas of continuity in existence, and of death being no more than the natural passage from the material and visible to the immaterial and invisible, have made men forget the changeless truth that death is the wages of sin, and the enemy, the last and the most persistent, that will be swallowed up in the victory of which Easter Day is the abiding testimony.

But let us now leave these unscriptural conceptions, and turn to the mysterious text, which, when rightly explained, will bring home to us not only what was passing through the mind of the apostle

when he wrote the words, but also those conceptions of the life beyond the grave on which the believing Christian may humbly and hopefully rely, when thoughts such as those of the apostle are felt to be more than usually disquieting to the soul. Such times there are with the very best of us, and such times while we are still in the body will only pass finally away when time shall have become no more.

It seems hardly possible to doubt that some of the shadows cast, not by the fear of death, but by the contemplation of the state of the soul when dissociated from its lifelong companion the body, were then resting on the mind of the apostle. The ceaseless trials and sufferings of the life he was living, the bearing about in the body what he solemnly speaks of as 'the dying of Jesus' (what a wondrous expression), the decaying of the outward man, all tended to bring out the unshaken conviction that in the end He who raised up the Lord Jesus will in like manner raise up His suffering servants, and that when the earthly home of the soul is dissolved, its place will be assumed by a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

This conviction never leaves the apostle, but, even while he holds it, and clings to it, even while he groans for its realization, the thought unbiddenly presents itself that, in the procedure by which the tabernacle in which we now are is changed into the building from God, there must be some shock, something alien to the familiar continuity of earthly existence, from which we may crave to be exempted when the critical moment of the laying aside of the earthly tabernacle has come, and the house not made with hands is awaiting the entry of its new occupant.

It is this anxiety that leads the apostle to use the words of the text, and to repeat the tenor of the foregoing thoughts, and even to substantiate them by a kind of appeal to the general experience of all to whom his words were addressed. We that are in this tabernacle, he says, in this transitory and perishable body, 'do groan, being burdened.'

But why burdened? What is this enduring burden (for the tense of the original implies this) which calls forth this utterance of the inmost feeling of the soul? This very natural question has been somewhat differently answered. It has been considered by many to refer to the burden of cares and sorrows which mark the whole course and tenor of mortal life, and to the pressure which they exert on the inward spirit. 'The earthy frame,' to use the language of the Wisdom of Solomon (9^{15}), 'lieth heavy on a mind that is full of cares.' Such a reference, however, is plainly incompatible with the words which follow, in which there is no allusion to the general sorrows and trials of life, but to a deeper-seated feeling, and to a more mysterious antipathy, which the apostle discloses in the words which follow the text. The context appears to make it certain that the principal elements of the burden under which we groan is our recoil from a bodiless existence, or, as the apostle now, by a change of metaphor, speaks of it, from the unclothed state—a state so alien to every feeling of our mortal nature that we at once long for, what the apostle longed for, a being clothed upon with the future body, and the merging into it, as it were, of this poor perishable body, so that, to use the language of the apostle, 'what is mortal may be swallowed up of life.' This, then, if we follow the reasoning of the words which follow the text, must be the burden, that, while we long for emancipation from the mortal and all that it involves, we still are haunted with the dread that such an emancipation may carry with it the very nakedness from which our present nature makes us instinctively recoil.

There must be few among those who think deeply on these subjects who are not conscious that they too have shared in this longing to be clothed upon, even though soul and spirit may have recognized that such a longing was one that could not be granted. It was, however, different with St. Paul. A holy apostle in whose warm heart the hope of being among those who might, in their earthly bodies, behold and welcome their descending Lord, might justify such a longing, but to such as us, who can look back on nineteen hundred years of a Master's yet unfulfilled return, such longings assume the form of impatience, and a shrinking from the burden which sin and disobedience have laid upon us till the Advent. 'We that are in this tabernacle verily do groan, being burdened.' And the burden, as we have seen, is what every deeper thinking Christian would recognize to be a real and veritable burden, a shrinking, not from death, but from what may be a possible concomitant of death—an

unclothed state, a state in which the soul is left naked and alone till the promised body is vouchsafed to it.

We have now, I think, fully arrived at the true meaning of the mysterious text on which we have been meditating, and there remain only two or three reflexions which the subject naturally brings before us.

And the first reflexion is this: That there is nothing in Holy Scripture that throws any direct light on the state of the soul when it has been separated from the body. Conjecture has, of course, been busy, and sometimes even reasonable and plausible. Writers, like Cudworth, have imagined a kind of preparatory body which would be perfected at the Advent; but no sober Christian could for a moment rely on such conjectures, when Scripture, as far as anything of a direct nature is concerned, is profoundly silent, and especially when it would even seem that this silence is designed and intentional. After a long life, which must ever have been a life of closest communion with God, the holy Apostle St. John, alluding no doubt mainly to spiritual after-death developments, does not hesitate to use language so general as to be applicable to the whole of our after-death developments, and broadly says, 'it is not yet made manifest what we shall be,' and leaves the inference that what our state will be, when the soul will have left the body, is unrevealed and unknown.

Our burden then, as regards any direct scriptural disclosure, must remain the burden it is felt to be by the anxiously meditating apostle. In a word—as to what the state of the soul will be when it leaves the body we must come to the conclusion, unwelcome it may be, that we have no definite knowledge whatever.

But can we rest for one moment satisfied with such a cold and joyless conclusion? Be it so, that we know not how it will be with the soul in the hour when it leaves the body; be it so, yet this we do know, that the soul that has loved Christ here on earth can never, and will never, be separated from Him. Clothed or unclothed, the soul will ever be with its death-conquering Lord. On this point, blessed be God, Holy Scripture gives us every form of varied assurance. Was not the soul and spirit of the poor believing malefactor with the soul and spirit of Jesus in Paradise? Did not the dear Lord, before He resumed His body, vouchsafe to preach to those who were waiting for the body that was to be, soul and spirit speaking to souls and spirits, and ministering the assurance of an ever-enduring union, whether in the clothed or in the unclothed state, with those He had died for and saved? In whatever state He was, in that mystic realm which we have now learned to call Hades, in the same state were they who were now hearing the message of love and salvation, the very similarity of state and condition enhancing the holy persuasiveness of the gospel that the Lord Himself out of the depths of His love and mercy was vouchsafing to preach to them.

These considerations, and they might be almost indefinitely increased from the only true source of all teaching about the Last Things—God's Holy Word,—these considerations will ever be found to have these two great and salutary effects—

In the first place, they will disclose to us the utter unwholesomeness, to use the most charitable expression, of much of the teaching relative to death which is now obtaining increasing currency. This teaching, to which I alluded in the earlier part of my sermon, obscures, if it does not inferentially deny, the pervading doctrine of Holy Scripture as to the intimate relation of sin and death. Death, we must ever remember, formed no part of the idea of man; but, as a great writer has said, has impaired the blessedness of man's Godlike personality.

In the second place, our considerations will have shown us that when that gloom and anxiety does rest on the soul, as we have seen that it did rest on the soul of an inspired apostle, when 'we groan, being burdened,' that gloom can only be dispelled, and that burden only removed, by the master-thought of the enduring reality of our union with Christ; and that, whether in the valley of the shadow of death or in the silent realms of the waiting under-world, He who vouchsafed to pass through both will ever be with us; His rod and His staff ever supporting us, until we come into the full brightness of His adorable presence and abide with Him for evermore.

It is a good thought to part with, that the holy apostle who wrote the grave words on which we have meditated—he who had felt the burden, under which from time to time we all verily do groan—he who felt all this, was permitted to write in another Epistle words relative to the enduring nature of our union with Christ, that true solvent

of every doubt and difficulty—words which for power and sublimity stand almost alone in the pages of the Book of Life. 'I am persuaded,' he says, 'that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.'

At the Literary Table.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA. Vol. III.[1]

The third volume of Cheyne and Black's *Encyclopædia Biblica* has been published. It contains 1298 columns or 649 pages, covering the letters L to P, its first word being Laadah, its last Python.

The characteristics which distinguished the previous volumes reappear in this volume, somewhat more prominently. That is to say, to put all into a sentence, it is a *critical* dictionary, as the title-page describes it, or rather a dictionary of criticism. Its purpose is not to describe but to criticize, not to furnish an account of the contents of the Bible, but to discover and appreciate its literary sources. This is a new conception of what a dictionary of the Bible should be, but it is an intelligible and a serviceable conception. It has been argued that such a service is best rendered by the magazines and ephemeral pamphlets, there being, from the nature of the case, no stability in criticism pure and simple. But it may at least be replied that it is of much importance to see criticism at work over the whole field of the Bible at once, and to be able to refer to its position at a given date, however soon we may leave that position, and however unlikely it may be that we shall return to it. A more serious objection has been made that criticism has never been in the position advocated in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, that two or three men, selected for their skill in negatives, have been chosen to air their fancies, rather than that critical scholarship has been reflected over the whole. That objection may possibly be met by the claim that the criticism represented here is the only criticism that deserves the name of scholarship, the wider scholarship referred to being weakened by ignorance or compromise. That claim may not be admitted, but the editors, whose word is final for the book they edit, are within their right if they make it.

There are writers in this volume, as in the previous volumes, who have not understood the purpose of the book, and their work will be most appreciated. But for the reviewer, at least, the fascination of the criticism is irresistible, the more irresistible as it is the more radical, and to that we must turn.

There is a progress in criticism. It is represented in this order: Professor Cheyne, Professor Schmiedel, Professor van Manen.

Professor Cheyne's initials occur as frequently as before. And it is certain that his hand is to be found in many articles under which his initials do not appear. For now there is a test by which Dr. Cheyne's hand can be discovered. It is the occurrence of the word *Jerahmeel*. For reasons which he has not yet divulged, but for which he refers us frequently to *Critica Biblica*, a work as yet unpublished, Dr. Cheyne believes that a vast number of proper names, both of places and of persons, in the Old Testament, are corruptions of the name *Jerahmeel*. He would therefore, in each instance, restore that name, and in most cases blot the present name out of the Bible. To give some idea of the enormous number of names which would thus be removed, and of the immense influence of the Jerahmeelites in the history of Israel, let us begin with the first word of the present volume and go through some pages. The following proper names are, in Dr. Cheyne's opinion, corruptions of the name Jerahmeel:—Laadah, Laban, Ladan, Lahad, Lahai-roi, Laish (?), Laishah (?), Leah, Lebbaeus, Leb-kamai, Lebonah (?), Lecah, Lehi, Lemuel, Leshem (?), Leummim, Levi, Libnah (?), Libni (?), Lo-ruhamah,

[1] *Encyclopædia Biblica.* Edited by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, D.Litt., D.D., and J. Sutherland Black, M.A., LL.D. Volume iii., L. to P. A. & C. Black.

Lud, Maacah, Machi, Machir, Machpelah, Magdiel, Mahalalel, Mahalath, Mahlah, Mahli, Mahol, Makheloth, Malchiel (?), Malchijah, Malchiram, Malchi-shua, Malluch, Malluchi, Mamre, Maon, Masrekah, Matri.

We have gone far enough to reach an estimate of the whole volume. There are 42 names in the above list. Between Laadah and Matri, 95 Old Testament names are dealt with altogether. We thus obtain some idea of the proportion of Old Testament names which Dr. Cheyne would restore to their original form of 'Jerahmeel.'

In this respect the third volume is an advance upon the second, and a still greater advance upon the first. In dealing with the words given above, Dr. Cheyne incidentally mentions that the following names are also corrupted from Jerahmeel:—Aram, Amram, Abram, (Abraham), Deborah, Ham, Ariel, Elam, Abishalom, Kemuel, Azrikam, Jerubbaal, Hamor, Elam, Jehallelel, Bela, Balaam, Eliel, Bahurim, Hamul, Kehelathah, Hammelech, Harim, (Beth)lehem, Ammon, Amalek, Hul. Some of those words occur in the first volume, but none of them are there traced to Jerahmeel, while of those which fall within the second, only Kemuel, Jerubbaal, Jehallelel, Hamul, and Hammelech are so traced.

Of the many questions which Dr. Cheyne solves by textual reconstruction one may be mentioned. Melchizedek, king of Salem, is spoken of in Gn 14 and in Ps 110. In Gn 14 'Melchizedek, king of Salem,' says Dr. Cheyne, 'is surely a late editor's attempt to make sense of a badly written text'; and he thinks that 'Melchizedek' is a corruption of *melek ziklag*, 'king of Ziglak,' while Salem is a transposition of Leshem. 'Now Leshem and Ziklag,' he continues, 'are both corruptions of Halusah. It was, according to the first narrator, the priest-king of the sacred city of Halusah who came out to meet Abram, and blessed him, and to whom Abram (the hero of the Jerahmeelite tribe) paid tithes.' The text of Ps 110 is also probably corrupt. Instead of 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek,' Dr. Cheyne would read 'I establish thee for ever because of my covenant of loving-kindness.' Thus the name Melchizedek goes out of the Old Testament, and the use made of it in the Epistle to the Hebrews is, in Dr. Cheyne's words, 'mere temporary rhetoric.'

But Professor Schmiedel is more critical than Dr. Cheyne. It may be that it is more keenly felt when the subject is the New Testament. In his long article on MINISTRY, he touches on the gift of tongues at Pentecost. He denies the gift, and he denies that, whatever occurred, it occurred at Pentecost. His reasons are two. First, Pentecost is the feast of the giving of the Law at Sinai; but the giving of the Law at Sinai is described by Philo 'in terms quite similar to those used in the description of the miracle in Acts.' The narrative and the date were therefore probably derived from Philo. Second, our Lord's disciples were not in Jerusalem at that time. After His departure they betook themselves to Galilee, and 'it would have been very singular if they had, within a few weeks, again left house and home for a place where the greatest danger threatened them without any, apparent motive or necessity for such a migration.' That they established themselves in Jerusalem, rests only on the presupposition of Luke, 'which cannot be accepted.'

Most critical of all, however, is Professor van Manen. Professor Schmiedel accepts some of the Pauline Epistles, not only the four great Epistles—Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians,—but also Philippians and 1 Thessalonians. But Professor van Manen rejects them all. 'We possess,' says Dr. van Manen shortly, 'no epistles of Paul, the writings which bear his name are pseud-epigrapha.'

Much as the *Encyclopædia Biblica* is occupied, and deliberately occupied with criticism, it is impossible to say that its strength lies in that. Rather does it lie in the articles on antiquities and geography and the like, which do actually reflect the scholarship of to-day, and will not soon be out of date.

THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

THE APOSTLES' CREED.[1]

All Professor McGiffert's work is his own research and thought, and it is all expressed in refined expressive English. But the new book which he has published on the Apostles' Creed seems to surpass his previous work in both respects. It is the kind of book, rare enough in these days, which compels one to read, whether one is interested in its subject or not. To find oneself in close contact with an original thinker is always refreshing, so many still are the scribes who do not speak with authority, and yet persist in writing books.

Dr. McGiffert has mastered the literature of the subject up to the issue of Kattenbusch's latest volume, He has not made the mastery of the literature, however, a sufficient reason for writing. Leaving the literature, he has studied the references to the Apostles' Creed in the early Church for himself, and endeavoured to feel the atmosphere in which the Creed or rather its nucleus, the Old Roman Symbol, arose. His conclusions, thus independently obtained, he has expressed in a lecture, and then in a series of notes he has given the reasons for his conclusions. His book is perhaps the easiest introduction to the Creeds which we possess, and yet it has to be reckoned with—answered or accepted—by the ripest creedal scholarship.

It is enough to mention some of Dr. McGiffert's points. He believes that there is no reference of any kind to the Old Roman Symbol earlier than Irenæus and Tertullian. He believes that the Symbol originated at Rome between 150 and 175 A.D. He believes that the reason why it is all belief and no conduct is that it is drawn up deliberately to meet certain heresies, especially those of Marcion. He believes therefore that the word 'Father' in the opening statement does not express what we understand by the Fatherhood of God, but that, in answer to Marcion's denial that the God of Christians was the God of Jesus, the God who made the world, it expresses the belief that the Almighty God whose Son is Jesus Christ, is the Father of the Universe.

[1] *The Apostles' Creed, its Origin, its Purpose, and its Historical Interpretation.* By A. C. McGiffert, Ph.D., D.D. T. & T. Clark.

VISION AND AUTHORITY.[2]

Mr. Oman is out in search of authority in religion. Things have been so much shaken of late. There are things that remain, there must be always, but what are they, what are they to-day?

One thing is secured very early; *God is truth.* Things that are untrue, unreal, insincere are not God's things; they are opposed to God and God to them. God is truth and on the side of truth. It is a great thing to secure, to secure it early is to make sure of everything ere the end comes. It cost the discipline of the Wilderness, the Canaanite thorn in the Land of Promise, Solomon, and even the Captivity, to secure it for Israel and for the world. It was secured in Christ. Israel and the world were ready for it, but Christ brought it to light along with life and immortality.

The next thing secured is that truth and the certainty of it, that is to say authority in religion, is a vision. It is revelation, and it is made to every man who opens the eye of his soul to receive it. God is the giver, man is the receiver. And it is a vision granted to the individual. Every separate soul has the eye that opens or the responsibility. No one can be authority for another, no body of men, however accredited, can be authority for even one single person. Not even Christ said Believe Me, but Believe the truth in Me, believe Me in so far as the truth in Me reaches the eye of your soul. The open eye sees that He and the Truth are one, and believes Him for the truth's sake, but He never asked and never would have obedience in disregard of the Truth.

It follows strongly that there is no infallible Church and no infallible outside Scripture to lean upon. If the Church is infallible, she must show it by correspondence with the Truth, and she will be obeyed in proportion as she and the Truth are one. And so also with the Scriptures. 'Because the Bible tells me so'? No, but because the Bible and the vision correspond and in so far as they do correspond.

But the vision is not for the individual to receive and secrete. The individual stands among his fellows. He gives and receives. He corrects and is corrected. He recognizes the accumulation of

[2] *Vision and Authority.* By John Oman, M.A., B.D. Hodder & Stoughton.

individual experience in Scripture and in Church. He receives more than he gives. But still it is only that which he receives as truth, making itself light to touch the inward eye, that becomes authoritative to him. He receives that which he is able to receive. And he gives forth that which others with their inward eye can recognize as truth in him. Does the Church say, 'I am infallible, believe that David wrote the 110th Psalm'? He says, No, that is not of the Vision till it has been verified. I could not believe it if Jesus should bid me (which I know He never would), so long as the evidence appears to me to be against it.

Those are not Mr. Oman's words, but that is Mr. Oman's argument. It is pressed forward step by step throughout a full large book, a book that will make a name for its author.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.[1]

Nothing seems easier than to write the story of the English Bible. The story is so romantic, and the materials are so accessible. Yet few things are really more difficult. For besides the difficulty of excluding the personal prepossession, Catholic on the one side, Protestant on the other, the force of which may be seen by comparing Eadie with Dore, there are questions that need extremely delicate balancing, and even paths that lead into impenetrable and baffling darkness. But in all literary work we must be satisfied with less than perfection. Mr. Hoare has not attempted to penetrate the darkness, but he has a good judgment and he is as free as any man from disqualifying prepossession. He has written deliberately for those who know nothing of the subject. When he wrote first he had something to learn about the subject himself. But his second edition, which is before us, has corrected the slips of the first. It is altogether worthier and weightier. Even yet Mr. Hoare resolutely keeps the uninitiated in mind, and leaves the problems alone. For the great multitude who love the English Bible he writes, and he gives them excellent reasons for loving it yet more. It is a story of the most real heroism, and it loses none of its glory in Mr. Hoare's hands. He has given most attention to Wyclif and his work, which is well, for there is much misunderstanding of Wyclif and his work abroad at present. The very best part of the book, in our opinion, is the description of the evolution of the language in which Wyclif and his successors wrote. This is a chapter in the history of the English language of independent and real worth.

[1] *The Evolution of the English Bible.* By H. W. Hoare. Murray.

THE CROWN OF SCIENCE.[2]

'The large instinct of Man is what we call Inspiration. It is the possession of gifted minds. . . . Each man of Inspiration has some corner of his intelligence which lets in a flood of Omniscience, and according to the part of him which is illuminated, he is a poet, or artist, or prophet. . . .'

This quotation from a chapter in *The Crown of Science* indicates the attitude of mind which is necessary on the part of a reader who would get the help and suggestion contained in this remarkable work. It is a book of natural law in the spiritual world, but its power lies not in the accuracy of its analogies between natural and spiritual evolution, but in the Inspiration or Vision which enables the author to see in the Coming of Christ and the Advent of the World-Birth the complement and crown of physical life. It is the work of a Christian believer, but not of one who feels that he can only keep his faith by squaring it with the discoveries of science. It is the message of one to whom the spiritual development of man is the inevitable culmination of physical laws which were founded with this culmination in view, one to whom the spiritual is an integral and indispensable part of human life. The intensely spiritual quality of the book invests its dicta, to the receptive mind, with an impressiveness and an authority independent of the startling analogies between natural and spiritual laws which the author discovers in the latest findings of biological science. The reader of *The Crown of Science* has no uneasy sense of straining an analogy, or of intellectual juggling on the part of the author. As we have hinted, it presupposes on the part of the reader a measure of faith: the faith of a believer in Jesus Christ and the essentials of the Christian religion. Its design is not to make believers by showing analogies between the Christian religion and natural law, but to strengthen the faith of believers by de-

[2] *The Crown of Science.* By A. Morris Stewart, M.A. Melrose.

monstrating that Christ and the New Birth are sequential events in the progress of evolution.

A book like this, to make a successful appeal to the modern mind, must show an intimate acquaintance with the latest results of biological research and the investigations of psychology. In this connexion the author displays the intimate knowledge of the scientific student no less markedly than in other relations he discovers himself chiefly as a man of spiritual insight. The result is, that the reader who might dismiss some of the author's conclusions as the visions of a religious enthusiast, finds his attention compelled, and later his reason led captive, by the theory which sees in the Christian religion the self-preservative final stage of human life, and Christ the flower and completion of natural evolution.

The literary style of the book is no less distinctive than its thought, and it suggests that for the most part the work has been written at white heat. There is no attempt at phrase-making, and yet there is the instinctive use of the right word which only happens in moments of intense conviction or inspiration. Every word means something, every phrase tells: there is no redundancy and no prolixity. Hence although there are fifteen 'Studies' in the book, the whole runs to little more than 200 pages. Compact of thought and expression, it is absorbing in its interest; to sit down to read the first 'Study' is to be held until the last chapter has been covered, and to read the book once is to read it again. The present writer has read it twice carefully, and felt the pulse of its thought and the momentum of its style as much on the second reading as on the first.

Of late years there has been a growing feeling that a restatement of the Christian faith is the most urgent need of our times. In Mr. Morris Stewart's book this work of restatement is, apparently without design, begun. It is an encouraging sign, that the first essay in this important direction by a modern scientific mind should be unmistakably in favour of the essential truth of the Christian faith.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY SERMONS. Edited by Ll. J. M. Bebb, M.A. (*George Allen*).—'This is no ordinary volume of sermons.' The phrase is much abused, but the most abused phrase will be applicable sometimes. Out of, we know not how many, sermons preached before the University of Oxford—and do they not preach their best who preach before a University?—Mr. Bebb has made his choice. Once or twice the suspicion crosses one that Mr. Bebb has considered the preacher and not the sermon. But that is rarely, and it is never more than a suspicion. Almost every one of the sermons is great enough for so great an occasion. Some of the authors are reckoned among the greatest preachers in the land. Bishop Gore is here more than once, Bishop Ingram also, Bishop Percival, Canon Ainger, Professor Lock, Mr. Beeching. To take the last-named first, Mr. Beeching has a fine exegetical sermon on 'Mercy and Truth.' In a sermon on 'Gehazi,' Dr. Merry, the Rector of Lincoln College, looks upon that Old Testament 'liar' as the successor-designate of the prophet, and therefore a sinner against brighter light than he is usually counted to have been. Professor Lock begins a sermon on 'Intercessory Prayer' in this way: 'Not long ago the principal of a theological college, who was accustomed to receive university graduates as his students, was asked the question, What would you most like done for your students while at the universities? How could they be best prepared while there? The answer was, I think the chief thing they want is to be taught how to pray.'

THE CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIAN MISSIONS. By R. E. Welsh, M.A. (*Allenson*).—It seems that there are people in the world who 'do not believe in foreign missions.' Mr. Welsh deals with those people here. He takes them seriously. He offers reasons on behalf of foreign missions, he pleads for time. His book runs the risk of all apologetic work, the risk of suggesting doubt where no doubt was before. But he is right to encounter that risk if he thinks that there are many persons who do not believe in missions and are likely to listen to arguments. He has a good case, and he makes a good deal of it, though his concern for the tender conscience of those who do not believe in missions holds his hand now and then.

THE EMPHASISED BIBLE. Vol. II. I. SAMUEL TO PSALMS. By J. B. Rotherham. (*Allenson*).—If we would believe in the mere reading of the Word more than we do, we should give more

pains to read it well. How rarely do we hear a reader who reveals the meaning of every sentence, gives every sentence its place in the narrative, and hides himself. How great is the profit when we do. Mr. Rotherham is translating the Bible anew, and translating it well. But the chief purpose of his great task is to enable us to read the Bible. He sets it forth with every conceivable device for guiding us to the right meaning and the right emphasis. His marks once mastered, a little practice in reading his text will do more to give us facility in reading, and more to give our hearers pleasure in listening, than many lessons of a master in elocution. May he see his work completed. The end is not far off now.

THE CHURCH AND ITS SOCIAL MISSION. By John Marshall Lang, D.D. (*Blackwood*).—Principal Marshall Lang made a wise statesmanlike choice when he chose the Social Mission of the Church for his Baird Lectures. It is only now that this subject is coming to its own. No doubt the relation of the individual to the Church comes first, and had to be first dealt with by the modern Church. But the Church is a social organism, and has social duties to perform. How imperative they are and how beneficent we are now beginning to realize. Dr. Marshall Lang has treated the subject historically. But he has given his strength and the best half of his book to the modern problem. He has studied the subject, and he has definite opinions about it. He does not denounce all secular schemes of social progress, but he believes that the only permanent progress will come alongside the life of the Church. And then he pleads with the Church not to let the occasion pass, for he does not doubt that she was called to the kingdom for just such a time as this.

TEXTS AND STUDIES: CODEX I. OF THE GOSPELS AND ITS ALLIES By Kirsopp Lake, M.A. (Cambridge: *At the University Press*).—When the great debate about the text of the New Testament is on us—it will be on us as soon as Professor von Soden publishes his book,—Mr. Kirsopp Lake will be ready for his share in it. He has prepared himself by slow careful collation and comparison of MSS, such as this volume contains. The volume contains the text of the Gospels according to Codex 1, together with an *apparatus criticus* showing the variations of the other MSS of the same group, 118, 131, 209, and of the Textus Receptus. It also contains an exemplary introduction, which traces the history and relationship of that famous group of MSS. Mr. Lake distinguishes the group by fam^1, as he does the other which is headed by 13 as fam^{13}. That notation should be adopted, it is convenient and explanatory. As for the group fam^1 Mr. Lake argues, amongst other things, that 1, 118, 131, 209 have a common ancestor *W*; and that either 118, 209 have a common archetype *X*, or 118 is a copy of 209. The book is a characteristic addition to the *Texts and Studies*, it is also a real contribution to the textual criticism of the New Testament.

A METHOD OF PRAYER. By Madame Guyon, Edited by Dugald Macfadyen, M.A. (*Clarke*).—'In every generation,' says Mr. Macfadyen, 'there are a certain number of predestined readers of this treatise of Madame Guyon's,—happy the generation which has many such!' On which we remark that the number depends on such circumstances as good encouragement and a good translation. This generation is blessed with both. We have been of late much encouraged to cast aside our prejudice against the word 'mysticism' and endeavour to see it as it is; and now we have the best translation ever made of this most characteristic product of the mystic mind. Mr. Macfadyen translates with sympathy, but he does more than translate. He gives introduction and notes—elementary, intelligible, persuasive notes. His edition of the *Method of Prayer* is an introduction to the study of mysticism. If there are many predestined readers, it is through his work that the predestination will reach its elect.

RECREATIONS AND REFLECTIONS (*Dent*).—What made the reputation of the *Saturday Review*? Its unconnected, unclassified, about anything you like, articles. What does this book contain? Fifty of the best of them. And the charm that was theirs in the *Saturday Review* clings to them here. These essays add nothing to our scientific accumulation. They do nothing for history or even psychology. They simply add a zest to life, a flavour to the food we must find

somewhere else. They are all perfume and no flower. As perfume, however, their variety is considerable, though most are of the pungent penetrating sort, not sweet violets often, not often musk roses. What are the subjects? It really does not matter, but here are some of them: 'The Goodly Company of Duffers,' by Arthur A. Baumann; 'Savonarola' and 'Zwinglius,' by Canon Henson; 'Fashions in the Virtues,' by Armine T. Kent; 'Quotability,' by Stephen Gwynn.

RELIGIONS OF BIBLE LANDS. By D. S. Margoliouth, M.A. (*Hodder & Stoughton*).—No man, not even Professor Margoliouth, could give more than a sketch of the religions of the lands of the Bible within this space. Few men, however, would have made the sketch so vivid and accurate. The longest chapter treats of Semitic religions. Then the religion of Egypt and the religion of Persia are handled separately.

THE SACRAMENT OF PAIN. By John Morgan (*Hodder & Stoughton*).—This striking title is further explained by the words 'A Book of Consolation.' Now there are few things harder to do than to write a book of consolation. Mr. Morgan recognizes the difficulty. He has discovered that it is difficult to speak even a few words of consolation that really console. So he starts out with that first requisite, a conception of the magnitude of his task. His next step is still wiser. He turns to the Bible. There is no consolation outside the Bible. Whatever else the Bible has, it has that and the whole of it. To make the Bible speak naturally and appropriately, there is no way of consoling like that. Mr. Morgan uses the Bible by selecting sufferers that are in it and showing how they suffered and overcame. He gives nearly all his attention to two examples. The first is the woman with the issue of blood. It is a wonderful study in its combination of delicacy and penetration. The other example is the Lord Jesus Christ. The woman is an example of one who was comforted. Christ was comforted that He might become the only Comforter. For if there is no salvation in any other, neither is there any comfort of the spirit.

THE GLORY AND JOY OF THE RESURRECTION. By James Paton, D.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*).—Dr. Paton's definite object in this book is to trace the references to the Resurrection of Christ throughout the books of the New Testament. He does it uncritically (using the word in its technical sense), for he has no interest in the cooking and carving which Germans delight in, but with the books as they stand he does it thoroughly. His volume is thus a convenient summary of all that the New Testament tells us of the fact and the value of the Resurrection. Such work is welcome always and abides.

THE SPIRITUAL MIND. By Robert Henry Roberts, B.A. (*Hodder & Stoughton*).—This is a great book in spite of defects of arrangement and lack of finish. It well deserved to be published. It is a persistent, even a magnificent plea, for the presence of the Spirit in the Church of Christ, the test and the power of the Church, against all external organizations and superstitious ceremonies. The late Principal of Regent's Park College must have felt this to be the great need of our time. He shows it has been the great need of all time since the morning of the pentecostal gift. He traces the presence of the Spirit in the Church, and shows it to be blessing throughout the centuries of its existence; or he detects its absence, and deplores the loss and barrenness that ensue. It is a history of the Church of Christ, written regardless of the petty incidents and heedless of the busybodies which are usually understood to be the Church and to have made its history. It is a history regardful of the one great fact, the presence or absence of that Spirit of God whose history in relation to the Church is really the history of the Church.

AFTER THE RESURRECTION. By the Rev. Alexander Maclaren, D.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*).—The first ten sermons treat of the events which lay between the Resurrection and the Ascension. The eleventh appropriately explains what it is to be 'risen with Christ.' After that the topics are general. But all through the book it is Dr. Maclaren that we have, and it really matters little what his subject is, or whether his texts are consecutive or disconnected. He is himself in every one of them, with his threefold division and his thrilling illustration. We wonder that the division into three should still be tolerable. It is Dr. Maclaren that keeps it alive, and in his

hands it seems to be the only really living and impressive form of preaching.

THE CITY TEMPLE PULPIT. Vol. VI. By the Rev. Joseph Parker, D.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*).—The impression is abroad that it is no use reading Dr. Parker's sermons, their power lies in their utterance. Out of the speaker's mouth they come with power, but on the printed page they are commonplace. It is a great mistake. Dr. Parker cannot be judged by the standard of ordinary eloquent and extemporaneous speakers. His sermons are full of thought. The thought is expressed in memorable language. The printed page is almost as movingly eloquent as the spoken word. And the latest printed page is as full of thought and fitting expression as the earliest. This sixth volume is both an intellectual and a spiritual feast.

THE GREAT SAINTS OF THE BIBLE. By L. A. Banks, D.D. (*Kelly*). — If Talmagism died with Dr. Talmage, it has something like a resurrection in Dr. Banks. The first thing that catches the eye is the titles of the sermons: 'The Second Violin,' 'Mrs. Achsah Othniel's Wedding Present,' 'The Shepherd who whipped Champion Brute,'—these are some of them. The next thing is the intense modern and even American atmosphere. Thus 'Isaac was nervous and could not rest. Put yourself in his place and see if you do not sympathize with him. Abraham, no doubt, had talked the matter all over with Isaac before Eliezer was sent on his embassage to select a wife for him. Isaac could only bear his uncertainty and wait, for there was no telegraph by which Eliezer could send him a despatch, announcing his success. There was no long-distance telephone to Mesopotamia by which he could call him up in the Arab tent.' Then Dr. Banks 'spiritualizes' the incident, and that is most startling of all.

THE PEOPLE'S BIBLE ENCYCLOPEDIA. Edited by the Rev. C. Randall Barnes, A.B., A.M., D.D. (*Kelly*).—This is the fullest of all the small Bible dictionaries we have yet received. It contains the antiquities, the geography, history, archæology, even the theology and the Old English words. Its articles are well expressed and fairly up to date. Its illustrations are numerous and apt. One grudges space for quotation, whether from Kitto or Edersheim, better always to refer us to those books, most of us have them now. One feels also the touch of the dead hand throughout. The editions referred to are often old and out of date, the very men so freely quoted are no longer our supreme authority. But the book is full and good. With a little discretion and the infusion of a little fresh air, it will serve the teacher's purpose very well.

CHRIST THE INDWELLER. By John Thomas Jacob (*Macmillan*).—We have all had our intellectual discoveries. Happy are we if they have been so mighty in themselves, so influential with us, as the discovery which Mr. Jacob has made and here sets forth. It is the discovery that the Incarnation was not accomplished 1900 years ago, but that it takes place in every human life that opens to its reception. 'As many as receive Him' to them He still comes to be 'Christ in them the hope of glory.' And this individual incarnation rules thereafter every act and every emotion of life. Nor does it separate a man from his fellows. Rather is it the great uniter. When Christ dwells in the heart by faith, then does the heart feel the strength of the communion of saints, receive the good of the Sacraments, and in love obey the Church. Mr. Jacob carries his great thought right on through all the experiences of life. Christ in us is a perpetual song, a perpetual song of victory and of peace. Read this book. It may give you the greatest gift on earth. If you have the gift already, it may help you to use it in all the way in which you have to go, and so make life, death, and that vast forever one grand sweet song.

A PRIMER OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. By G. H. Gilbert, Ph.D., D.D. (*Macmillan*).—It is in the form of a Catechism, made distinctive among catechisms, first for simplicity of doctrine, next for beauty of workmanship. The one is due to the author, the other to the publisher. The Catechism contains eighty-five questions; the questions are divided amongst eight separate subjects. The subjects are Jesus, God, The Spirit, The Kingdom of God, Following Jesus, The Bible, Sunday, and The Hereafter. Take question 23 as an example: 'Wherein does the Fatherhood of God consist?—Jesus teaches that God is our Father because He loves us (Mt 5^{43-48}, Lk 15^{20}, Jn 3^{16}). *Note.*—We might call God our Father because He

made us, or because He rules over us, but that is not the usage of the Gospels. The name "Father" is there used to suggest the *character* of God, what He *is* in Himself. And the burden of its meaning, as the words and life of Jesus clearly show, is love.' It is a highly interesting book, but the wonder of it is how Dr. Gilbert can place Jesus so high and not place Him higher.

Teach Us to Pray is the title of a little book, useful and beautiful, which Lucy A. Bennett has written for the benefit of girls, and which Messrs. Marshall Brothers have published.

DIVINE DUAL GOVERNMENT. By W. Woods Smyth (*Horace Marshall*).—This is a new edition. It is revised, enlarged, and illustrated. It is altogether a much better and much more attractive book than in its first edition. Even the English is improved, though it is still stiff and trying. But what is 'Divine Dual Government'? It is the belief that God rules and governs all His creatures by a system of 'Legal Government,' under which they feel the scourge of physical law and groan, but that He governs His own by a system of 'Moral Government,' under which they recognize the hand of a Father who loves while He chastens. This dual government is recognized by the powers that be. The magistrate who represents legal government hands over criminals to the Salvation Army, and so calls in the aid of moral government. The thoughts are not always kept distinct, perhaps they could not be, but Mr. Smyth has written a large book in defence of a great idea.

GOSPEL TEMPERANCE ANECDOTES. By C. W. Scrimgeour (Dundee: *Mathew*).—Mr. Scrimgeour has tried these anecdotes, and knows that they will do. He has tried them over a service of twenty-five years in the Cherryfield Mission of Dundee. It is a long period, but there are so many anecdotes that they have stood out the time without repetition. They are cleverly told, even on paper, and there are many mission workers who will rejoice in the possession of this new collection. One feels, but no one will feel it more keenly than Mr. Scrimgeour himself, that the temperance anecdote, with all its humour and point, has little chance against the open door of the public house. But the gospel is here as well as the anecdote.

JAMES CHALMERS OF NEW GUINEA. By Cuthbert Lennox (*Melrose*).—We must have a greater book than this on Chalmers yet, but a small book will do more for Chalmers and for us than a great one, and within its compass this book is as good as it could be. It does indeed what the greatest book might never do, it draws us close to Chalmers himself. It may leave us ignorant of many details of his work, but it shows us why men loved the worker, it teaches us to love him too. The well-chosen illustrations add something to the charm of the work, holding the reader's eye until his heart is held by the narrative.

THE CHURCHMAN'S BIBLE: ISAIAH I.–XXXIX. By W. E. Barnes, D.D. (*Methuen*).—The simple purpose of the Churchman's Bible is to supply the reader with such introductions to the chapters and comments on the verses as will make the situation and the language intelligible. In the public reading of the Word especially, one feels what a difference it would make to the hearers' interest and understanding if a few words were first spoken on the situation involved and then a difficult phrase or obscure allusion were briefly explained as it occurred. The Churchman's Bible does all that well, and no more than that. This volume by Professor Emery Barnes might serve as a model to the other contributors.

THE DIVINE PURSUIT. By J. Edgar M'Fadyen (*Oliphant*).—Short, fervent, nervously expressed papers on the things pertaining to the kingdom of God lift this book out of the commonplace. Sermons they may have been, sermons they are, but of keener edge and more liberty of vision than sermons usually dare to be.

EAST OF THE BARRIER. By the Rev. J. Miller Graham (*Oliphant*).—Under this title Mr. Graham has written the story of the Manchuria Mission. It is as 'apostolic,' as like a continuation of the Acts of the Apostles, as any mission story we have read. In one respect it is more intimate than even the Acts of the Apostles, for whereas critics separate the 'We-document' from the rest of the Acts, this is a 'We-document' throughout. Mr. Graham has seen the things of which he writes so simply and yet so movingly; he has seen them and suffered from them.

GOD SAVE THE KING! By Thomas Spurgeon (*Passmore & Alabaster*).—Our thoughts go out to King Edward the Seventh, especially on this his coronation year. But it is a greater king we have here. 'Addresses concerning King Jesus and His royal estate,' adds Mr. Spurgeon on his title-page. He will yield to none in loyalty to his king, but there is 'another King, one Jesus,' and the highest loyalty is due to this King of kings, the loyalty to the earthly being the more actual and abiding, as the loyalty to the heavenly is the more absorbing. The addresses are direct, the tongue is the pen of a ready writer, the words are always 'touching the King.'

SERMONS AND LECTURES. By the late Rev. Brooke Lambert, M.A., B.C.L. (Greenwich: *Richardson*).—This volume is of three parts. First there is a biography of Brooke Lambert by Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency, B.A., LL.B. Next come nine sermons, to which have been given the general title of 'Crossing the Bar.' And lastly, three lectures on the 'Heroes of Progress' have been printed as examples of their author's 'mind and teaching out of the pulpit.' The sermons are of most importance. Their subject is 'the larger hope.' Now the treatment of such a subject in the pulpit has its limitations, and it would be easy to show that Mr. Lambert did not take all the facts into account, nor always used blameless arguments. But it has also its advantages. Its appeal is to the Christian conscience, where the victory is gained, if it is ever gained at all. And it will be acknowledged that Mr. Lambert knew how to send that appeal home. We do not say that this book must be reckoned with in all discussion of eternal punishment, but we say that one who reads this book will find eternal punishment harder to believe than before. It is not the attraction of the larger hope, it is the repulsion of the everlasting despair that Mr. Lambert dwells upon.

THE KINGDOM AND THE EMPIRE. By R. O. Assheton, M.A. (*Rivingtons*).—The ten sermons in this little book are mainly occupied with the war. Mr. Assheton's attitude to the war is not political, it is Christian. He hates war, deplores it, works for its end, its end for ever. But war is like an unruly son in a family—it should be otherwise, but we have not authority to say it must be otherwise. One thing he is clear about: the extension of the empire without the co-extension of Christianity would be a crime.

To their series called 'Handbooks to the Bible and Prayer-Book,' Messrs Rivington have added a volume by the Rev. A. R. Whitham, M.A., on the *Hebrew Monarchy*, covering the history of Saul and David. The text of the Revised Version is printed, each topic is introduced so as to be easily remembered by schoolboys, and a few notes are added to explain its geography or antiquities. It is a school-book, modern, teachable.

THE SUNNY SIDE OF CHRISTIANITY. By Charles H. Parkhurst, D.D. (Manchester: *Robinson*).—Dr. Parkhurst's theme is Love. The sunny side of Christianity is the warm side where love loves and is loved again. Then what is the shady side? Apparently it is the side where creeds lie and questions of the Catechism. Dr. Parkhurst would prepare his candidates for the ministry by asking the question, 'Lovest thou Me?' not by asking, 'What are the decrees of God?'

RELIGIO LAICI. By the Rev. H. C. Beeching, M.A. (*Smith, Elder, & Co.*).—Mr. Beeching's purpose, if a single purpose may be said to run through these essays, is to commend the clergyman to the layman. There is a certain suspicion crept in between them at present. Foolish High Church persons have done part of it, and foolish Low Church persons the rest. There is a loss of esteem, almost of belief. There is a sense that the clergyman is on the other side, perhaps a nuisance. Mr. Beeching knows the clergyman, for he is one. He knows the layman too, for he has not forgotten that he was one. He understands both, and sympathises with both. He stands between them and seeks to bring them together. He attempts it directly in the two papers entitled 'Apologia pro Clero,' indirectly in all the papers. Perhaps the keenest in wit, the most unsheathed, is 'Izaak Walton's Life of Donne.' Here he allows such words as 'the perennial layman's sneer at the mercenariness of the clergy.' The reference is not to Walton, of course, it is to a 'brilliant' article by Mr. Leslie Stephen in the *National Review*. It is of Mr. Leslie Stephen he says that; because Mr. Leslie

Stephen would by such phrases widen the breach between the layman and the clergyman. The book must be pronounced successful. It will serve its end. And in doing so, it will furnish much delightful reading, for be its subject what it will, there is always that insight with which he credits Mr. Leslie Stephen which 'looks quite through the deeds of men,' and that style which he also grants to Mr. Stephen 'as sinewy as the thought, with no preciosity of phrase and no word to spare."

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY. By J. W. M'Garvey, LL.D. (Cincinnati: *Standard Pub. Co.*).—Here is a new and minute examination of the evidence for and against the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy, and the conclusion is that Moses was the author. It is a book to take account of. Its tone is unexceptionable. No argument and no writer against the Mosaic authorship is evil entreated. It balances probabilities, and there is an honest endeavour to let all the probabilities have their weight on the one side as on the other. It is a book to be read by students. Let them take this book and Principal Andrew Harper's *Deuteronomy* together. Both are full and fair, both are thorough; they come to opposite conclusions—let the student read them both and make up his mind. No doubt the question is really settled for our generation, but every man should settle it for himself.

THE HARVEST OF THE SOUL. By R. L. Bellamy, B.D. (*Stock*).—This essay on the Christian doctrine of future reward and punishment ought certainly to be read. It is not dogmatic, it is not denunciatory. It neither suggests with Goulburn that those who doubt everlasting torment deserve it, nor with Cox that the left hand is the next best place to the right. It is fair and patient. It will harm none and help many.

THE DISSOLUTION OF DISSENT. By Robert F. Horton (*Stockwell*).—Dr. Horton has been warned that Dissent is nearly dead. The day is at hand when the newspapers will no longer say 'good vicarage, small population, no Dissenters,' because it will be assumed that Dissent has disappeared, and Dissenters have gone where 'the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.' And he asks, What then? Will England be better then? Will all the loss be gain? He doubts it. Where will England find her Carlyles, her Brownings, her Ruskins then? And more than that, where then will religious England find authority in religion? For Dissent, says Dr. Horton, has saved her from the external, oppressive, obstructive authority of Church and of Scripture. Dissent has insisted on the authority of the Vision and the Life. And when Dissent is dead, England may pass to the condition of either mere external authority, my conscience in the hands of the priest, or no authority and no religion.

Mr. Stockwell has issued other two volumes of the 'Baptist Pulpit.' The one is *Christian Verities*, by the Rev. S. G. Woodrow; the other, *Thou Remainest*, by the Rev. Archibald G. Brown.

THE CHRISTIAN SHAKESPEARE. By Charles Ellis (*Stoneman*).—This is a new edition, with a 'deeply interesting' Supplement. Passages from Shakespeare are quoted on one page, and on the opposite page passages from Scripture. The passages from Scripture are understood to be illustrated by the passages from Shakespeare. There are also quotations from other writers, and in the 'deeply interesting' Supplement letters from friends, who thank Mr. Ellis for a copy of his book. The passages from Scripture are quoted from a Genevan Bible of the date 1606. It is a curious book, a curious mixture. But readers of books love mixtures.

The Books of the Month also include:—*Addresses on Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Communion*, by C. E. Beeby, B.D. (Midland Educational Co.); *Christian Heresies*, by the Rev. S. C. Tickell, A.K.C. (Stock); *The Babylonian Conception of Heaven and Hell*, by Alfred Jeremias, Ph.D. (Nutt); *A Preacher's Library*, and *Words on Immortality*, by the Rev. John S. Banks.

The Four Empires of the Book of Daniel.

By Professor A. van Hoonacker, D.D., Louvain.

In the description of the dream of Nebuchadnezzar in chap. 2, and in that of the vision of Daniel in chap. 7, the Book of Daniel speaks of four empires which succeeded one another. The identification of these four empires has greatly exercised the sagacity of commentators. The problem, we think, is to be formulated in other terms to-day than it was in former times. And this because an essential point, which has been the subject of much controversy, may be considered as definitively settled, without, however, the difficulties inherent in this solution having been sufficiently elucidated.

In chap. 2 the first of the four empires is that of Nebuchadnezzar. The author himself declares this in 2^{38}: 'Thou art this head of gold.' In the same manner, in chap. 7, the first of the four animals which arise from the sea, namely, the lion with the wings of a vulture, symbolizes Nebuchadnezzar (Driver, *Daniel*, p. 81).

A question which has occasioned much difficulty, is that of the identification of the fourth empire. But, alike from the examination of chaps. 2 and 7 by themselves, and by comparison with the data of other parts of the Book of Daniel, we consider it as absolutely certain that the fourth empire is that of Alexander and his successors. It is possible that there are some who are not convinced of this. We can but refer our readers to the luminous demonstration which Driver has given of the truth of this interpretation in his commentary (p. 94 ff.).

Nevertheless, we do not believe that the problem is completely solved in this manner. The first empire being without doubt that of Nebuchadnezzar, the fourth that of Alexander and his successors; the question is, How are we to identify the second and the third empires? The second, we are told, cannot be any other than that of the Medes, the third that of the Persians, which, according to the Book of Daniel, should be distinguished as two successive empires (Driver, *l.c.* p. 29 and p. 100 f.). This distinction between the Medan and the Persian empires may be inferred, it is said, from the passages where Darius the Mede, after the fall of Belshazzar, and before Cyrus, appears and acts as the supreme king (5^{13} $6^{1\ 2.\ 15.\ 25.\ 26}$). *Darius the Mede* (cf. 9^1 11^1) is succeeded by *Cyrus the Persian* (6^{28}), or *the king of the Persians* (10^1). Another argument is taken from the two horns of the ram (8^3), the higher of which, symbolizing Cyrus and his successors, raises itself after the smaller one, which symbolizes Darius the Mede.—We need not occupy ourselves here with the difficulty which results from these passages in regard to history, a difficulty attaching in any case to the personality and reign of Darius the Mede.

If there were not certain other data to be considered which also essentially concern the question of the identification of the second and the third empires, one could without doubt find in the passages indicated a *sufficient* foundation for their identification with the supposed empires of the Medes and the Persians. But, as we shall see, there are other data which do not seem to be in harmony with this theory. Before bringing them forward, we have to answer an objection and to ask ourselves if the distinction between the Medes and the Persians in the Book of Daniel is not perhaps of such a nature as to amount to a direct and positive demonstration of the interpretation we are about to oppose? Under what conditions does the succession of Darius the Mede and Cyrus the Persian present itself?

In order to answer this question, we must not lose sight of the various passages in which the domination of the Medes and the Persians is explicitly represented as simultaneous, as one and the same political *régime* in which Darius the Mede and Cyrus the Persian, or the king of the Persians, precede and succeed each other. Thus in 5^{28} the kingdom of Belshazzar is given to the *Medes and Persians*; the last word of the prophetic inscription on the wall (פרס=ופרסין, $5^{25.\ 28}$), already contained, as Driver allows (*l.c.* p. 69), an allusion to the name of the *Persians*, who are accordingly thought of as the immediate heirs, along with the Medes, of the kingdom of Belshazzar. During the very reign of Darius it is understood (6^9) that the decrees in force are those of *the*

Medes and the Persians; see also $6^{13.\ 16}$. In chap. 8 it is the empire of the *Medes and Persians* (v.^{20}), which is represented by one animal alone, the ram with two horns, as opposed to the he-goat, which represents the empire of Alexander. Without doubt, from the manner in which the author insists on the relation existing between the two horns of the ram, we may conclude that he has in view here a distinction and a succession which are of importance to him. Yet it is not the less evident that for him the Medo-Persian is one and the same empire. We shall have to speak immediately of the distinction signified by the two horns of the ram.

These remarks, let us repeat, do not tend to demonstrate by themselves that the second empire could not be that of Darius the Mede, and the third that of Cyrus. Nothing, in fact, proves that in the Book of Daniel the empires which succeed one another necessarily represent the successive hegemony of different peoples or political *régimes*. But this is precisely the conclusion which we derive from the observations which we have just made. Whether or not the second empire is that of Darius the Mede, it is supposed, according to the Book of Daniel itself, that already under Darius the Persians as a people enjoyed the hegemony conjointly with the Medes. The succession signified by the two horns of the ram in chap. 8 refers only to the two elements which succeeded each other on the throne under the same monarchy. The ram has a smaller horn and a bigger one, and the latter appeared in the second place; the smaller horn is Darius, who alone was to represent the *Medan element* on the throne; the higher horn Cyrus and the series of kings of *Persian* origin who followed him. But the ram is represented with its two horns together, even at the moment of its fight against the he-goat (the Alexandrian empire), because these reigns, first of Darius *the Mede*, then of Cyrus and his *Persian* successors, are conceived as belonging to the same *Medo-Persian* empire.

We have thus determined, we hope, the conditions under which, according to the Book of Daniel, Cyrus the Persian succeeds Darius the Mede. By this fact alone we consider we have shown that the identification of the second and the third empires with that of Darius the Mede and that of Cyrus, does not impose itself as positively and directly demonstrated, although we have not as yet established its want of harmony with the data of the Book of Daniel. This identification should not be accepted unless it should prove impossible to propound another, in which the succession presents itself under the same conditions as that of Darius and Cyrus, and which is at the same time more in harmony with the indications which our book furnishes concerning the character of the two empires in question. According to the Book of Daniel, the second and the third empires, which took their place between that of Nebuchadnezzar and that of Alexander, cannot *in any case* be distinguished as belonging to successive monarchies differing in nationality from one another; because, even for the author of our book, there was, between the Babylonian and the Grecian empires, only one empire in the sense indicated, which he knows as that of the Medo-Persians. It is even to be remarked that in 9^{1} Darius the Mede is presented as ruling over the kingdom of the Chaldæans!

Is the second empire intended by Daniel in reality that of Darius? Let us consider how Daniel characterizes the second empire. (1) In the interpretation of the different parts of the statue, it is said (2^{39}) that after Nebuchadnezzar there will rise another kingdom *inferior to him* (ארע מנך, *Kerê*). (2) In chap. 7 the second empire is represented under the image of a bear, which raised itself up on one side, and which had three ribs in its mouth, between its teeth; and they said thus unto it: 'Arise, devour much flesh!'—It seems evident, in a general way, that the second empire has not the sympathies of our author; and this already could only with difficulty be reconciled with his attitude towards Darius the Mede, the benefactor and disinterested protector of Daniel (chap. 6).

But let us consider more attentively the distinctive traits of the second empire, and see if these can be applied to the empire of Darius. The two distinctive traits which we have discovered in chaps. 2 and 7 do not in any way, as it seems to us, apply to Darius the Mede. (1) The empire of Darius was founded on the ruins of the Chaldæan empire. It should be noted here already that in the description of the statue in chap. 2 it is only in view of the contrast between the first and the second empires that the former is symbolized by gold, the latter by silver; for, in any case, the third empire, though symbolized by brass,

is represented as superior to the second. If Nebuchadnezzar is taken as the personification of the Chaldæan empire, it is not intelligible why the empire which succeeded the latter, and which was that of the conquerors of Babylon, should have been characterized as *inferior to Nebuchadnezzar*. Besides, in chap. 6, the kingdom of Darius is described as very vast and perfectly organized (vv.[2f. 25]). In chap. 8 the ram which represents the Medo-Persian empire appears endowed with a power which nothing can resist (v.[4]). It is true that the ram has two horns, and that the smaller one symbolizes the reign of Darius; but it is not in comparison with the Chaldæan empire, it is in comparison with the series of Persian kings, that the first horn of the ram appears as the smaller; and this circumstance does not signify an inferior power or a lesser extension of the kingdom of Darius, but the dynastic inferiority of the Medan element relatively to the Persian element in the series of kings who reigned over the Medo-Persian empire. Any other interpretation would be contrary to the data of the Book of Daniel: Cyrus is here represented (6[28]) simply as a successor of Darius, whose power extended itself over all people, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth (6[25]). (2) The other trait, which serves to characterize the second empire in chap. 7, does not apply any better to Darius the Mede. Driver states that what is intended by the image of the bear, half standing, cannot be said to be altogether clear. Perhaps, he says, on the whole, the most probable view is that the trait is intended to indicate the animal's aggressiveness. This seems to us to be hardly in accordance with the context, since we hear people exciting the animal by saying unto it: 'Arise! . . .'; a bear holding itself in the attitude of aggressiveness would have had no need of being aroused to devour much flesh. We infer from this detail that in presenting the bear to us as 'standing upon one side,' the author meant us to understand that it was *lying on the other*; in other words, that it was standing *only* on one side. It is therefore an attitude of sloth which is attributed to the bear which represents the second empire. And this attitude corresponds to another element of the description; the bear *holds in its mouth three ribs*; they tell it to arise in order *to devour much flesh*: it is an animal which knows nothing except how to satisfy its voracious appetite. These traits, however, it is needless to say, do not appear at all to suit Darius the Mede and the empire founded by him. The Medes and the Persians combined, are, according to Daniel, the conquerors of Babylon; it could not, therefore, be a bear standing on one side in the attitude of indolence, which was the symbol best suited to the empire under Darius the Mede. Nor is it evident why voracity should have been a mark of this empire rather than of the others which come under consideration in the Book of Daniel.

It is time to come to the interpretation which seems to us to suit best all the data of the problem. We think that *the first empire* must be understood, not as the Chaldæan empire in its whole line of history, but in a more restricted manner, as standing for *the reign of Nebuchadnezzar*. The words employed in the text to designate the first empire are not in any way opposed to this view, rather the contrary: '*Thou* art the head of gold,' says Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar; '*after thee* shall rise up another kingdom inferior *to thee*' (2[38f.]). Again, in 7[4], in the description of the first animal, several authors, whose opinion Driver shows himself disposed to accept, recognize an allusion to certain *personal* traits of the life of Nebuchadnezzar, namely, to the famous story of his mental derangement and of his cure in chap. 4. The wings of the animal are plucked off (7[4]); this is Nebuchadnezzar deprived of his reason; when he regained it and gave glory to God (4[31ff.]), he was delivered from the heart of a beast by which he had been afflicted (5[21]) and he received a heart of man (7[4]). The lion with the wings of a vulture as an emblem, not of the empire of Babylon in general, but of Nebuchadnezzar in particular, recalls the figures under which this same prince had been designed, as the lion (Jer 49[19]), as the vulture (Jer 49[22], Ezk 17[3. 12]).

Assuming that the first empire is in a special manner that of Nebuchadnezzar, would there be any serious difficulty in admitting that *the second* is that of *Belshazzar*? No doubt Belshazzar succeeds Nebuchadnezzar, whose son he is even called, as the sovereign of the same Chaldæan empire. But we have already said that upon any hypothesis we meet with a difficulty, or rather with a case, of the same nature. According to the Book of Daniel, Cyrus himself succeeds Darius (who rules over the kingdom of the Chaldæans! 9[1]) as sovereign over the same empire. On the

other hand, the characteristic traits of the second empire, which could scarcely be applied to Darius, are perfectly suitable to Belshazzar. (1) The second empire is *inferior to Nebuchadnezzar*; it was, indeed, under Belshazzar that the Medo-Persians destroyed the Chaldæan empire and attained to the hegemony. We call special attention to $5^{18ff.}$, where Belshazzar is explicitly put in contrast with Nebuchadnezzar. (2) The emblem of the bear, *standing half upright*, indolent, satisfying its voracious appetite, applies very well to the Belshazzar of the Book of Daniel. Just as in the description of the first animal allusion is made to personal facts of the life of Nebuchadnezzar, so also could the image of the indolent and voracious bear be interpreted as an allusion to the story of the banquet which marked the end of the reign of Belshazzar (chap. 5).

The *third empire* represented in chap. 7 by the leopard with four wings and four heads (v.^{6}), would be that of the *Medo-Persians*, over which reigned, in the first place, Darius the Mede, then Cyrus and his Persian successors. This identification is commended afresh by an attentive examination of the text. Already in 2^{39} the author had contented himself with mentioning the second empire of silver, without speaking of its power, setting forth only its inferiority as compared with Nebuchadnezzar; then passing to the third empire *he had insisted upon its power extending itself over all the world* (v.^{39b}). Now, in $7^{5.6}$, we notice the same fact: of the power of the second empire there is no question; but for the third the author adds that *dominion was given to it*. This parallel shows us that it is with intention that the author abstains from mentioning the power of the second empire, and that he mentions it for the third. But the judgment implied in such an attitude cannot be understood on his part, unless we suppose that for him the second empire was that of Belshazzar which ended in an orgie, and *the third that which was founded by Darius the Mede*. For it is evident from chap. 6 that the author considered the empire which the conquerors of Babylon founded as very powerful, as extending itself over all the earth. What reason could he have had to pass over in silence, in chap. 2, as well as in chap 7, the power of the empire of Darius the Mede, while attributing great power and dominion to the subsequent empire? And this in view of the fact that in chap. 6 he shows manifest sympathy for Darius the Mede.

A consideration which further recommends the interpretation which we have just proposed, is that the succession of the four empires identified in conformity with our explanation, furnishes exactly the framework of the whole Book of Daniel. It is true, Cyrus is named in the book as the successor of Darius the Mede (6^{28}), or in order to furnish the date of a vision of Daniel (10^{1}). But we do not learn anything in particular about the relations in which Daniel found himself with him, or anything about the events occurring during his reign. The reigns which are distinctly placed before our view are, in the narrative part, those of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Belshazzar*, and *Darius*; in the part devoted to the visions, those of *Alexander and his successors* ($7^{19ff.}$ 8, etc.).

Let us note, in conclusion, that there reigns in the book of Daniel a certain elasticity in the symbolic value of the figures by means of which the author describes the kings and the kingdoms which he has in view. Symbols of the same nature do not always strictly represent objects of the same extension. The two *horns* of the ram in chap. 8 are the two dynastic elements, Medan and Persian, of the series of kings who reigned over the third empire; the horns of the he-goat in the same chapter are in the first place Alexander himself, then the four kingdoms (or dynasties?) that issued from the empire of Alexander, and finally Antiochus Epiphanes.—In chap. 8 the two *animals* represent the two empires, Medo-Persian and Grecian; in chap. 7 the first animal represents, with a rather personal meaning, the Babylonian empire as ruled by Nebuchadnezzar; the second the same empire as ruled by Belshazzar; the third the Medo-Persian empire; and the fourth the Grecian.

The Great Text Commentary.

THE GREAT TEXTS OF THE ACTS.

Acts II. 42.

'And they continued stedfastly in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers' (R.V.).

Exposition.

Baptism 'added' or 'joined' men (v.[21]). This verse shows us to whom—to the apostles, as representing the Church. Membership in this society meant a continuous effort; it was a *persevering adherence* both to persons and to duties, especially prayer. Here St. Luke gives the four essentials which must not be abandoned, and they fall into two pairs, dealing with (*a*) organization and (*b*) worship.—Rackham.

'**The apostles' teaching.**'—The absence of a written Gospel made the testimony of these living witnesses essential to every Christian. They had gone in soul with Jesus and been taught by Him throughout His ministry, had stood beside His cross and open sepulchre, had seen the risen Jesus ascend into heaven.—Rendall.

'**The fellowship.**'—Not of the apostles only, but of the Church in general. This fellowship of Christians was an outward expression of the unity of spirit which knit the whole body together in one communion. It was at once religious and social; their communion faith in one Father, one Lord and Saviour, one Spirit, issued in common ordinances, words, and acts of worship; and their mutual love bound them together in so real a brotherhood that no man lived for himself alone, but each made the good of the whole body his foremost object. The most tangible outcome of this social tie was seen in their ungrudging provision for the relief of the poorer members by a common fund.—Rendall.

'**The breaking of bread.**'—We cannot explain this expression of a mere common meal. It may be true that every such meal in the early days of the Church's first love had a religious significance, that it became a type and evidence of the kingdom of God amongst the believers; but St. Paul's habitual reference of the words before us to the Lord's Supper leads us to see in them here a reference to the commemoration of the Lord's death, although we may admit that it is altogether indisputable that this commemoration at first followed a common meal.—Knowling.

To simply explain 'the breaking of bread' as equivalent to 'the Holy Communion' is to pervert the plain meaning of words, and to mar the picture of family life which the text places before us as the ideal of the early believers.—Page.

'**The prayers.**'—This term implies the establishment from the first of united prayer at fixed hours and in some appointed place. In Jerusalem it appears that they repaired to the temple courts at the regular hours of prayer, according to the habit of pious Jews (3[1]). But 4[24-30] suggests private gatherings also. In Greek cities members of the Church met for worship in the houses of Christians.—Rendall.

The Sermon.

How to Continue in the Church.

By the Rev J. D. Gilmore.

In this verse we have a complete answer to the question, How can we secure Christian stedfastness to-day?

1. They continued in the apostles' doctrine. *Teaching*, the R.V. has it; but teaching implies something taught, and that is doctrine. The teaching would be in the words and works of Jesus, and His Messianic dignity as proved by the prophetic Scriptures. We too must attend to the teaching of the apostles. We must study the great doctrines which cluster round the Cross. Then when we have learned the truth 'as it is in Jesus,' let us go forth and manifest the power and beauty of our creed in the purity and blamelessness of our lives.

2. They continued in the fellowship. The word translated fellowship means 'sharing in common.' The practical nature of the fellowship is seen by observing how the word is translated elsewhere. In Ro 15[26] it is rendered *contribution*; in 2 Co 9[13] it is *distribution*; in He 13[16] it is *communicate*; in 1 Co 10[16] it is *communion*. Thus the word shows the oneness of the whole body of the faithful in state, in privilege, and in obligation. (1) The brethren encouraged one another in the things of God. Their intercourse was a constant interchange of thought in matters of spiritual experience. This aspect of fellowship has been lost in our day; we seldom talk about God. (2) They had a mutual regard for each other's welfare. They were sharers in common. Whatever touched one touched all. They rejoiced with those that rejoiced, and wept with those that wept. (3) Practical help was given where required. They gave freely as the Lord prospered them for the relief of poor saints. They looked upon the 'collection' as a part of the worship of God, and felt that the Master was still sitting over against the Treasury.

3. They continued in the breaking of bread. This is the New Testament description of the simple feast in commemoration of our Lord's death. By this they kept aflame their love to His

sacred person. By this they looked forward with eager anticipation to His return. Let us continue in the breaking of bread. For here the love of Christ is specially displayed; and as we partake of the simple emblems, there is borne upon our minds with renewed vividness the fact that we are commemorating the greatest manifestation of compassion and love that was ever displayed in the universe. This is pre-eminently the Christian's distinctive ordinance. He upon whom we feed is also Master of the feast, and spreads before us the wonders of His grace.

4. They continued in the prayers. Their life was spent in an atmosphere of communion with God, until prayer became the habit of their souls —private prayer and public prayer, family prayer and social prayer. They had discovered that no more powerful weapon was ever placed in the hands of man than that which a Christian wields in prayer.

Apostolic Christianity.

By the Rev. David Davies.

The apostolic order for entrance upon the Christian life has been described in the context. It is preaching, repentance, belief, baptism. Our text tells us what follows baptism.

1. *Teaching.*—Being baptized they followed on to know the Lord more fully. Life had begun, it was a life of progress, it must go on advancing to all eternity. They sought to scan new heights, and fathom new depths of the boundless riches both of the knowledge and wisdom of God.

2. *Fellowship.*—Christ has graciously ordained that there shall be a Church in the world. He ordained that those who loved Him should remain in fellowship with Him and with each other. The Church is His body, His visible protest against everything unchristianlike in the world. By a communion of heart with heart and a fellowship of spirit with spirit, the early believers were made strong for Christian service.

3. *Breaking of Bread.*—The breaking of bread was observed in conformity to the expressed wish and example of Christ in the upper room. 'This do in remembrance of Me.' It was their privilege, as those who loved the Lord Jesus, to conform to His wishes. By conformity to His will, the spiritual life within them was developed by their being partakers, through this channel of His own institution, of the infinite blessing which He only can bestow.

4. *Prayers.*—Prayer is the life of the Christian, and it is the life of the Church. The Church progresses in the divine life according as it is 'instant in prayer.' If the Church forgets its prayers it is doomed. The Christian Church in all ages has secured its greatest triumphs on its knees.

Illustrations.

Teaching.

The prominence of teaching among the Jews was due to their possession of written Scriptures. The Scriptures contained their law and rule of life, social and civil, as well as religious, and so their interpretation was a matter of supreme importance. Learned students of the law became rabbis or teachers, who expounded the Scriptures and taught publicly; they were surrounded by classes of disciples, and formed different schools of interpretation. The Christian Society first appeared as such a school. The Lord was a great teacher or rabbi, who taught with authority. He was the Master surrounded by His disciples (Jn 3^{2} 13^{13}), and when He was taken away the apostles took His place as teachers. They taught publicly, having a place of teaching in the temple, and were recognized as rabbis, although they taught in an untechnical manner. As with their Master, their work also was both 'to do and teach'; and teaching and preaching go side by side as the normal work of the Church—both to those without and to those within. The believers underwent a regular course of instruction which became known as the *catechesis*. Later on a prolonged *catechesis* became a necessary qualification for baptism, and the candidates were known as *catechumens*, or 'those under instruction.' All this instruction called for a number of teachers and catechists of more or less authority, and so there grew up a definite order of teachers in the Church. At the first, however, the apostles were the teachers. The subject of the teaching was 'the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ' (28^{31}), of which the apostles were the witnesses and interpreters. As yet there was no written gospel, and all depended upon the lips of the apostles for full and authoritative information.—R. B. Rackham.

Fellowship.

On the social instincts of man all civil and political life depends. But fellowship is no less a necessity in the regions of thought and faith. Greek philosophers had their schools, and the empire was honeycombed with religious societies and guilds. Israel itself was a great religious fellowship; and in it were found societies still more closely knit, such as the 'sects' of the Pharisees and Sadducees, or the 'brotherhoods' of the Essenes and Therapeutæ. And now Christianity is revealed as a fellowship; rather it is *The fellowship*, 'the communion of the saints.' This fellowship was begun by our Lord when He called the apostles to leave all and follow Him. So they formed a fellowship, living a common life and sharing a common purse. When the Lord was taken up the common life continued; and the most characteristic words in the early chapters of the Acts are *all*,

with one accord, together. The fellowship was attained through (*a*) cleansing by the blood of Jesus His Son; (*b*) profession of the common faith; and (*c*) actual fellowship of the body and blood of Christ through the sacrament of Holy Fellowship.—R. B. RACKHAM.

The Breaking of the Bread.

THE human race has always looked upon eating as a solemn action, and eating together as a sign of fellowship. Especially was (and is) this the case among the Semites. To eat bread or salt with another, even a deadly enemy, created a bond which could not be violated; on the other hand, Jews might not eat with Gentiles who were out of the covenant. Hence a common meal became not only an emblem but a seal of fellowship.

The solemnity of eating was no doubt due to its connexion with life. The same connexion imparted to it a religious character. Life came from the gods, and was preserved by communion with them. And as with men, so with the gods, fellowship was realized by eating with them, that is, in a sacrificial meal. The ordinary meals of the Jews bore a religious character. The head of the house would begin the meal by solemnly breaking bread and giving thanks over it; and so the term *breaking of bread* came to denote this commencement of a meal with blessing.

After Pentecost we find the Christian society daily breaking bread together (2^{46}); and the meal must have held a central place in their life. It was the bond of fellowship; it gave opportunity for common worship and mutual instruction; it provided sustenance for the proper members of the society. Later, this common meal became specialized—it was called an *agapé*, or love-feast.

But Christ made a feast the central rite of His Church as the memorial of His sacrifice, and at the same time transformed the meal into the deepest mystery. For the food and drink were to be His own body and blood, and by feeding upon Him the worshipper was to attain to communion with God. This feast is the Eucharist. The 'breaking of the bread' would include both agapé and eucharist. In might be the agapé alone, or the eucharist alone, or as at the first the agapé followed by the eucharist. —R. B. RACKHAM.

The Prayers.

AT first the Christians of Jerusalem continued to frequent the temple for prayer and worship both public and private. But just as Jerusalem was full of synagogues in addition to the temple, so the Christians would meet for prayer and worship 'at home,' that is, in 'synagogues' of their own.—R. B. RACKHAM.

Schleiermacher's Doctrine of Redemption.

BY THE REV. W. MORGAN, M.A., TARBOLTON.

THE once prevalent view that the theology of Schleiermacher has its spring in a speculative and æsthetic rather than in a religious and ethical interest, has, since Ritschl, been largely modified if not completely surrendered. The author of the book before us,[1] while not denying the existence of a strongly speculative and æsthetic strain, seeks to exhibit Schleiermacher as above all a teacher of religion; and he has singled out his doctrine of Redemption for treatment, for the reason that it is precisely in this doctrine that the practical significance of any theology comes to expression. In the fact that the conception of Redemption occupies the central postion in Schleiermacher's system, he finds an additional proof that his genius was in the first place religious, and only in the second philosophical.

The book falls into two parts; the first being mainly expository, the second occupied partly with appreciation and criticism, partly with an investigation of the various streams of influence that meet in Schleiermacher's system.

The work of exposition is done with much care, and with considerable insight. Schleiermacher's doctrine of Redemption, like his theological system in general, is constructed on the basis of a psychological analysis of consciousness. In the evolution of our consciousness of self and of a world overagainst us, he finds two main stages or levels. The level on which we stand by nature has its characteristic in this, that the self regards itself as a merely particular being in a world of particulars, and conceives its relation to the world as one merely of free action and reaction. There is no controlling sense of 'the all,' of which every particular is but the expression and the minister. It is the emergence of this feeling for the unity of things that conducts us from the sense-consciousness to the second and higher level of the God-consciousness. In the God-consciousness the sense of particularity, inde-

[1] *Lehre Schleiermacher's von der Erlösung.* Von Horst Stephan, Gymnasiallehrer in Zittau. London: Williams & Norgate.

pendence, freedom, while not wholly submerged, is penetrated and overshadowed by the sense that all particular beings and objects are parts of an infinite and harmonious whole, and that, in relation to this whole, the position of the self is one of absolute dependence. While there is in man an innate impulse to rise from the lower stage to the higher, he is yet too much in subjection to the lower—and this is what Schleiermacher means by sin—to be able, from his own resources, to achieve the transition. An act of Redemption is therefore necessary, if he is to reach the goal of his being. Redemption—from sense-consciousness to God-consciousness—is viewed in two aspects, according as it affects thought and feeling on the one hand, or will and conduct on the other. The redemption of the will (conversion) signifies the subjection of every impulse and purpose to the determining influence of the God-consciousness. With respect to thought and feeling—the primary seat of Redemption—it has the significance of reconciliation or justification. The sense of evil desert and guilt fades away before the overpowering sense of union with God; and the natural ills of life lose their power to alienate and distract, since the redeemed consciousness no longer interprets them as punishment. For Schleiermacher the sense of guilt belongs only to the lower level, and possesses no more than a relative validity, as a divinely ordered means of preventing men from resting contentedly there. The new personality that is born of the consciousness of union with and dependence on God, leaves it behind, with other sources of unblessedness, as a thing with which it has nothing more to do. The blessedness that is the goal of redemption is described also in more positive terms as sonship, freedom, satisfaction, but in language which, in the matter of definiteness, leaves much to be desired. Redemption is an historical act of God, and has its starting-point in the person and work of Jesus Christ. The significance of Christ as Redeemer is based on the complete supremacy of His God-consciousness over His sense-consciousness, and in the manner in which the former takes the various elements of the latter into its service. Christ is the perfect type of the true God-consciousness,—this is what we are to understand by His sinlessness,—and as such he is the power that creates it in others. These two ideas of type and power are summed up by Schleiermacher in the Platonic category of Architype (*urbild*) which he is fond of applying to Christ. The effective element in Christ is not to be sought in isolated moments of His life, such as His death and resurrection, but in the total impression produced by His words and deeds. His death has significance only as exhibiting the fulness and steadfastness of His God-consciousness; and while the resurrection was the visible seal of God's acceptance of His work, the true disciple does not stand in need of such external witness. Schleiermacher led the way in assigning to the Christian community a place and significance in the work of redemption. Through the believing community it was that redemption was introduced as an operative force into the course of historical development, to diffuse itself in accordance with psychological and historical laws. Since the God-consciousness lies in the region of feeling, it cannot be communicated by doctrine, commandment, or even by example, but only through a self-exhibition in word and deed. Thus to exhibit the God-consciousness is the function of the Christian community; and the result of its witness is that the flame is communicated from soul to soul. But while the Christian community in some sense mediates the God-consciousness of Christ to the individual, it must not be supposed that it takes the place of Christ. What it contributes to redemption, apart from the holding up of Christ's image, is only of a preparatory character; fellowship with Christ Himself, the historical Christ, remains the one source of blessedness and perfection.

The second part of Stephan's book is less satisfactory than the first. It suffers from frequent repetition and a want of perspicuity and order. The characteristics that rendered Schleiermacher's work of epoch-making significance, though not overlooked, are scarcely brought into sufficient prominence. Undue importance is attached to the fact that he placed redemption at the centre of his system. With greater justice Stephan lays stress on the service he rendered in rescuing religion from the barren intellectualism that was as characteristic of current orthodoxy as of current rationalism. He could accomplish this because—partly under the influence of the Romantic movement, but especially from his Moravian training—he found the root of religion, not in knowledge or in action, but in feeling or immediate sense. God

is not a product of the understanding, nor does He approach us through dogmas, but He meets us as a living power in our innermost experience, and lays His hand upon us. Schleiermacher's own view of religion as the sense of 'the all' and of our dependence on it, may not be tenable, certainly it is not adequate; his view of religious knowledge as a product of reflexion on the God-consciousness may not exactly hit the mark; nevertheless it is due to him that the peculiarity of religion as distinguished alike from morality and from philosophical meditation, and of religious knowledge as distinguished from theoretical knowledge, has come to some measure of theological recognition. The whole Protestant theology of the present may be said to stand on the ground which he marked out. Even the strictest orthodoxy is not now content to treat religious truth as a mere system of authoritative and miraculously communicated dogmas; and the most 'liberal' theology looks less to the subjective reason than to the historically nourished and conditioned consciousness as the ground of religious truth. Hardly less important was Schleiermacher's service in calling attention to Christianity as a *power*. Rationalism, isolating the individual from the past, recognized no redemptive forces but those native to the individual; Christianity was allowed to contribute nothing more than precept and example. Orthodoxy, doubtless, had not wholly forgotten that the gospel is the power of God, but its conception of this power was of a purely magical character, without any relation to the psychological laws of man's life. In setting Christ at the centre of the Christian consciousness, as the power through which it is generated and sustained, Schleiermacher prepared the way for a true historical and psychological conception of redemption, and for a Christo-centric theology.

With respect to the influences which met in Schleiermacher's system, Stephan gives, as the most important, the æsthetic culture and monistic philosophy of the day on the one hand, and the philosophy of Kant on the other. The influence of Kant is perhaps somewhat overestimated. There is less resemblance between the transcendentalism of the founder of modern philosophy and that of the founder of modern theology than Stephan tries to make out. About the influence of the current æsthetic culture (Schiller, Goethe, and the Romantic movement generally) and of monistic philosophy (Fichte, Schlegel, etc.) there can be no doubt. It is stamped on every conception in Schleiermacher's system. We miss in Stephan any adequate criticism of his conception of God, although it is precisely here that the æsthetic and monistic strain is most prominent and most injurious. The deficiency is partly made up in his criticism of other points. He finds the stamp of an æsthetic, rather than of a religious-ethical, view of the world and of life in Schleiermacher's conception of blessedness. Schleiermacher has nothing to say about *overcoming* the world; his blessedness amounts to little more than a sense of harmony with the world. In the God-consciousness the soul is caught up into a region where the pains and struggles of earth cease to distract. The same æsthetic and monistic influence is at least partly responsible for his undervaluing of personality. The world is for Schleiermacher a uniform whole. Man is not lifted above nature; in God's sight he stands on the same level with it, and God has no particular concern with him whether in his righteousness or in his sin. The result is that a real communion with God is excluded, that the relation of the divine purpose of redemption to sin is taken away, aad that man loses his self-purpose, retaining a religious right to existence only in so far as he is an instrument of the divine world-government. A further consequence of this undervaluing of personality appears in his conception of the person of Christ. Christ is considered only as the architypal subject of the new piety; His personal work and His character as Revelation are almost entirely overlooked. The ethico-religious traits that constitute Him a revelation of the invisible God, disappear in the purely æsthetic conception of His life as a self-exhibition of the God-consciousness. To this more than anything else is due Schleiermacher's failure to bring Christ into any direct connexion with the forgiveness of sin. The holy love that creates at once the sense of sin and the assurance of forgiveness has no value attached to it. We have not been able to agree with the author in all that he claims for Schleiermacher as one who has a message even for the present, but none the less we can cordially recognize his careful work as a real contribution to the understanding of a system which, whatever its defects, is yet of unique historical significance.

Contributions and Comments.

'Born of Water and Spirit.'

I.

I AM so much interested in your remarks on p. 342 of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for May on the subject of the laying on of hands, rather than Baptism, being the occasion when the Holy Spirit was given, that I trust you will excuse me troubling you with a yet further point, which I got in Matthew Henry's *Commentary on Acts* (19^{1-7}). These are his words: 'Paul solemnly prayed to God to give them those gifts, signified by his laying his hands on them, which was a gesture used in blessing by the patriarchs, especially in conveying the great trust of the promise, as Gn 48^{15}. The Spirit being the great promise of the New Testament, the apostles conveyed it by the imposition of hands.'

Was it not the *prayer* of Jacob or of Paul that was effectual in bringing down a blessing? and would not those for whom Luke and Paul wrote understand 'the laying on of hands' to mean the prayers of those who used this gesture, which was only meant to designate the person for whom the prayers were offered up? This suggestion of Henry's appears to me to lift the ceremony to a more spiritual level.

MARGARET D. GIBSON.

Cambridge.

II.

REFERRING to the exposition of the words, 'Except a man be born of water and the spirit,' is not the simplest way after all to explain them with the thought in our mind that the whole of the conversation is not recorded in the Fourth Gospel, and it is therefore quite necessary to read between the lines, however much the principle has, as a rule, to be guarded? Now it is probable in the highest degree that the subject of John the Baptist's mission and methods would be discussed in this connexion by our Lord and Nicodemus, and the fact would be dwelt upon naturally that John was baptizing with water, while pointing forward to the coming baptism of Jesus: 'I indeed baptize you with water: but He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.' So that, with His own mission and method upon His heart, our Lord would logically and naturally say, 'Except a man be born of water (John's preparatory work, which Nicodemus might not only be acquainted with, but a partaker in) *and of the spirit*' (our Lord's completion of John's mission), etc.

Do we need any other explanation than this, either Wendt's or Dr. Taylor's or Mr. Neil's?

ALBERT H. WALKER.

Bristol.

III.

MR. JAMES NEIL'S explanation of 'water and the spirit' as a hendiadys is at least as old as Coleridge (*Aids to Reflection on Spiritual Religion*, Aph. xxiv. Comment)—

'You are not so unretentive a scholar as to have forgotten the *pateris et auro* of your Virgil; or if you were, you are not so inconsistent as to translate the Hebraism "spirit and fire" in one place by "spiritual fire," and yet to refuse to translate "water and spirit" by "spiritual water" in another place; or if, as I myself think, the different position marks a different sense, yet that the former must be *ejusdem generis* with the latter—the water of repentance, reformation in conduct; and the spirit that which purifies the inmost principle of action, as fire purges the metal substantially, and not cleansing the surface only.'

A. S. AGLEN.

Alyth.

'Emmaus' mistaken for a Person.

THREE of the Old Latin MSS offer in Lk 24^{13} the rather remarkable reading, *cleofas et ammaus* (*ammaus et cleopas*), where the Vulgate has *emmaus* simply (see Wordsworth and White's apparatus *ad loc.*). There is, as far as I can find, no trace of such a reading in any Greek manuscript. It shows that Emmaus was regarded by some as the name of the second of the two companions on the memorable journey. This reading has additional interest from the fact that it was the reading in the Bible used by 'Ambrosiaster.' This fact could not be learned from the Benedictine text, which has been 'doctored' to suit the ordinary reading. But collations of various old MSS, which have been

kindly put at my disposal by Father H. Brewer, S.J., of Feldkirch, show what the author really wrote. It is in the commentary on Ro 1^4 (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* xvii. 50 B (of old edition), 52 B (of later edition)) that the verse Lk 24^{21} is thus introduced: '*Dicente Cleopha in Emmaus*' (so the Benedictines). But both the Cologne MSS read '*et Emmau*,' and this is undoubtedly the correct reading. Again, on 1 Co 15^5 (Migne, *P.L.* xvii. 261 B (275 D)), the Monte Cassino and Vatican MSS read '*Cleophas et Emmaus testantur in euangelio cata lucam.*' The MS. tradition of the commentaries of 'Ambrosiaster' is very confused, whereas that of the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti* by the same author is comparatively clear. Fortunately, there is a parallel passage in the latter work to prove that a correct view of the passage in the commentary has been taken. Again, the Benedictine edition (reprinted in Migne, *P.L.* xxxv.) has given an inferior reading. In *Quaest.* 73 (col. 2268, ll. 16 ff.) we read as follows:—'*Denique Cleophas et alius discipulus Emmaus euntes in via tristes*,' etc. (then follows Lk 24^{21}). Four ninth-century manuscripts, three of which I have collated, read '*Denique Cleophas et Emmaus euntes in via tristes*,' etc. I regard *alius discipulus* as an editorial insertion, without any MS. authority. The order of the names is that of the Old Latin Codex Veronensis (*b*) of the Gospels. The copy of the Gospels used by 'Ambrosiaster' was, therefore, closely akin to, if not identical with, *b*.

St. Ambrose (*expos. euang. Luc.* lib. x. § 173, and often elsewhere[1]) speaks of '*Ammaoni et Cleopae.*' I have not access to the new edition of the commentary on Luke by C. Schenkl, just published in the Vienna *Corpus*, where details about the MSS readings are given, but Mr. W. B. Anderson, Trinity College, Cambridge, kindly copied this passage for me, and another from the same work (p. 340), '*Ammaus et Cleopas . . . testantur.*'

A. SOUTER.

Aberdeen University.

Bishop Blyth on the Jewish Mission Problem.

WITH reference to Mr. Ewing's interesting communication on this subject, printed in the April number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, I trust I may be allowed to make one or two remarks.

1. Mr. Ewing says: 'Dr. Blyth seems to assume that a Jew becomes a Gentile if, abandoning the synagogue and the ancient cermonies, he becomes a Christian. Is this so?' What Bishop Blyth insisted on in the article in question was the necessity of recognizing Jewish nationality in Christian missionary work. Western forms and expressions of Christianity are suitable to Westerns, but not necessarily to Easterns. But the only forms of Christianity as a matter of fact presented to the Jew are Western (*i.e.* non-Jewish). If a Jew is taught to regard the acceptance of Christianity as necessarily involving absorption in one or other branches of the Western Church, this is practically equivalent to asking him to become a Gentile. Hence the significant fact that the vast majority of those Jews who, *e.g.*, in England accept Christianity, are drawn from the ranks of those who are willing to become anglicized. As Mr. Lukyn Williams, in his admirable little book, *Missions to the Jews* (S.P.C.K.), says:[2] 'If a Jew is converted he, from want of sufficient choice among Jewish women, marries a Gentile, while his children for a certainty, and even he himself for a probability, become assimilated to Gentile surroundings, and practically become indistinguishable from the English, Germans, or French among whom they dwell.'

To adduce the case of the Zionists is hardly to the point. Whatever Zionism may mean (and it by no means involves necessarily separation from the synagogue), it certainly does not imply identification with any non-Jewish society or organization. Christianity as it is now presented to the Jews does. The remedy for this is surely in the direction for which Bishop Blyth pleads, namely, the recognition within Christianity of Jewish nationality and racial distinctiveness.

If a Hebrew Christian congregation (or congregations) could be formed, with their own officers and clergy, and their own distinctive forms of prayer, this defect would be remedied. Christianity would then appeal with greater force to those members of the Jewish race who are not willing to be absorbed, who are proud of their race and their national past, and who cannot believe that that race has been kept distinct, all through the Christian centuries, in order to

[1] See the note in Migne.

[2] P. 55 f.

become absorbed in non-Jewish societies at the last. Of course those Jews who wish for absorption can always identify themselves with non-Jewish organizations. There is nothing to prevent them doing so.

2. Mr. Ewing, I am glad to see, by no means scouts the idea of a Hebrew-Christian Church. No doubt there are formidable difficulties in such an undertaking. But Rabinowitz's experiment need not deter those who come after. It must be remembered that Rabinowitz did not attempt or profess to found a Church. There was no organization in connexion with his movement worthy of the name—no administration of sacraments, as far as he was concerned. He simply preached in a mission hall to floating congregations. In a new movement in this direction (such as Bishop Blyth contemplates) greater definiteness would be aimed at, and it remains to be seen whether it would not prove a success.

3. Of course there is the danger of Judaizing tendencies in such a movement, which must be carefully guarded against. But I am sanguine enough to believe that this difficulty can be over come. Genuine Christianity can, I venture to think after some study of the question, be expressed in real Jewish Forms. By the bye, does not Mr. Ewing, in this connexion, confuse Mr. J. Lichtenstein of the *Institutum Delitzschianum* of Leipzig with the famous Christian Rabbi Lichtenstein of Budapest? As a matter of fact they are not, I believe, related.

G. H. Box.

Merchant Taylors' School, E.C.

The Arrangement of the Lord's Prayer.

I HAVE begun lately to glance through—I am sorry want of time forbids me to study—the earlier volumes of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES which had appeared before I became a subscriber to the journal. There are plenty of topics on which I should like to enter into a discussion, but at present I beg only to express my indebtedness on the point named above.

When I was favoured with the task of writing the article 'Lord's Prayer' for *Encyclopædia Biblica*, I devoted a short paragraph also to its 'numbering and arrangement,' and said (col. 2819): 'Origen and Chrysostom counted six petitions; they are followed by the Reformed Churches. *WH print the Lord's Prayer in Mt in 2 × 3 stichi*, in Lk without strophic arrangement. Wordsworth-White make, in their Latin New Testament, of *pater-nomen tuum* one stichus, of *et ne inducas* and *sed libera* two. . . . *The division and arrangement of WH prove the best.*'

I am sure that almost everyone who takes a copy of the Greek edition of WH in hand will share my view; but from vol. ii. of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES I learn that I have misunderstood their arrangement. In the said volume there appeared (in May 1891) an article by Principal M'Clellan, 'On the Rendering "Daily Bread" in the Lord's Prayer.' This was followed by some communications. One correspondent sent a letter of Bishop Jebb on the subject from Foster's *Life*, and the Editor printed the most important part of this letter, its arrangement of the Prayer, exactly as it stands—

I. ΠΑΤΕΡ ἡμων ὁ εν τοις ουρανοις,
Αγιασθητω το ονομα σου,
Ελθετω ἡ βασιλεια σου,
Γενηθητω το θελημα σου,
Ὡς εν ουρανῳ, και επι της γης.

II. Τον αρτον ἡμων τον επιουσιον,
Δος ἡμιν σημερον·
Και αφες ἡμιν τα οφειληματα τα ἡμων,
Ὡς και ἡμεις αφιεμεν τοις οφειλεταις ἡμων·
Και μη εισενεγκης ἡμας εις τον πειρασμον,
Αλλα ρυσαι ἡμας απο του πονηρου· Αμην.

On a curious suggestion of the Bishop in connexion with this arrangement, namely, that the corresponding lines end with the same letter of the alphabet, the reader may consult vol. ii. p. 242.—On p. 254 f. the Editor reprinted another communication from the *Bible Christian Magazine* for June, by Rev. H. W. Horwill, Plymouth. This writer refers to a passage in Westcott-Hort's Introduction, which I had overlooked, giving the key to their arrangement, which is exactly the same as that of Bishop Jebb. The passage runs thus (§ 421)—

'We have been especially glad to mark the essentially metrical structure of the Lord's Prayer in St. Matthew's Gospel, with its invocation, its first triplet of single clauses with one common burden expressed after the third *but implied after all*, and its second triplet of double clauses variously antithetical in form and sense.'

The difference is clear: I had understood

ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς as second line of the third petition, while they really understand it as common 'burden' of the first part, parallel almost with the invocation. Now if one will look more closely than I did on their typographical arrangement, applying a rule to the beginnings of the lines, it will become apparent that in fact the first letter of ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ does not stand in an exact line with the first letter of δὸς ἡμῖν, ὡς καὶ, and ἀλλὰ, as it would be necessary in my understanding of their arrangement, but stands a little farther back, exactly under the first letter of the word Πάτερ. This, however, only in the original edition; in the minor edition and in the impression with the 'Macmillan fount of type,' this distinction is not to be observed, and even in the original impression the difference ought to have been marked a little more clearly, that no mistake about its meaning would have been possible.—Perhaps it may be added in this connexion, that in their first attempt, in the privately distributed copies of 1871, they had put ὡς in brackets, printing [ὡς] ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς.

This is one specimen of what may be learnt from earlier volumes of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

EB. NESTLE.

Maulbronn.

'Jew,' 'Jewess,' 'Jewish,' 'Jewry.'

THE appearance of the first volume of the great *Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1901) suggested to the undersigned the question when and how in English the form 'Jew,' 'Jewish' originated with the loss of the essential *d*. On 'Jewry' the editor of the *Dictionary of the Bible* gives some details, but not on 'Jew.' Perhaps others besides the undersigned would be thankful for some instruction on this point.

EB. NESTLE.

Maulbronn

Nathanael under the Fig Tree.

RECENT commentators agree in the suggestion that Christ alludes (Jn 1[50]) to some recent crisis or special incident in Nathanael's spiritual experience which had taken place while he *sat* under the fig tree (see H. Cowan in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii. 489); but note that the *sitting* is not expressly stated (1[50])[1]. Very different was one of the old traditions.

When the murder broke out against the children of Bethlehem, tells the Syriac of the story of Mary (published by E. A. W. Budge, London, 1899, p. 82 of the English translation), and they were about to be slain by Herod, the mother of Nathanael took him and set (literally, hung) him up in a fig tree and covered him with the leaves thereof. And when he came to Jesus to see Him, Jesus answered and said unto him, 'Behold a child of Israel, in whom, verily, there is no guile.' And Nathanael said unto Him: 'Where didst Thou know me?' Then Jesus said unto him: 'I saw thee before Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig tree.' And Nathanael went and told his mother everything which Jesus had narrated unto him; and his mother said unto him, 'Verily, my son, this is the Messiah, for whom creation waiteth.'

In almost the same way, only a little shorter, this is told in the *Book of the Bee*, the edition of which we owe to the same scholar (Oxford, 1886, p. 86 of the English translation): There it is the father of the child Nathanael who 'took him and wrapped him round and "laid him under" a fig tree, and he was saved from slaughter.'

Did the explanation originate on Syriac soil, because in the Syriac Bible Ἰσραηλείτης is rendered בר ישראל, 'a son of Israel,' which might also be understood, a *child*, 'one of the children of Israel,' and thus remind of the children of Bethlehem, in whom there was 'no guile'?

It is further worth mentioning that in the words of Jesus, 'an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile,' there may be an allusion not only to יָשָׁר, 'upright,' but also to אִישׁ רֹאֶה אֵל, 'a man who sees God' (Gn 25[27] 32[29]).

EB. NESTLE.

Maulbronn.

[1] Another curious case that *sitting* is ascribed to one, of whom the Bible does not state it expressly, offers Justin the Martyr, who twice writes on John the Baptist: Ἰωάννου γὰρ **καθεζομένου** ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου (*Dial.* 88), and Ἰωάννης μὲν προελήλυθε βοῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μετανοεῖν καὶ Χριστὸς ἔτι αὐτοῦ **καθεζομένου** ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ ἐπελθὼν ἔπαυσέ τε αὐτὸν τοῦ προφητεύειν καὶ βαπτίζειν (*ibid.* 51). We are accustomed to imagine the Baptist as *standing* at the Jordan.

Printed by MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED, Tanfield Works, and Published by T. & T. CLARK, 38 George Street, Edinburgh. It is requested that all literary communications be addressed to THE EDITOR, St. Cyrus, Montrose.

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

WHERE were the disciples assembled on the Day of Pentecost? St. Luke says 'they were all together in one place'; and again he says that the sound 'filled all the house where they were sitting.' What house was it? Professor Chase believes that it was the Temple.

The question arises at the very beginning of his new book on the *Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles* (Macmillan). For Dr. Chase says that we cannot get into touch with the author of the Acts till we observe that he gives the fulfilment of Christ's promise of the Spirit the foremost place in his record. But St. Luke is interested in men. He is not interested in dates and places. He therefore makes the fulfilment of the promise unmistakable and impressive, but he is not careful to tell us where it occurred. That it occurred in Jerusalem there is no doubt; Dr. Chase believes that it also occurred in the Temple.

Does not St. Luke tells us that, both before and after the day of Pentecost, the apostles were 'continually in the Temple'? He tells us also that they went to the Temple at the appointed hours of prayer. Dr. Chase believes that the Master had consecrated the Temple anew for them. He counts it probable that they went with Him to the Temple on the eve of the Passover, and that it was there they listened to His prayer of consecration, recorded for us in the seventeenth chapter of St. John. Now it was the custom of the priests to open the gates of the Temple at midnight, both at the Passover and at Pentecost, in order that before the morning sacrifice they might examine the offerings of the people as they crowded in. If other pious Jews were at the Temple when 'the day of Pentecost was being fulfilled,' Dr. Chase cannot believe that the apostles were anywhere else.

And the language of St. Luke fits the Temple best. St. Luke says 'they were all together in one place.' St. Paul twice uses almost the same phrase of assembling for worship (1 Co 11^{20} 14^{23}). St. Luke says that 'it filled all the house where they were sitting.' The 'house' is the regular term, both in the Septuagint and in Josephus, for the chambers of the Temple. St. Luke says again that 'the multitude came together.' 'The multitude'—note the definite article (τὸ πλῆθος)—is St. Luke's own expression for the worshippers in the Temple courts (Lk 1^{10}, Ac 21^{36}).

Well, if it was the Temple, what then? Then, says Professor Chase, certain obscurities in the narrative are at once disposed of. The presence of large numbers of Jews of the Dispersion, and

the immediate gathering of 'the multitude' to the place where the apostles were sitting, are both explained. The worshippers, waiting in the Temple courts, heard at once of the occurrence, and flocked to the chamber where it took place. And it is easy to understand how a large crowd could be accommodated there, and could listen to St. Peter's speech. It is not so easy if it was a house in one of the narrow streets of Jerusalem.

Has the President of Queens' College proved his point? He passes at once to a deeper and more debatable matter.

He passes to the wonder of the day of Pentecost: 'There appeared unto them tongues parting asunder, like as of fire; and it sat upon each one of them.' There are two ways of regarding this statement. The one way is to put it entirely aside as mythical; the other is to accept without understanding or questioning it. Are there only two ways? Dr. Chase thinks there must be a third.

It is possible, he thinks, to understand it. Now Dr. Chase does not deny the supernatural in the New Testament. But when he seeks to 'understand' this miracle, he finds it easiest to explain it away. He accepts the miracles in the Gospels and, apparently, in the Acts of the Apostles. But this miracle is different. It belongs to a different order. It stands alone. And he thinks that at the moment when the illuminating Spirit was poured upon the Church, it was the sunlight, the sunlight of a new day, that smote upon the apostles. 'Was it unnatural,' he asks, 'that Christians should see a deeper meaning in the sun's rays streaming through the colonnades and the arches of the Temple and resting upon the apostles, and, connecting the sight with the wonders of apostolic utterance which ensued, should play upon a not uncommon use of the word "tongue," and speak of "tongues like as of fire" resting on the apostles'? And he concludes that 'in the compressed narrative of the Acts at this point St. Luke has blended the language of history and the language of the allegorical interpretation of history.'

'Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away till all these things be accomplished.' What did our Lord mean by saying that? The 'things' belonged to the end of the world. Did He mean that some of those who were then alive would see the end of the world? Or is it our records that are astray? The words occur in almost identical language in all the three first Gospels (Mt 24^{34}, Mk 13^{30}, Lk 21^{32}). They are always introduced by the emphatic 'Verily.' It is hard to say that the Synoptic Gospels are untrustworthy, it is harder to say that the Lord was mistaken.

An American writer, whose name is the Rev. J. Louis M'Clung, writes on this great *crux interpretum* in the *Bible Student* for February and March. He does not believe that our Lord was mistaken. To hold by the infallibility of Jesus he counts the fundamental principle of all true exegesis. Nor does he believe that the Gospel reports are untrue. He believes that the whole difficulty has arisen from our misunderstanding the words 'this generation.'

Mr. M'Clung has examined the use of the phrase 'this generation' in the Gospels. He comes to the conclusion that it does not refer to time. It does not describe the generation then alive. It is ethical. 'This generation' is a shorter way of saying 'a sinful and adulterous generation.' On the lips of our Lord it is a terse description of all those in all time who are outside the Kingdom of God.

To the mind of Christ there have always been two classes of men in the world, and only two—the children of this world and the children of the Kingdom. On one occasion He calls the children of this world 'the children of this world *in their generation*.' He did not mean in the particular

generation in which He was living. On another occasion He said, 'Whosoever shall be ashamed of Me and of My words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man shall also be ashamed of him when He cometh in the glory of His Father with the holy angels.' Was this retribution to be confined to those who were alive when Jesus was incarnate on the earth? Clearly, it applies to those who shall deny Him throughout all the generations of men. Therefore, says Mr. M'Clung, the phrase 'this adulterous and sinful generation,' or more shortly 'this generation,' applies to those who remain without the circle of His confessors in all time to come.

When, therefore, our Lord said, 'This generation shall not pass away till all these things are accomplished,' He meant to encourage His disciples. He had called them that they might go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He encourages them now to go and preach with all earnestness. For He says that their redemption will not be accomplished until 'this generation' is ready to pass away. Now there is but one way in which 'this generation' can 'pass away.' It is by being absorbed in the Kingdom of God.

Some reference was made last month to the American Revised Version and its new translations. One of the new translations mentioned was this: 'Ye men of Athens, in all things I perceive that ye are very religious' (Ac 17^{22}). The English Revised Version has, 'I perceive that ye are somewhat superstitious.' The difference is more than the difference between a courteous and a curt form of speech. Which of these translations is right?

Professor Chase has no doubt that the English translation is right. In his new book on the *Credibility of the Acts* he says, 'The opening words of St. Paul's speech at Athens, though they are often interpreted as expressive of commendation, are in reality words of rebuke not wholly unmingled with contempt.' And he translates: 'In all things I perceive that ye are very superstitious.'

Dr. Chase justifies his translation in a footnote. He quotes Theophrastus; he quotes Menander and Aristotle. These writers use the word which St. Paul uses here (δεισιδαίμων), and they use it with reprobation. And then he says that in point of fact the words of the apostle (ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους) express St. Paul's view of heathen idolatry already noticed by the historian: 'His spirit was provoked (παρωξύνετο) within him, as he beheld the city full of idols.'

And Professor Chase will not allow that the comparative softens the censure, as Field contends. On the contrary, he holds that it hardens it. In the previous verse St. Luke has said that the Athenians spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing. There is no softening of censure there. There is the keenest expression of it. And yet it is the comparative that is used (ἢ λέγειν τι ἢ ἀκούειν τι καινότερον). He will not even allow that the ὡς is softening. That little word certainly removes all impression of rudeness, for it is as much as to say 'in my opinion.' But even that word does not mitigate the sweep or the severity of the apostle's censure.

In the *Journal of Theological Studies* for the present quarter the Rev. G. H. Box, M.A., deplores the indifference with which Christian scholars regard the archæology of the Jews. There were Christians once, he says, who studied Jewish institutions, and found the study profitable for the interpretation of Christianity. He names Edersheim, Delitzsch, Weber, Biesenthal, and Caspari. But where are their successors? He can name only Dr. Charles Taylor in England, and Strack and Dalman in Germany. He hopes that, when the English translation of Dalman's

great work *Die Worte Jesu* appears, 'some improvement' will take place. But in the meantime critical results are quite unnecessarily one-sided and tentative because Jewish scholarship is so scarce.

Of the problems which a closer study of Jewish antiquities might solve, the most important perhaps is the connexion between the Christian Eucharist and the Jewish Passover. Was the Last Supper a Passover? If it was not, how is it so like a Passover? Where and when did it take on the features which even in the Synoptic Gospels at once suggest, and are manifestly meant to suggest, the Jewish Passover?

Mr. Box takes these questions in order. The first question is, Was the Last Supper a Passover? The Synoptic Gospels distinctly say that it was. St. Mark (14^{12}) says that on 'the first day of unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the Passover,' the disciples inquired where the Passover was to be eaten. Now the Passover, that is, the Paschal lamb, was sacrificed on the afternoon of the fourteenth of Nisan. On that evening, which after sunset was reckoned the fifteenth of Nisan, the Passover was eaten. And the Synoptic accounts imply that on the same evening the Last Supper took place. Thus the Passover and the Last Supper would have coincided, and the Crucifixion would have occurred in the afternoon of the following day, which, according to Jewish reckoning, was still the fifteenth day of Nisan.

But the Fourth Gospel has a different account. When such passages are compared as Jn 13^{1} 18^{28} $19^{14.\ 31}$, it is seen that according to this Gospel the Crucifixion took place in the afternoon of the *fourteenth* day of Nisan. It is a day earlier than the representation in the Synoptics. Then the Crucifixion would coincide with the slaying of the Paschal lamb, and the Last Supper would take place on the evening previous to the Passover.

Now the first explanation that occurs to a random reader is that the writer of the Fourth Gospel wanted to represent Christ as the true Passover 'slain for us,' and so made His Crucifixion and the slaying of the Paschal lamb correspond. Mr. Box does not think so. He thinks that if the Synoptics and St. John conflict,—and he believes that they do conflict,—St. John is right and the Synoptics wrong.

For, in the first place, the evidence of the Synoptic accounts contradicts itself. The contradiction is in the words, 'On the first day of unleavened bread when they sacrificed the Passover.' They did not sacrifice the Passover, says Mr. Box, on the first day of unleavened bread. The first day of unleavened bread was the fifteenth day of Nisan, but they sacrificed the Passover on the fourteenth. There are other contradictions and there are other inconsistencies with Jewish usage in the Synoptic narratives. But this contradiction and inconsistency seems to Mr. Box to be 'absolutely decisive.'

In the second place, it is significant to Mr. Box's mind that there is no mention in the Synoptics of the Paschal lamb. The Fourth Gospel says that Jesus Himself was the Paschal Lamb, and St. Paul agrees with that. 'Christ our Passover,' says the apostle, 'has been sacrificed' (1 Co 5^{7}). The Synoptics say nothing about this. They imply that Christ was sacrificed a day later than the Paschal lamb.

Again, there is a striking difference between the custom of the Passover feast and the Synoptic account of the Last Supper. At the Passover each person drank out of his own cup; at the Last Supper all drank out of one cup. And, finally, there is a difference between St. Luke's account and the accounts of St. Matthew and St. Mark. It is in regard to the number of the cups. As it is now generally agreed, St. Luke, according to the best text, mentions only one cup; St. Matthew and St. Mark mention more than one.

For those reasons Mr. Box concludes that the Last Supper was not a Passover. What was it, then? He believes that it was the weekly *Kiddûsh.*

The weekly Kiddûsh was a service in the home. It took place on Friday evening, according to our reckoning, just after the Jewish Sabbath began. Its purpose was the *sanctification* of the Sabbath, for so the word *Kiddûsh* means. Whilst the father and his sons are absent at the Friday night service in the synagogue, the mother prepares the table for the evening meal, and lights the extra candles in honour of the day. When the father and sons return they find the table spread, and two loaves instead of one placed at the head of it where the father is to sit. They are covered with a napkin. Near them stand an empty cup, and a bottle filled with wine. The family take their places at the table. The father chants the praises of the virtuous wife out of the Book of Proverbs (chap. 31), and the ceremony of the Kiddûsh begins.

First the story of the Creation and of the Rest on the seventh day is read out of the Book of Genesis. Then the father fills the cup, and as he holds it up he pronounces the blessing of the Sabbath day, ending with the words, 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who hallowest the Sabbath.' Then he drinks from the cup and hands it to his wife. She hands it to the children and others at the table. When they have all drunk of it they wash their hands. And when they have sat down again the father utters the benediction for the bread, and cuts one of the loaves, taking a piece to himself and distributing pieces to the others. Then the ceremony of the Kiddûsh is over, and the ordinary evening meal begins.

The points of similarity between the Kiddûsh and the Lord's Supper are evident. Both are family meals. At both there is but one cup, which is passed round to all at the table. And the order of the service is the same.

The last statement will be challenged. The order of the Kiddûsh is, first the cup, next the washing of the hands, and then the distribution of the bread. The order in the accounts of the Lord's Supper is, first the breaking of the Bread, and then the Cup. And even if Mr. Box is right in following Edersheim, who believed that for the washing of the hands our Lord deliberately substituted the washing of the disciples' feet, still there remains the fact that in the Kiddûsh the wine precedes the bread, while in the Supper the breaking of the Bread comes first.

Mr. Box replies that the breaking of the Bread does not come first in the account which we have in St. Luke. There, 'according to the true text,' only one Cup is mentioned, and it comes before the Bread. Moreover, this is the order which St. Paul twice follows (1 Co $10^{16.\ 21}$). It is true that in one familiar passage (1 Co 11^{23-28}) St. Paul reverses that order, saying, 'For I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, how that the Lord Jesus in the night in which He was betrayed, took bread.' Mr. Box believes that St. Paul in this passage is quoting a liturgical formula. Before he wrote that passage there had begun a movement towards identifying the Lord's Supper with the Passover. Features of the Passover feast were introduced into the celebration of the Supper. The order of the Cup and the Bread was changed. And already the new practice had got expressed in liturgical language, which St. Paul allows himself to adopt because of its familiarity to his readers.

If this difficulty in regard to St. Paul demands more evidence for the order which is claimed by Mr. Box, he is ready to furnish it. In the *Didache*, the most venerable and unimpeachable authority outside the New Testament, the order is first the Cup and then the Bread. This is the passage after the translation of Dr. Taylor—

'And as touching the Feast of Thanksgiving [Eucharist], thus give ye thanks:

'First, concerning the cup, We thank Thee, O our Father, for the holy vine of David Thy child, which Thou hast made known to us by Thy child Jesus. Thine be the glory for ever.

'And concerning the broken bread, We thank Thee, O our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou hast made known to us by Thy child Jesus. Thine be the glory for ever.

'As this broken bread was once scattered in grains upon the mountains, and being gathered together became one; so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth unto Thy kingdom. For Thine is the glory and the power, through Jesus Christ for ever.'

It is the business of the Christian prophet—accept the word instead of theologian, it is better—to declare what he has been taught of the things of the Spirit. It is the business of the student of natural science to tell what he has learned of the phenomena of nature. But sometimes the student of natural science has something to say about the things of the Spirit. And then he should be listened to. It may be true that he will not listen to the prophet speaking of natural science. It may be that when he speaks of the things of the Spirit he speaks to deny their existence or even their possibility. Still he should be listened to. If he has nothing to teach, he has a soul to save. And he may speak for other men of science who have the same attitude to the things that are unseen and eternal, but are silent.

Sir Henry Thompson published an article in the *Fortnightly Review* for March on 'The Unknown God.' He has now republished the article through Messrs. Frederick Warne, under the same title. He was in no hurry to publish. The materials for the article were collected upwards of twenty years ago. He was in no anxiety to publish. Even when it was written, the article was written for himself alone. But he believed that the paper, brief as it is, might be to others what it had been to himself, 'a veritable *Pilgrim's Progress*,' and that is why he published it.

Sir Henry Thompson is an agnostic. He never uses the name, and he may repudiate it. But he is an agnostic as Professor Huxley, who claimed to have invented the name for himself, was an agnostic. He does not believe in revelation. He believes only in research. He believes that all the knowledge that man possesses or has ever possessed has come from the exercise of his natural faculties. There is but one way he says of gaining knowledge, and there never has been but one,—'the patient, diligent examination of natural phenomena on a large scale.' In one part of his paper he gives a brief outline of the history of man's progress,—man's 'long and painful progress',—and his purpose is 'to demonstrate that he has attained his present position solely by his own unaided efforts.'

Sir Henry Thompson does not believe in prayer. The student of nature, he says, must be both a cultivated and a truly religious man. But his religious feelings do not suggest to him the validity of the Christian practice of prayer. He knows that 'all events must follow the laws of nature, which are unalterable.' He does not pray 'to a Deity,' therefore, for gifts of any kind, not for the recovery of the sick or protection from personal danger, not even for the means of 'moral or mental improvement.' No doubt, he says, the act of prayer on the part of one who believes in its power to move the Deity to bestow a precious boon, brings consolation to the feelings of the applicant. It is a spiritual sedative which affords indescribable relief and enjoyment to many. Nevertheless, the only prayer is, 'not my will, but Thine be done.' And he hints that 'the sensible Christian' should be grateful that that is the only acceptable prayer. For 'what a chaos would the world present if short-sighted men could interfere

with the working of the laws which determine the course of events!'

Is this Sir Henry Thompson's *Pilgrim's Progress*, then? No, it is not this. All this is pure agnosticism, and it is agnosticism with the stretch of Professor Huxley's, who not only said, 'I do not know,' but also, 'No more do you.' Mark the title of the paper: it is 'The Unknown God?' When Sir Henry Thompson could only write 'The Unknown God' he was in the City of Destruction. His Pilgrim's Progress lies in the mark of interrogation.

Sir Henry Thompson believes in God. He never names Him. He even refuses to name Him. He says that the names by which God has been known—whether Jehovah, Theos, Jove, or God—carry associations with which he cannot agree. He therefore accepts Mr. Herbert Spencer's phrase, the 'Infinite and Eternal Energy.' But he believes in a God of wisdom, almost in a God of love.

He finds God's wisdom in phenomena. For nothing will persuade him to go beyond phenomena. It is a curious situation. He finds the Unseen and Eternal in the seen and temporal. He finds Him there, because the very regularity of the laws of nature which make prayer impossible is a sufficient, and to Sir Henry Thompson irresistible, proof that God is very wise.

And he finds God's love in the life of His living creatures. For He has made them, and are they not happy? They would be happy, he hears the unbeliever in his 'Pilgrim's Progress' answer, if it were not for suffering and for death. So Sir Henry Thompson sets himself to consider the suffering and death that are in the world; and he ends by saying that, in spite of suffering and death, God's creatures are happy, and God is a God of love.

For it is a mistake, he says, to suppose that death is a time of pain. 'I shall venture to state,'—these are his words,—'as the known result of long and careful observation of the phenomena which then occur, that a really painful death from disease is never witnessed.' There may have been suffering before death, but even that may now be avoided; thanks to one of the most recent of man's scientific researches—the inhalation of anæsthetic vapours. It may also be that death caused by terrible wounds on the battlefield, by the accidents of daily life, or the tortures of the Inquisition, is painful enough. But death by disease, death in its most usual forms, Sir Henry Thompson believes to be always preceded by a considerable period of insensibility. There may be automatic movements which distress the bystanders, but they are not felt by the subject of them. The surrender of life by man generally, and by the lower animals almost universally, is accomplished without suffering.

By the lower animals almost universally. For, in the first place, Shakespeare greatly erred when he said that the poor beetle we tread upon feels a pang as great as when a giant dies. The sense of pain corresponds with the development of the nervous system. The dog and the horse therefore, which have had their emotional powers much developed through intercourse with man, are susceptible to pain, and may suffer much if they are not relieved as man is by anæsthetics. But there are countless species of living active beings whose nervous system is so little developed that pain can scarcely be felt by them.

And, in the second place, when death occurs through violent means, as in the state of nature it so often occurs, it is mostly painless. For the fierce Carnivora seize their victim at a vital spot, as by the neck at the top of the spinal cord, and at once destroy sensation. It is called instinct. It is due perhaps to the necessity of preventing retaliation, now crystallized in that universal habit which we call instinct. But its result is to make death painless, and to prove to Sir Henry Thompson that God is a God of love.

'Whosoever.'[1]

By the Rev. A. C. Mackenzie, M.A., Dundee.

Revelation xxii. 17.

We study the Scriptures as we study the firmament, now in galaxies, now in constellations, now in one bright particular star, through the attentive reading of which some of the glory of the heavens as a whole may break upon us.

In God's gracious message to us, as in the sky itself, there are words that, like stars, shine out with a peculiar brilliance, and that seem to us worth pondering by themselves. And this word 'whosoever' seems chief among them.

'Whosoever' is a late word in the gracious language of God to man. There is no word in that language that is so costly, none that took so long a time to pronounce; no word that the ears of men were so strained to hear; no word that is so slowly learnt, so easily forgotten; and no word which when learnt and acted upon is so far above rubies.

And it is fitting that the word should find a place in the great book with which the Revelation closes. The book is a great lake which many streams have gone to fill. There you have the majesty and sweep of prophetic thought wedded to new and gorgeous symbols; there you have the voices of celestial beings in their ranks and orders sounding out the praises of God's love to man; there you see the march of history, the conflict of good and evil, the armies of heaven and the congregations of men, the stringency of the Law, the sweetness of the gospel, the lion of the tribe of Judah, and the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. It is fitting, surely, that, ere it closes, this magical word of divine hospitality should there find emphatic utterance.

Slowly, very slowly, the letters and syllables of the word have been brought together. Infinite love, wisdom, and power have gone to the fashioning of it. Can we trace the letters and syllables of this magical word of divine hospitality?

In some rude and childlike fashion I think we can, but only as children who dimly perceive and feebly estimate a Father's boundless love.

Though it is a late word, it is not an afterthought. Nature has been lisping it since the morning stars sang together. The over-arching sky—the roof of the world,—how hospitable it is, bending over every man and making the elements of a home for him! Be where you may, on land or sea, on the highest peak or in the deepest valley, the benediction of the heavens is over you, and there is no voice or language where this speech is not heard. On saint and sinner alike their blessings descend; the starry heavens and the shining sun seem as if they were spelling out the letters of the word 'whosoever.'

Consider, too, how hospitable the earth is, how responsive to the labour of whosoever tills or sows or plants. She asks no questions of your descent; she fills your barns; her fruits fall into your lap and crown your year with her goodness. The mother-earth erects no fences, warns no trespasser off. She invites you to rest on her fresh upspringing grass when you are weary, to toil when you are able; and her generosity is out of all proportion to your care and labour.

How hospitable also is the sea that takes all burdens, small and great, on her broad bosom; that lifts the tiny boat and the leviathan of commerce with equal ease—accommodating herself to the needs and wants of man—untiring, unresting, by her million waves on the pebbled shore, seeming to whisper 'Whosoever.'

The liberal air, the universal dew, the copious rivers, all seem to join in this chorus and proclaim the Maker of them generous, hospitable, accommodating, and comprehensive in His beneficence. Before the word 'whosoever' was *written*, the letters of it were spelt out in the Father's great book of Nature and of Providence.

But this language, clear as the after-ages have made it, was hard for men to decipher. The very alphabet of it was known only to a few, the full word to none.

We said a little ago that this word 'whosoever' was one which the ears of men were straining to hear. They caught faint echoes of it, but they could not reduce it to articulate sound. The syllables could not shape themselves aright. Men could not get their tongues round it nor their

[1] Given at the dedication of a church, February 1902.

hearts enlarged enough to utter it. The world by wisdom knew not God. But men could not help making guesses at Him. There was that within them, around them, and above them that would not let them rest. The religions of heathendom are guesses at God. We speak of them as the darkened peoples of the earth. The darkness, however, is not anywhere total. Gleams of light run athwart it; some dim foretelling of a dawn there is in every one of them. But just how to get out into the light they knew not. We think of them sometimes as fallen from light and knowledge. Some of them may have. Many never saw the light, deeply though they yearned for it. The inequalities of experience fed this yearning hope. Life itself is so unequal in duration, so uncertain, so full of ups and downs; the relations of men to one another are so inexplicable —the king on the throne, the beggar on the dunghill, the master and the slave, the learned and the ignorant, the rich and the poor, the man of good character and of bad.

On a small scale it was as perplexing as on the large. Some races, proud and valiant, going forth conquering and to conquer; others, mean and cowardly, apparently marked out for submission and slavery, hewers of wood and drawers of water—Pharaoh on the throne, the brickmaker in the field.

Blessings undoubted there were, and deprivations that had to be borne. Out of all this and more sprang what we call false religions, which are only false because they could not reach to the measure of the stature of the true. They could not say or shape to themselves, 'Whosoever.' They could only say, 'Obey the god of your race or land or tribe, render the sacrifices, pay the dues in prayers, entreaties, sacrifices, and render them all in the right way—you may come, and welcome.' But as for the man who is not of our race or tribe, the man who knows not the god, nor his sacrifices, nor his dues, nor how to pay them, let him stand afar off. The heathen was a heathen to his brother heathen. All sought the same thing; they sought the hospitality of God, but they could never find the main door of the House. They sought to enter by side doors, and landed in underground cellars in a yet grosser darkness. The light of nature was not nearly so poor a light as this.

If you could keep man to that light, he would still be in a darkness, at least in a comparative darkness, but it could not be so dense a darkness as he has made for himself in the search for light. If you could keep men from having a religion at all, it would be better than some of those which by their wisdom they have found out.

This could never be done. Man would have a religion. He must needs have a religion, but he could not extend it beyond his own tribe. His god was just his god, and he was not yours or mine.

The word 'whosoever' had no place in the vocabulary of any heathen religion. We know of languages in which there are no words for certain common virtues among us, and the reason the word is not there is because the thing was unknown.

Until the fulness of time, when God could speak freely to man, no such word as 'whosoever' could shape itself on human lips. Until it could be said, 'Thus saith the Lord,' the best guesses of men were but babblings in the dark.

The voice of the Lord, however, had to be attuned to the ear on which it fell. Israel was a giant in religion when all the rest of the world were but babes. It was not by searching that he found out the Almighty. The voice came to him. He did not catch the full significance of it. The voice of his God was the most powerful voice among all the gods.

But it was long before he reached the conclusion that there was no voice but only his God's—that not only some of the gods, but all the gods, were dumb idols. Slowly the Israelite reached the idea that the nations were something to God other than fuel for the fires of destruction. Slowly he reached, but with much faltering and halting, the idea that the heathen also might have a place. The statutes began to make provision for the stranger within the gate, but over the gate were written restrictions and limitations by which the many were excluded, the few only admitted; and these, as not sons of Abraham, not to the full privileges of the House. When he looked around him, even the man of God of that time—the man who heard the voice—was often amazed and perplexed. He wondered if God saw or heard, and he put his wonder and his perplexity into psalms of plaintive doubt. The burden of the nations pressed heavily upon him, and he called loudly for judgment. He was a child of

God indeed, but a spoilt one. He fretted and fumed at the prosperity of the wicked. In his zeal for Jerusalem he forgot Nineveh with its much people and cattle.

It was not when he looked around him that the Israelite was great. It was when he looked ahead of him and saw the promise of the great Light. It was then that, forgetful of the twilight in which he moved, he saw the Star of the coming day and broke forth into singing. Not until Shiloh came would all the nations be God's, and all peoples and languages be His. Some elect souls there were on whom the Star already shone, but its light was fitful and obscured by clouds of doubt and the rising dust of racial pride and prejudice. 'Whosoever' cannot yet be pronounced, it can only be vaguely hinted at until some divine far-off event shall have come to pass.

After what seems to our wisdom a long time, but what we may be sure was not one instant behind time, came the One who could pronounce the magic word. Neither a son of Egypt, nor of Assyria, nor of Babylon, nor Greece, nor Rome, not even a son of Abraham, but a Son of *Man*, who also is a Son of God, could speak the word for which the world was waiting. No prophet of one race, no spiritual hero of one people, can gather all into one. No one in a relation less close than that of a son can speak for God out of His own experience, and no one can speak to man in a language which not alone this man and that man, but which all men, can hear. Jesus speaks the universal language. His nationality is nothing. He makes tremendous affirmations. They cost Him untold humiliation and suffering, a great part of which came out of the word 'whosoever.' If He could have limited His salvation, if He could have said anything less than 'Whosoever cometh, I will in no wise cast out,' much of His suffering would have been avoided. Said we not rightly that the word is the most costly that was ever spoken? Costly to the Father, costly to the Son—costly to the men who heard and followed Him. 'Preach the gospel to every creature' has sealed the martyrdom of thousands. For wherever they went it was this word which aroused anger and kindled the fires of persecution. If you could let Diana of the Ephesians alone, you might preach Jesus, a new God, from the housetop and the market-place unmolested. It was the universal Saviour, the universal Salvation implied in the invitation of the Gospel that *made* it a Gospel, but it was that too that made a being crucified with Christ.

Slowly, very slowly, was the word pronounced, slowly was it learnt; but how easily and quickly forgotten! Even Peter had to relearn it in vision, and again at Antioch he forgot it until the sharp rebuke of a fellow-apostle reminded him of it. It is not surprising, then, that the individual man, whose charter of salvation it is, forgets it. It seems to him too good for belief. In his best moments it seems so, in his bad moments it is to him simply incredible. The denser his ignorance, the more flagrant his folly, the deeper-dyed his sin, the less easily will he believe it. He can believe in Christ for the instructed, for the consistent, for the wise, for the holy; but Christ for the sinner, hardened, rebellious, unblushing in his shame! He will believe in anything almost, but not in that. 'Whosoever' is too much for him. Yet God longed to utter it, He suffered for it. His Son suffered for it, the Spirit longed and groaned to say it. Why should you limit it? Why put 'some' in the place of 'all'? Why put 'a few' in the place of 'whosoever'? One bends in awe before the grace of it, but one stands back in horror of amazement at the blindness and folly that would exclude itself from the invitation, 'Whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely'; 'Come unto Me, and whosoever cometh, I will in no wise cast out.' A gospel for the good, who would preach it? A gospel for the righteous, for the ninety-nine that need no repentance! I would not ascend this pulpit stair to give it voice. I stand here only on the ground of 'Whosoever.' Were there any limitation of it in any direction, who would dare to look God in the face, far less to speak for Him? In my darkest hour it is light to me, in sore perplexity it is the counsel of God's wisdom to me. Skill would part from my right hand, hope would die out of my heart, if I forgot it. I carry the word as a talisman to charm away my doubts, my fears, my sins. Why should not you also? Would that one could brand this word 'whosoever' on the heart of every halting, timorous, or callous hearer!

But this individual ignoring of the hospitality of the gospel, disastrous and death-dealing as it is, is not the only one which we have to acknowledge and deplore. Many branches of the Christian Church in many lands, and through the course of many centuries, ignored or obscured it. God's

'Whosoever' was limited to, Whosoever agrees with us on every point of doctrine, of church government, and of worship, is welcome, but whosoever does not shall be walled out and left to uncovenanted mercies. It is well for the Churches to have creeds and forms of worship. They are the citadels on which it falls back in times of attack, but, when these citadels are converted into fences to bar and hinder the free offer of salvation, when they are turned into tests of membership and of communion, they are an evil sore and humiliating, a trial to faith and patience, and a deep discouragement to evangelic zeal. Our own land, as much as any, perhaps even more than any, has for centuries been a stage on which this miserable play of limitation has been enacted. One of the worst consequences of it has been the hindrance to the conversion of the heathen. Had this great word and the infinite love that underlies it been rightly spelt out, would missions to the heathen and the outcast have so long been delayed? How could it have been possible, less than a century ago, for a master in our national Zion, in response to timid overtures on foreign missions, to declare that not until every soul within our own land was converted was it other than preposterous to speak of sending missionaries to the heathen?

How could it be possible in our time for some professing Christians to have lurking in the secret corners of their minds shadows of doubt as to their duty to the heathen? We have no responsibility for the unbelief of any heathen at home or abroad, but we have a responsibility for his ignorance. We never can forget that the pictures which Jesus drew of His Father's hospitality are drawn upon the great scale of public banquets, and not of select coteries. His main anxiety is that the 'House may be full.'

And this house of God, so spacious and beautiful, what is it but an embodiment of divine hospitality. What mean its wide portal, its tolled bell, its heaven-pointed spire, but just 'Whosoever'?

We have in our country outgrown the childish things of symbolism. We seek no sermons in stones, nor in costly architecture and quaint furnishings aids to devotion. But in many places we are erecting not what an artist would call poems in stone, but seemly and spacious structures not all unworthy of the message we have to proclaim. It is much that we should, as it were, *build* 'Whosoever.' It is more that we should live it and look it. Let us throw open the door of our hearts as well, inviting all and welcoming all. Not to our own glory, but to His who bought us, have we done these things; reminding ourselves that the Lord's portion is His people, and that His people are they of every clime and condition who have hearkened when He spake, 'Whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely.'

The End of the Age.

SOME CRITICAL NOTES ON ST. MATTHEW, CHAP. XXIV.

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I SUPPOSE that, with the exception of some portions of the Apocalypse, no part of the New Testament is the object of so much real though unacknowledged aversion to thoughtful orthodox Christians as this chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, with its parallels in the other Synoptists. The cause of this feeling is only partially and inadequately explained by the discredit which nineteenth and twentieth century apocalypses reflect back on the masterpieces they caricature. There is a deeper reason,—the fear lest the result of a nearer acquaintance with Christ's great prophecy of the 'End of the Age' should be the presentation of an alternative from which the mind of the Christian reader shrinks, between the absolute acceptance of the truth of Christ's words and the frank recognition of historical facts. This fear is not, of course, explicitly set out, even in the form of a confession made to oneself in one's own mind; but that it does exist, and does deter the ordinary reader from the study of such parts of the Gospels as deal with the Parousia, there can be no doubt.

Yet to one who approaches these passages with a frank desire to assimilate the results of the latest criticism, or at least to appreciate the grounds on which such criticism is based, there is revealed a field for serious study of limitless extent and interest.

The view which I would wish not so much to develop as to suggest as a promising line of research, is the extraordinary interest which this chapter and its parallels possess as throwing light on the origin and date of the first three Gospels. There must be many like myself who have some acquaintance, however superficial, with the various solutions suggested of the Synoptic Problem, and who have provisionally adopted the 'Two Document Hypothesis,' but in whom the conviction is slowly forming that this theory, whatever amount of truth it may contain, is really too simple to explain all the facts of the case. The object of this paper is to suggest that in the great Parousia Discourse we have an unrivalled opportunity of detecting and even of assigning a relative date to the various strata of the evangelic narrative. In the literary criticism of the Gospels no other method can be pursued with the hope of a fruitful result, than that which has achieved such marvellous results in the field of natural science. There must be, in the first place, the careful painstaking study of the observed phenomena. But second only to this as an instrument in the discovery of truth is the legitimate use of the scientific imagination. The view which is here supported claims only to be an hypothesis which does at least explain some of the facts, but which can only be proved or disproved by the possibility of its extension to cover the whole area of the phenomena presented by the Synoptists. I would wish, then, to set out the facts, first of all, in the form of critical notes on Mt 24, and then to outline the hypothesis which they seem to support. And here I must express my profound debt to two works, above all others (next to 'Synopticon'), namely, Professor Swete's *Commentary on St. Mark*, and the article on St. Matthew's Gospel by Mr. Vernon Bartlet in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. In these notes 'Mt,' 'Mk,' 'Lk' stand for the element peculiar to Matthew, Mark, Luke respectively; 'Mt, Mk' for the common source of the first two Synoptists; 'Mt, Mk, Lk' for the 'Triple Tradition.'

Critical analysis of Mt 24.

Vv.[1-3]. Introduction. Prophecy of the Destruction of the Temple, and the twofold question of the disciples as to (*a*) the time, (*b*) the sign. Parallels, Mk 13^{1-4}, Lk 21^{5-7}.

The main facts are in Mt, Mk, Lk. But notice two local, obviously genuine, touches in Mt, Mk.

(*a*) The fact that the disciples pointed out the beauties of the temple to our Lord; (*b*) that the question was asked when He had taken His seat on the Mount of Olives, overlooking the temple. Neither of these touches is in Lk. But Mk is still more particular. (*a*) The temple adornments were pointed out as our Lord was in the act of leaving its precincts, ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ, as contrasted with Mt, ἐξελθών. (*b*) The names of the inquiring disciples, 'Peter and James and John and Andrew' (notice the order, and the wide separation of Peter and Andrew), as contrasted with Mt, οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ.

But, again, there are two features in Mt well deserving of attention. For Mk's ὅταν μέλλῃ ταῦτα συντελεῖσθαι πάντα (which is closely akin to Lk, and *may* belong to the common source of all three) he substitutes an obviously later recasting of the question—introducing two quite Matthæan phrases, ἡ παρουσία and ἡ συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος. Now παρουσία only occurs in the Gospels in four places, all in this chapter of St. Matthew—vv.[3. 37 (*bis*). 39]—the word being used by St. Paul fourteen times, by St. James twice, three times in 2 P, and once in 1 Jn. ἡ συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος (with or without the articles) is peculiar to St. Matthew, $13^{39. 40. 49}$ 28^{20}.

Vv.[4-14]. The general circumstances of the Church immediately after the departure of Christ.

Vv.[4-8]. The ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων — 'the preliminary troubles' which are to be 'the birth-pangs of the new order.' Parallels, Mk 10^{5-8}, Lk 21^{8-11}.

The greater part of this section (vv.[4-8]) is in Mt, Mk, Lk. But the element which lies outside the Triple Tradition so closely resembles St. Mark as to show that a common Greek *document* underlies the two. In fact, the only important element in Mt is the insertion of ὁ Χριστός after ἐγώ εἰμι in v.[5]. Lk goes his own way, not merely in several minor though not unimportant variations, but especially in the additions in ch. $21^{8. 11}$, and no reason can be assigned for this fact if he had the document 'Mt, Mk' before him. One peculiar feature of Mt, Mk is the extraordinarily suggestive phrase ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων, Mt 24^{8}, Mk 13^{8}.

I do not propose to deal with the parallel

drawn by Mr. Bartlet with Apoc. Baruch 27–30[1]. While declining to prejudge the view thus suggested, we should, at any rate, expect to find Christ's language, like that of the O.T. prophets, moulded by, while transcending, contemporary modes of thought.

It is perhaps worthy of notice that Lk has λοιμοὶ καὶ λιμοί for the simple λιμοί of Mt, Mk.

Vv.[9-13]. Further trials of the disciples. Parallels, Mk 13[9-13], Lk 21[12-19].

Here we have some new features. Only v.[9] belongs to Mt, Mk, Lk, though fragments may be embedded in vv.[10. 13]. Even in v.[9] we have a Matthæan addition in the words τῶν ἐθνῶν. On the other hand, the important passage, 'he that endureth,' etc., and 'this gospel shall be preached to all the nations,' in vv.[13. 14], are from Mt, Mk, but are combined with Matthæan matter. The curious feature of this passage is undoubtedly the fact that the corresponding passages of St. Mark and St. Luke are far more closely paralleled by Mt 10[17-22] (the charge to the Twelve) than by Mt 24[9-14]. And, further, in the former passage there are not only more traces than in the latter of the Triple Tradition, but also that here, most decisively, the close connexion of Mt and Mk is apparent. Two more points claim attention, both in v.[14]. (*a*) For the simple Marcan εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη Mt has ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν; and (*b*) the peculiar phrase, τότε ἥξει τὸ ἔλος, as Mr. Bartlet has pointed out, goes far to date the First Gospel (or rather, we should say, the peculiar colouring of Mt) to some time not long before 70 A.D., when the crisis of the fate of the Holy City was seen to be approaching.

Vv.[15-22]. The invasion of the Holy Land by the Roman armies. Parallels, Mk 13[14-20], Lk 21[20-24] 17[31].

There can be little doubt that this section describes the confusion and misery in Judæa just before the siege. Vv.[16-19] belong, almost wholly, to the Triple Tradition. For the rest, the connexion of Mt, Mk is close and obvious. Lk, while he clearly is indebted to the common source (which appears also in Lk 17[31]), is as clearly independent of Mt, Mk. But when we come to examine these resemblances and differences more closely, several points emerge of extraordinary importance.

(*a*) 'The abomination of desolation' in Mt, Mk. Although these notes are not intended to be exegetical, we may be permitted to differ, with all respect, from the view of Dr. Driver, and to express our inclination to that of Prof. Swete (as also of A. B. Bruce), that what is meant is the intrusion of the armies of the aliens upon the sacred soil. But this verse ([15]) bristles with points of interest for our present purpose. The well-known note, ὁ ἀναγιγνώσκων νοείτω, is in Mt, Mk, and we conclude (*α*) that this note occurred in the document from which our 'Mt' and 'Mk' are derived; (*β*) that it was intended thereby that the reader (ἀναγιγνώσκειν = read in public) should in some way mark or explain, or perhaps, if he were a 'prophet,' give an inspired commentary upon the passage in which these words occur. (*γ*) The very fact that no trace of this 'direction to the reader' is to be found in Lk inevitably suggests, as a tentative explanation, that the peculiar matter of Lk is later than the crisis indicated, and belongs therefore to the period after 70 A.D. (*δ*) But if the recently maintained views of the earlier date of the Acts (and therefore of the Gospel) have sufficient influence on our minds to make us hesitate, the fact that St. Luke *substitutes* 'Jerusalem surrounded by armies' for the Matthæan and Marcan 'abomination of desolation,' goes far to confirm us in the belief that the Third Gospel is to be dated after the destruction of Jerusalem. The arguments of the scholars above referred to are indeed conclusive to this extent, that the mere *occurrence* of the phrase in Lk is not decisive as to the later date of the Gospel. But the point is *not* the occurrence of the phrase, but the fact that it is substituted for the simpler, indeterminate, and therefore presumably earlier, τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως. More than that, the occurrence of the words ὅταν ἴδητε and τῆς ἐρημώσεως (ἡ ἐρήμωσις) in Mt 24[15], Mk 13[14], Lk 21[20] seems to prove that the phrase really belongs not to 'Mt, Mk,' but to the common source of all three, and that the alteration by St. Luke was deliberate and intentional. (*ε*) A precisely parallel argument establishes to our mind the posteriority of the peculiar colouring of Mt to that of Mk. For in Mt the more or less precise ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ is substituted for the vague Marcan ὅπου οὐ δεῖ.

(*b*) We now come to that part of the Triple Tradition represented by Mt 24[16-19]; and here we can hardly avoid touching upon the theory that the strictly eschatological portions of Mt 24 and parallels are really a Jewish, or, as some say, a

Jewish-Christian apocalypse, composed about 67–8 A.D., and incorporated in our evangelic narratives. This is certainly an effectual way of disposing of exegetical difficulties. According to this view, this apocalyptic 'fly-sheet' consisted probably of Mk $13^{7\text{-}9a.\ 14\text{-}20.\ 24\text{-}27.\ 30.\ 31}$ and the synoptic parallels. Weiffenbach (quoted by Prof. Sanday) holds that the portions which remain, 'the critically verified allusions to the second coming, all originally referred to the Resurrection.' Into anything like a full discussion of this theory it is obviously impossible here to enter. But, like most violent expedients of disposing of difficulties, it is liable, we believe, to still graver objections than those which it seeks to remove.

It is almost an integral part of this view, that the 'fly-sheet' thus intruded into the midst of genuine Logia of Christ is to be identified with the 'oracle' mentioned by Eusebius, *H.E.* iii. 5. 3, which warned the Christians of Jerusalem before the war broke out, to flee to Pella in Peræa—*κατά τινα χρησμὸν τοῖς αὐτόθι δοκίμοις δι' ἀποκαλύψεως ἐκδοθέντα πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου.*

Now, if we are right in the interpretation of *ὁ ἀναγιγνώσκων νοείτω*, it seems to us that we have a simpler explanation of the *χρησμός* in question. We would lay some stress on the words *δι' ἀποκαλύψεως*, which would clearly be appropriately used of an utterance of a Christian 'prophet.' Cf. for *ἀποκάλυψις* in some such sense, 1 Co $14^{6.\ 26}$, Gal 2^{2} *δι' ἀποκαλύψεως*, if we accept Professor Ramsay's reference of this passage to the prophecy of Agabus, Ac 11^{28}. The verb is actually used of the 'prophets' at Corinth in 1 Co 14^{30}; see also Eph 3^{5} *ἀπεκαλύφθη . . . προφήταις.* Now, surely the passage of Eusebius is at least capable of some such explanation as this, that the *χρησμός* was given on the occasion of the public reading of this passage of the Gospels by a reader (*ὁ ἀναγιγνώσκων*) who happened to be also a prophet. The particular *ἀποκάλυψις* given to the prophetic 'reader,' and through him to his hearers, consisted in the special explanation of *εἰς τὰ ὄρη*, 'over the mountains of Judæa and Moab to Pella in Peræa.'

But we believe that the strongest argument against the existence of this alleged 'fly-sheet' is furnished by a critical study of the different strata of the evangelic narrative. The result of this study, we hold, is to show that certainly both the 'Triple Tradition' and the common source of Mt, Mk, and also probably the peculiar colouring of Mt, are of earlier date than that assigned to the Jewish apocalypse, which this theory postulates. The peculiar colouring of Lk, we have already seen some reason to conclude, is later than the fall of the city. It was no longer necessary to insert the original 'note' *ὁ ἀναγιγνώσκων νοείτω.* In its place we have a long passage of amplification and what looks like commentary on the event, Lk $21^{21b.\ 22.\ 24}$. We do not mean that we are bound to hold that no genuine Logia of Christ are contained in the peculiar colouring of Lk. We leave open this possibility. But it is difficult not to think that, if not the whole, at least some part of the verses just referred to contain St. Luke's own reflexions on the events of 70 A.D.

In vv.$^{20.\ 21}$ we have the source Mt, Mk. But in v.^{20} we find Mk's indefinite *ἵνα μὴ γένηται* defined by the more precise *ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν.* Now, taken by itself, this variation cannot prove very much. But it does seem to fit in with the other indication, that the peculiar setting of Mt belongs to the period after 66 and before 70 A.D., when the trials predicted by Christ were coming upon the Jewish Christians, while the crisis had not yet arrived, and therefore attention was concentrated on the means of self-preservation. In the same verse, and belonging to the same stratum of variation, we should notice the addition, so characteristic of the Jewish Gospel, of the words *μηδὲ σαββάτῳ.*

As regards the additional matter in this section contained in St. Luke's Gospel, while perhaps we have not as yet the means of exactly defining the relation of the two passages, we ought by no means to overlook the very remarkable parallelism between Lk 21^{24} *ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν*, and Ro 11^{25} *ἄχρι οὗ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ.* The concluding verse of the section in Mt belongs to the source Mt, Mk. (Mt 24^{22}, Mk 13^{20}.)

Vv.$^{23\text{-}28}$. This section is supposed by Godet to describe the interval between the fall of Jerusalem and the Parousia. Very decidedly he expresses his dissent from Holtzmann, who divides the portion into two, namely, vv.$^{23\text{-}25}$ and vv.$^{26\text{-}28}$. But, for our part, we give our allegiance to Holtzmann in this point. For in spite of the *οὖν* of v.^{26}, inserted (as we shall see) in order to furnish a link wanting in the original, the division between the two parts is clearly seen. Vv.$^{23\text{-}25}$ are a resumption, with fuller particulars, of the warning against being 'led astray' in vv.$^{4.\ 5}$. For the most part they belong to Mt, Mk.

But vv.[26-28] are from another source which we have not detected hitherto, but to which our attention will be called again. For the main substance of them is found in Lk 17[23. 24. 37] in a different context. It is notoriously difficult to 'place' the different situations of the so-called 'Peræan section' of St. Luke. It appears, indeed, to be a kind of general receptacle for acts and logia of Christ for which a place could not be found in the development of the narrative, or of the precise context of which, both in place and in time, the evangelist was uncertain. But, however this may be, it remains that Mt 24[26-28] occurs in Lk in close if not immediate connexion with the question of the Pharisees, 'When cometh the kingdom of God?' We shall see some reason, when we come to a general summary of conclusions, for believing, that whether or not this section is out of its place in Lk, it probably did not belong to the context where we find it in Mt. But we are reminded of one of the cruxes of the Synoptic Problem, the precise history and bearing of the source 'Mt, Lk.' Here, at any rate, each evangelist freely places the words of the source in a setting of his own. The meaning of the passage seems to be given in the last words, in answer to the question, 'Where, Lord?' Mt 24[27], Lk 17[37]. The 'body' (Mt πτῶμα, Lk σῶμα) is the Jewish State, and the 'vultures' or 'eagles' are either the Roman armies or else the forces which tend to the disintegration of a society become hopelessly corrupt. Possibly we ought not sharply to distinguish between the two explanations. Going back one verse, we find that ἡ παρουσία belongs to Mt's own setting (cf. above, and τῆς σῆς παρουσίας, v.[3]). If indeed, as we incline to believe, the placing of the passage here is due to the evangelist, it will be only one out of a very great number of instances where words of Christ spoken on different occasions, but united by a general similarity of subject, are all grouped together in St. Matthew as though they formed one great discourse. To return for a moment to v.[27]: the Matthæan phrase οὕτως ἔσται ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου reads like a periphrasis and an explanation of the Lucan οὕτως ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

If vv.[26-28] do constitute a separate logion, the difficulty, that they seem to place the Parousia in immediate connexion with the fall of the city, will disappear.

Vv.[29-31]. Picture of the Parousia. Parallels, Mk 13[24-27], Lk 21[25-28].

Here we find a block, as it were, of the 'Triple Tradition' inserted among other matter. Curiously enough, Mk and Lk preserve the principal portion of this untouched, Mk 13[26], Lk 21[27] καὶ τότε . . . δόξης πολλῆς. But Mt 24[30] preserves the whole, though combined with 'Mt.' But, of this peculiar colouring, 'the sign of the Son of Man' reads like an echo of Dn 7[13]. Cf. also Did. 16[6] πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ (v.[30]) εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σαλπίγγος (v.[31]) καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν (Mt 25[32]). (From V. Bartlet). The tribes of the earth mourning are an echo of Zec 12[10ff.].

We return to v.[39], which is an unusual combination of 'Mt, Mk, Lk,' 'Mt, Lk,' and 'Mt.' But the history of the passage becomes clearer if we compare it with Lk 21[25. 26]. There we see the 'Triple Tradition' in an altogether different and, we should say, later setting. The setting of Mt 24[29] is the very early 'Mt, Mk.' But the difficult word εὐθέως is 'Mt' alone. This has a distinct bearing on questions more fundamental than those of criticism. It does constitute a difficulty if Christ really placed the Parousia 'immediately' after 70 A.D. Notice, first, the setting of the note of time. Mk has ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμεραῖς, Mt εὐθέως, Lk omits all indication of time. It is at least a probable hypothesis that (*a*) our Lord's words were quite indefinite as to time. Observe, for example, how the parabolic ending of the chapter makes for the view of a delayed Parousia. (*b*) That this original, indefinite form of speech is most nearly represented by Mk's ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις. (*c*) That Mt's εὐθέως reflects the hopes and fears of Jewish Christians *c.* 66 A.D. (*d*) That Lk represents Christian thought some time after 70 A.D., when Jerusalem had fallen, yet Christ had not come. For, on the one hand, it would be natural that the intense expectation of the Parousia in their own time, especially when, as in 66 A.D., the signs of the end foretold by Christ were evident, should colour the account of Christ's words given by His first disciples. And, on the other hand, to quote the words of Prof. Sanday, 'the ease with which the apostles postponed their expectation under the teaching of events would tell against the supposition that the teaching of Christ had been precise on the subject.' The 'colossal imagery' of v.[29] is derived from the ancient prophetic style (Is 13[10] 34[4]); and while

(as Swete) we do not necessarily exclude a further fulfilment of the words of the Lord, it is important to notice that their primary reference is not to astronomical and geological but to political and social convulsions.

V.[31], again, is from 'Mt, Mk.' Belonging to Mt's peculiar setting are (*a*) the Jewish symbolism of 'the great trumpet.' Cf. Did. 16[6] (as quoted above) εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σαλπίγγος; (*b*) the addition of the pronoun αὐτοῦ. The angels of the Parousia are Messiah's.

Lk, as so often, is absolutely independent, Lk 21[25b. 26a. 28].

The time of the Parousia. Parallels, Mk 13[28-32], Lk 21[29-35].

This section is very instructive in regard to our present purpose. The main body is 'Triple Tradition.' But the influence of 'Mt, Mk' is decisive as to the setting in which the common source appears in our first two Gospels; and v.[36] is either 'Mt, Mk' pure and simple, or else the common source has been, for some reason, abandoned by St. Luke in favour of the much longer and more generalized warning of Lk 21[34. 35].

But if the 'Mt, Mk' setting of, for example, v.[32] had been known to St. Luke, there would be no reason why he should have substituted the tamer and colourless setting of the 'Triple Tradition' in Lk 21[29]. As bearing on the early date of the source 'Mt, Mk,' notice the extraordinarily graphic and picturesque ἐπὶ θύραις of Mt 24[33], Mk 13[29], while 'Lk' not only omits these words, but loses in force and vividness by substituting ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ for the indefinite construction of Mt, Mk.

But v.[34] is certainly one of the cruxes of the Parousia discourse. 'This generation' appears, without doubt, to refer to the Lord's contemporaries; cf., for example, Mt 23[36], Lk 11[50]. We would venture on a suggestion, founded upon the critical study of sources. It may appear perhaps arbitrary, where Mt and Mk agree and differ from Lk, to say sometimes Lk has abandoned the common source of all three, and sometimes that we have evidence of another source which we have called 'Mt, Mk,' and to which we have more or less definitely assigned a date. Now it was the former hypothesis to which we resorted in connexion with the critical passage Mk 13[14] = Mt 24[15] = Lk 21[20]. But we saw that this differed in one remarkable respect from those passages in which we traced the agreement of Mt and Mk to their use of a separate source, presumably unknown to Lk. For just as the primitive igneous rocks are observed sometimes intruding into and laid side by side with the later sedimentary rocks, so in Lk 21[20] we discovered, side by side with the much later Lucan setting, fragments or insertions of the oldest stratum of evangelic narrative in ὅταν ἴδητε and ἡ ἐρήμωσις. Now in Mk 13[32] = Mt 24[36] = Lk 21[34. 35] we have a precisely parallel case.

I suppose no one will doubt the lateness of Lk 21[34. 35], not in an absolute sense, but relatively to Mt, Mk. But right into the heart of this later matter we have the decisive phrase ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη echoing the τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης of Mt, Mk, just as Lk 21[20] ἡ ἐρήμωσις echoes τῆς ἐρημώσεως of Mt, Mk in that place. And we believe that the reason is the same. Mt 24[15] = Mk 13[14] and Mt 24[36] = Mk 13[32] are both of them from the common source of all three Synoptists, and in both cases Lk has recast the whole passage, just retaining one or two characteristic phrases—enough to show us that we have really to deal with the 'Triple Tradition' and not with 'Mt, Mk.' But how does all this bear on the exegesis of Mt 24[34]? We venture to put forward an hypothesis, somewhat tentatively, which seems at any rate to give a tolerable explanation of the observed facts. In order to avoid constant qualifications, we will set out this hypothesis in a rather dogmatic fashion.

(*a*) St. Luke then knew the Triple Tradition, and substituted the general warning, lest 'that day should come upon you unawares (or suddenly) as a snare' (Lk 21[34. 35]), for the difficult phrase of Mt 24[36] = Mk 13[32]. After all, such a paraphrase would not be altogether alien from the general style of St. Luke, who, on a lesser scale, is constantly modifying and recasting the common material.

(*b*) His reason for doing so was not the dogmatic difficulty which has led to the omission of the words οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός in a good many authorities from the text of Mt, and in some, though fewer, from that of Mk. Such a difficulty would scarcely, perhaps, have much influence in the period 70–80 A.D., to which we are inclined to refer St. Luke's Gospel in its present form. Rather, his object was to remove the apparently direct contradiction with Mt 24[34] = Mk 13[30]. If 'this generation' were to see 'all these things' fulfilled, how could 'that day' and 'the hour' be hidden from the Son?

(*c*) The contradiction is a real difficulty, which, however, is not incapable of solution. For (*a*) we

see no reason why the Lord should not have clothed His prediction of the end in somewhat ambiguous language, or rather, let us say, in language not incapable of being misunderstood. It is a profoundly wise remark of the late Professor A. B. Bruce that the object of true prophecy, no less that of Jesus Christ than that of the O.T., is primarily ethical. Nothing, we can safely assert, is more alien from the spirit of the true inspired prophecy than to give a detailed account of future events—than, in other words, to write history beforehand. The prophet has fulfilled his function when he has proclaimed, with an unerring moral intuition, that the divine judgment is at hand, and that it behoves men to order their lives accordingly. To think that we can read in our Lord's words an exact summary of the events of far distant history, appears to us precisely parallel with—to take an example—making His miracles to be *τέρατα* instead of *σημεῖα*, or regarding them as intended to serve as proofs of His divinity.

(*β*) While, however, we may admit the probable existence of some ambiguity in Christ's prophecy of the end, still we would be inclined to think that this ambiguity would not be too great to be resolved by patient and accurate study of His words. And it seems to us that the clue is to be found (here we follow Godet) in the antithesis between *ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη*, which would witness the fall of the city, and *τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης*, that more remote day—the 'Day of Jehovah'—of which He says that it lies within the knowledge of the Father alone.

There is then an apparent contradiction, but the means of resolving it is not far off. And our gratitude is due rather to Mt and Mk, who have preserved a difficult but instructive phrase, consisting of two antithetical members, rather than to Lk, who has tried to keep only to the general sense, avoiding a contradiction by the evasion of a paraphrase.

Vv.[37-51]. Conclusion of the Parousia discourse summed up in the command to 'watch,' based upon the uncertainty of 'the day.' This precept is enforced in two parables in germ—the thief (vv.[43. 44]), and the faithful and unfaithful upper servants (vv.[45-51]).

Now it seems to be beyond doubt that the great discourse did end with an injunction to 'watch.' But the ending given in Mk 13^{33-37} is far simpler than that of Mt, and we believe more original. In fact, vv.[37-51] of our chapter are most instructive as a lesson in the composition of our First Gospel. For they exhibit what we believe will be found to be the characteristics of the evangelist, namely, the collection of sayings of Christ delivered on different occasions into one great discourse. At the same time, the verses throw a great deal of light on the source 'Mt, Lk.' In regard to this, we believe that St. Luke received certain logia of Christ, some written down, others perhaps orally delivered. The source of both was the common catechesis of Greek converts. The evangelist, who, as he tells us in his preface, took great trouble both in the collection of written and oral information and in the composition, based on that information, of a consecutive (*καθεξῆς γράψαι*) narrative, placed these logia in what he, at any rate, conceived to be their proper historical setting. On the other hand, St. Matthew handled these logia in an altogether different spirit, collecting all those heard on the same or kindred subjects, and continuing them into the great discourses which form so important and striking a feature of our First Gospel. (We consider that we can arrive at some measure of truth regarding the origin of our Greek Gospels, even if we exclude, for our present purpose, the examination of the various views as to Aramaic originals).

To return to our passage.

Vv.[37-39]. 'The days of Noah' is *ultimately* from the same Greek logion as Lk $17^{26. 27}$—just as $^{26-28}$ = Lk $17^{23. 24. 37}$. But we recognise the peculiar setting of Mt in *ἡ παρουσία* of v.[37], and *ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* of v.[39]. Vv.[40. 41], in the same manner, correspond to Lk 17^{34-36}. But observe how freely St. Luke uses his source. For the difficult *ἐν τῷ μυλῷ* he has the simpler *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, and for the more graphic presents he substitutes the tamer futures, *παραλημφθήσεται—ἀφεθήσεται* (in each verse). Perhaps those scholars who trace differences in our Gospels to different translations of an Aramaic document can explain why for Mt's *ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ* Lk has *ἐπὶ κλίνης μιᾶς*.

But in regard to the two 'parables in germ' of vv.[43-51] there can be no doubt that behind Mt and Lk there is the same Greek original. Yet the parallel passage in Lk is found in the entirely different context, Lk 12^{39-46}. This seems to confirm our view that Mt and Lk dealt separately and independently with Greek logia which were

the subjects of the common catechesis. We may notice a few instructive features in this passage, fewer perhaps than usual, owing to the large extent of verbal identity. Even in small details we observe the striving of St. Luke after a more correct and smooth version. In fact there is a curious parallel between the peculiar setting of Lk and the variations of the 'Alexandrian' text of the N.T. For examples of these minor alterations, observe (*a*) in Lk 12^{39} (= Mt 24^{43}) the substitution of ὥρᾳ for φυλακῇ and the omission of the repeated ἄν; (*b*) in Lk 12^{42} the more classical θεραπείας replaces the οἰκετείας of Mt 24^{45}; (*c*) for the thoroughly Jewish-Christian μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν of Mt 24^{51}, Lk has μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων (12^{46}). And, finally, we may notice that whereas the two 'germ parables' follow one another without a break in Mt, St. Luke has supplied, as an introduction to the second, a historical setting in the question of St. Peter, 'Lord, speakest Thou this parable unto us, or even unto all?'

It would be tedious to give even a short summary of the evidence, which is contained in the whole collection of facts which we have examined, for the hypothetical scheme which we are about to put forward. But we claim for our hypothesis that it does enable us to give a rational explanation of the facts which we have reviewed.

(1) First, then, we have the oldest stratum of all, the so-called Triple Tradition, which we strongly suspect to have been, in parts at any rate, not reduced to writing, but committed to memory by catechists and catechumens. Our reason for holding this opinion is the extraordinarily fragmentary way in which pieces of the Triple Tradition are placed amid the peculiar setting of each evangelist. But, whether written or oral, we are inclined to assign a very early date to this stratum of Gospel narrative. At any rate, it assumed its final form some years before 66 A.D.

(2) Next we have an important documentary source lying behind Mt and Mk. The date of this Greek document is about the year 66 A.D. (the year which saw the first investment of Jerusalem).

(3) In the peculiar setting of Mk we have evangelical matter second to none as an authority for Christ's words and acts. If we are not mistaken, we see in this peculiar colouring of Mk the direct influence of St. Peter.

(4) The peculiar colouring of Mt reflects the feelings and judgments of the Jewish-Christian Church. It is to be dated in any case earlier than the fall of Jerusalem, but after 66 A.D.; in other words, it belongs to the period when the crisis which was beginning by the date of 'Mt, Mk' had already so far advanced as to disclose the inevitable end.

(5) Mt and Lk both draw from a Greek document which represents another stratum of the common catechesis to that revealed by the agreement of Mt, Mk, and Lk.

(6) The peculiar colouring of St. Luke is later than the destruction of Jerusalem. We are inclined to refer it to some date between 70 and 80 A.D. It is marked by a striving after the more correct Greek word, and the avoidance of not merely linguistic and grammatical but also of exegetical difficulties.

We do not pretend that a synoptic theory can be considered as proved if it is only based upon the critical study of a single chapter. But we venture to put forward our hypothesis as a tentative explanation of many of the phenomena of the Gospels. And we venture to think that, in the light of some such analysis as this, some of the difficulties which have been felt by ordinary readers in regard to the great Discourse on the Parousia will be found to be capable of a satisfactory explanation.

Recent Foreign Theology.

Holtzmann on the Synoptic Gospels and Acts.[1]

This is the third edition (thoroughly revised) of the first volume of the well-known *Hand-Commentar*. The parts before us include the first half of Holtzmann's commentary on the *Synoptists*

[1] *Hand-Commentar zum N.T.* Dritte Auflage. Erste Band. Erste Abtheilung. *Die Synoptiker.* Erste Hälfte. Zweite Abtheilung. *Die Apostelgeschichte.* Bearbeitet von H. J. Holtzmann. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. London: Williams & Norgate.

(containing the introduction to the three Gospels and the notes on Mark) and that on *Acts*. It would surely have been advisable to publish the *Synoptic Gospels* together, even although *Acts* should have to be deferred. It is difficult to see what advantage has been gained, as the first half of this first part cannot be obtained without ordering the second. We will deal with the parts separately.

Holtzmann's commentary on the *Synoptic Gospels* has long since gained a wide reputation. By careful condensation he was able to pack a large amount of material within the smallest possible space. His notes are clear, acute, always scholarly. No man is entitled to speak with higher authority on the Synoptic Problem. His first work, *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, published as far back as 1863, remains a storehouse from which all investigators must draw. He belongs to the radical school of criticism; so that readers may be prepared for the most uncompromising treatment of the Gospel narratives. This attitude of continual protest against tradition is apt, in our view, to exercise as damaging an influence on the scientific judgment as that of the closed mind which prefers dogma to history.

The new edition of the commentary has been entirely recast. Formerly there was a short, general introduction, dealing with the Synoptic Problem, followed by a commentary on the three Gospels taken together. In order to avoid constant reference from one Gospel to another, and at the same time to treat each on a uniform plan, the editor has now thought it advisable to prefix an elaborate introduction, in which all those sections common to the three Gospels are discussed, 'in so far as they present the same problem to literary or historical criticism.' This scheme also admits of the treatment of many matters belonging to N.T. theology. The introduction leads on to a detailed and separate exegesis of Mark (contained in this part), Matthew, and Luke. The method is admirable, avoiding the wearisome repetitions to be found in editions of such authority as, *e.g.*, that of Meyer-Weiss.

Perhaps we cannot give a better idea of Holtzmann's standpoint than by quoting from the closing paragraph of that section of his introduction which is entitled 'Results' (pp. 35–36). 'The chief value of every exegetical and critical investigation of the Synoptic Gospels consists in the fact that it forms the indispensable preliminary to our knowledge of the life of Jesus. The theological conflict carried out in this direction may be, perhaps, briefly expressed as follows. On the one side it is presupposed that, in the composition of the Gospels, nothing save the function of the historian, in our modern sense of the term, was the regulating factor. In that case the narratives of the evangelists claim the validity of official records of bare facts. On the other side it is recognized that a second interest (we may call it . . . at one time the practical, at another the religious, at one time the dogmatic, at another even the æsthetic) has prevailed from the very beginning. The representation of our Gospels is subservient not so much to the impulse of historical knowledge as to devout feeling and edification, accompanied, at times, by apologetic and polemic tendencies in view of Jewish assumptions and reproaches (in Matthew), or by the purpose of recommending Christianity to the Roman government (in Luke), or by their interest in referring usages and arrangements of the developing ecclesiastical system back to the sayings and precepts of Jesus (in both evangelists).' At the same time, Holtzmann protests against an exaggeration of this second hypothesis, admitting that 'a kernel of information belonging to eye-witnesses is, in any case, present in the threefold Gospel narrative . . . We can definitely assert regarding the Synoptic Gospels that they even have within their framework the genuine portrait of Jesus of Nazareth, a portrait clearly discernible in its main lineaments' (p. 36). In these days of small mercies at the hands of the advanced school of N.T. criticism we ought probably to be thankful for so candid an admission as this from one of its ablest representatives, although it does far less than justice to the facts.

In comparing the new with the older edition of *Acts*, we find that large amplifications have been made. As one might expect from a scholar of Holtzmann's range and thoroughness, the references to recent literature are very complete. He acknowledges that it was impossible to make anything like a full use of the enormous mass of works relating to the Apostolic Age, and singles out several English books to which he has not referred, including McGiffert's very important contribution to this department. We should have supposed that few of the numerous works which

have appeared within recent years are so fruitful in suggestion as that of McGiffert.

Holtzmann accepts Harnack's characterization of *Acts* as 'a very ancient document of heathen Christianity developing into Catholicism' (p. 3). He decides for a date not earlier than 94 A.D., on the following (to our mind) precarious grounds:—'(1) Highly probable acquaintance with Josephus; (2) conscious readjustment of passages in Galatians; (3) kinship of the whole point of view with the Pastoral Epistles; (4) unhistorical conceptions of the speaking with tongues, of the legality of Paul, of the opening of the mission to the heathen by Peter . . . ; (5) proximity in time to the literary products of a Plutarch (parallel Lives), of an Arrian and a Pausanias (works of travel); (6) atmosphere of the Catholic Church, reflecting itself in the parallelism between Peter and Paul . . . ; (7) emphasis on the political side of Christianity and connexion with the apologetic tendencies of Justin.' Some of these reasons may possess a certain weight, but, as a whole, they are good samples of the type of argument used by critics who pride themselves on their scientific method. A hasty glance reveals the lack of historic imagination which most of them involve. If the processes of history could be fitted into certain definite schemes, they might pass muster. But this constant derivation of the separate elements in 'a very ancient document' from this, that, and the other external or (supposed) contemporary influence is arbitrary and mechanical, and therefore untrue to human experience.

There are numerous points of interest both in the notes and introduction. In dealing, *e.g.*, with the conversion of Paul, Holtzmann is very candid. 'It is at all events certain that the apostle himself knows nothing of a gradual process which has drawn him closer to Christianity, but only of a sudden halt which he was compelled to make in the midst of an active career. He knows only of an instantaneous revolution, not a bridge which might have led from one bank to the other (Ph 3^{5-9}). He looks on himself as a suddenly subdued rebel (2 Co 2^{14}), whom God leads in triumph over the world. . . . These are unassailable personal testimonies, which corroborate the essential content of our narrative [*Acts* 9] with immense demonstrative power.' This is an instance of a refreshing freedom from prejudice which every now and then distinguishes Holtzmann from other representatives of the same general critical standpoint. There is an admirable section on the text, in which the well-known theory of Blass is severely, and we believe with justice, criticized. On 16^{6} we should have expected a definite reference to Professor Ramsay's South Galatian hypothesis. There is no mention of Ramsay, but we are interested to find that Holtzmann both here and on 18^{23} rejects the supposition that the author had the Roman province of Galatia before his mind.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

Callander.

Benzinger's 'Chronicles.'[1]

IT is not every one who would care to undertake a commentary on Chronicles. The long lists and numerous genealogies look harsh and repellent. The text abounds in corruptions, some of which are beyond remedy. The labour required seems out of proportion to the result which may be hoped for. The Chronicler's treatment of Hebrew history does not display the freshness and variety of the Book of Kings, and is far more limited in scope and aim. We might therefore be tempted to deem the writer to whom this work is assigned less fortunate than most of his colleagues. Yet there is another side to the picture. Many of the lists and genealogies are parallel to those contained elsewhere in the Old Testament, and it is delightful to a genuine student to account for the discrepancies between two accounts and bring order out of chaos. Benzinger's note on 1 Ch 1^{35-42} will serve as a specimen of the thoroughness with which he has thrown himself into the attempt. He begins with the reminder that we have before us an excerpt from Gn 36^{1-30}, and then proceeds: 'V. 36. Instead of צְפִי Gn has צְפוֹ, LXX in both passages Σωφαρ: it cannot be decided which is correct. *Timna* and *Amalek* appear here as brothers, sons of Eliphaz. In Gn (36^{12}) Timna is the concubine of Eliphaz, and Amalek is her son. The alteration is of course not accidental but intentional—an interesting evidence of the tenacity with which such variants in the genealogical

[1] *Die Bücher der Chronik.* Erklärt von Lic. Dr. J. Benzinger. Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901.

tradition have been maintained in spite of the establishment of an "official" genealogy. V. 37. The combination of the list of Horites with the genealogy of Esau is also found at Gn 36[21]. But, whilst v.[8] in that passage explains to some extent how the list comes into that connexion, no such remark is made here. Here again (see above, on v.[8]) we see how the glossator confines himself to the scantiest genealogical outline. V. 39. Against הוֹמָם and in favour of the הֵימָם of Gn the LXX Αἰμαν (Ἡμαν) is both times decisive. V. 40. עַלְיָן, Gn עַלְיָן; LXX Vat. Σωλαμ; Luc., probably corrected after the Heb., Ἀλοναμ,—the latter is in favour of עלן. שְׁפִי, Gn שְׁפוֹ, is uncertain; LXX Vat. Σοβ, Alex. Σωφαρ, Luc. Σαπφει = Ch. V. 41. Oholibamah, the daughter of Anah (Gn 36[25]), is omitted; in LXX Luc. the omission is supplied. It remains uncertain whether חמרן or חמדן (Gn) should be read; LXX Vat. Ἐμερων is like the Heb., Luc. Ἀμαδαμ like v.[40], corrected after Gn. V. 42. Not the sons of Dishon, who have already been named in v.[41], but the sons of Dishan are here in place; alter, therefore, into דישן as in Gn.' The following remarks on 1 Ch 6[39-66] are an example of comparison worked out on more general lines: 'The section contains (1) a detailed list of the priests' towns, vv.[39-45]; (2) a summary statement as to the number of towns belonging to the several tribes assigned to the three families of Levites, vv.[46-49] (on v.[50] see below); (3) a detailed list of all the towns of the Levites. The section is taken almost verbally from Jos 21[5-40]. But the arrangement there is 2, 1, 3, the only really possible one. That a rational editor should have arranged the verses in the irrational order given above is rendered all the more impossible by the fact that v.[50] forms the introduction to the enumeration of the priests' towns, vv.[39-45]! Two things only are possible: either the Chronicler reproduced the text as it is in Joshua and a later hand prefixed the priests' towns, or the Chronicler gave the list of the priests' towns *in extenso*, after Joshua, whilst a later hand took the opportunity of appending the text of Jos 21 in full. The latter supposition is the more probable, for (1) there is a shorter title for the whole, written by the Chronicler (v.[39]) in place of the fuller vv.[3] and [4] in Jos 21; and (2) the list of the Levites' towns has been specially corrupted in transmission, and the blunders are of a kind to indicate careless copying of the original (Jos, cf. *e.g.* on v.[56]). The numerous, absolutely meaningless omissions especially point to this.' Here we have sound criticism, worth the trouble of making and worth pondering. Benzinger knows also the art of recovering from his documents fragments of historical and archæological lore. The remarks made on p. 6 concerning the lists of Caleb's descendants are excellent. We are reminded that in earlier documents the distinction between the Calebites and Israel continued to be observed even after they had been incorporated in David's kingdom (1 S 25[3] 27[10] 30[29], Jos 14[6], Gn 15[19]); in those times they were never reckoned as Israelites. But our lists show that in post-exilic times they were inscribed on the family-tree of Judah. The note on 1 Ch 2[21. 22] is equally helpful: 'This genealogy makes Jair a member of the tribe of Judah. Elsewhere he appears as a Manassite (Nu 32[41], Dt 3[14]). We cannot explain this as a mere variant of the legend. But there was a time when the designation of the region east of the Jordan as Judahite had a meaning—the time, that is, when Judaic colonies had settled in Gilead. It was to rescue them out of the hands of the heathen that Judas Maccabeus undertook his campaign in those districts. In those times the statement might have an intelligible meaning, whether it were that the Jews endeavoured in that way to vindicate their right to those districts—Hyrcanus I. also justified his proceedings against the Edomites by alleging that their land really belonged to the Jews—or, as is less likely, that the Jews there gave themselves out to be descendants of Jair, and made out their connexion with the Judeans by means of this genealogy.' On 1 Ch 3[8] there is a glimpse into the history of Jewish thought: 'At 14[7] in place of אֱלִידָע there still remains the original form בְּעַלְיָדָע: the LXX also witnesses to בעל in our passage. Hence it must have been a later age, not the Chronicler, that got rid of בעל in proper names.' Neither our A.V. nor R.V. would help a mere English reader to understand the note on 1 Ch 9[20]: 'The formula of benediction, *Yahweh be with him*, at the mention of a holy name, corresponds with an ancient custom which is still kept up, especially amongst the Moslems.' If the text is pure and the division of verses correct, Benzinger's translation will hold good, and the analogous usage amongst the Arabs will illustrate it. But it must be admitted that יְהוָה עִמּוֹ at the

end of a verse looks strange: LXX Vat. has καὶ οὗτοι μετ' αὐτοῦ, Alex. connects the יהוה with the preceding word, ἔμπροσθεν Κύριου. One is inclined to think that the correct reading may have been לִפְנֵי יְהוָה, though it is difficult to account for or dispose of the עַמּוֹ. Whatever may be said of this passage, the reference to another Mohammedan practice on 1 Ch $2^{50.51}$ is justified: 'This reminds us strongly of the *Kunya* of the Arabs, the designation of a man as father of his first-born son.'

A commentary on Chronicles embraces some points of more general interest than those hitherto touched by us. What has it to say, *e.g.*, about the differences between the two narratives of David's numbering the people? 'The Chronicler cannot omit this narrative which is not favourable to David, for it is the apparition of the angel on Ornan's threshing-floor and the command of Yahweh that David shall build an altar there which occasion the choice of this spot for the temple, 22^{1}. 2 S 24 is the parallel section. But the text of that passage has not served as the Chronicler's model. The divergences are far too significant and, above all, they cannot be explained by a reference to any principle, either to the Chronicler's theology (leaving aside some exceptions) or to the desire to abbreviate. But the Chronicler does not narrate independently, from memory for instance, as though that would explain the differences. On the contrary, it is easy to see that he is here making use of a source, which he probably reproduces pretty literally, seeing that its view of the matter corresponds with his. . . . In Samuel it is God Himself who stirs up the king to sin. That is the old idea; cf. on 1 K $22^{19ff.}$; but meanwhile theology has advanced, and the figure of Satan has been laden with the burden of the origination of evil. In Zechariah ($3^{1ff.}$) he is still nothing more than the accuser of man to God, similarly also in the prologue to Job, except that in the latter he takes pleasure in evil. The use of the name without the article, *i.e.* as a proper name, shows how well known and familiar his figure is.' Another debated question is that of Manasseh's captivity in Babylon. Benzinger writes: 'Some have wished to treat the Chronicler's narrative, which is not found in Kings, as a mere Midrash. According to his theory of retribution the long reign of the ungodly king needs to be explained by his conversion, and his wickedness demands a corresponding punishment. But Winckler (*Alttest. Unters.* 122 f.) rightly remarks that the self-contradictory statement about the *Assyrians* carrying the king to *Babylon* cannot possibly have been invented by a later writer. But it is explained as a *fact* by the circumstance that after the fall of his brother in 647 Assurbanipal assumed the status of king of Babylon, and this compelled him to reside during some portion of every year in that city. This was connected with the insurrection of Assurbanipal's brother, Shamash-shum-ukîn, who wished to make himself independent in Babylon. The Palestinian princes, probably including Manasseh, were naturally ready to support the insurrection; at all events, Manasseh refused to pay his tribute. After the fall of Shamash-shum-ukîn he was called to account, and had to appear in person at Babylon to do homage. The extant Assyrian documents do not entitle us to decide positively whether this is the historical kernel of the narrative, or whether Manasseh overtly supported the insurrection so that his subsequent journey to Babylon was not a voluntary one.' This is surely a more satisfactory way of handling the subject than Kittel's (*History of the Hebrews*, ii. 378): 'Even if it were not altogether probable that the narrative originated in the necessity felt of bringing Manasseh's long and peaceful reign into harmony with the theocratic standpoint of the book, still, taking into account the well-known character of Chronicles, very few serious reasons can be advanced in favour of its historicity. Besides, it cannot be denied that the narrative possesses a striking analogy in the history of Pharaoh Necho I., who was carried away in chains to Nineveh, and was afterwards set at liberty.' No one would dispute Kittel's facts and views as here set forth; but the additional fact of which Benzinger reminds us must also be taken into account. A careful reader will not need to be told that *Jerobeam*, p. 105, is a misprint for Josaphat.

J. Taylor.

Winchcombe.

Babylon and the Bible.

A very lively controversy seems likely to be called forth by the recently published work of Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel*. Amongst

others who have felt compelled to protest against a number of the positions there contended for, is Professor Ed. König, who has promptly come forward with a tractate entitled *Bibel und Babel* (Berlin: M. Warneck, price 80 pfennigs). Dr. König feels that the relation between the Babylonian literature and the Bible is presented by Delitzsch too much from one side, and that light and shade are unequally distributed by him.

The little work before us opens with a succinct but most interesting history of the progress of cuneiform discoveries during the past century. The author then passes to the important question of the value which the monuments possess as sources for ancient history, and of the relative weight to be assigned to them and to the O.T. records in certain instances. We need not remind our readers that Professor König is no traditionalist or 'apologist,' yet he finds it necessary to utter some cautions against treating everything that is cuneiform as therefore bearing the stamp of absolute truth. For instance, these records are, at least in a great many cases, not the originals but copies—often long removed from the archetypes. Nor can we be always certain that the narrative is unwarped by prejudices and partialities, leading now to invention, and at other times to suppression of the truth (*e.g.* Sennacherib's silence about the disaster that compelled him to retreat from Judah in 701 B.C.). From this point of view it is shown that the advantage lies on the side of the Hebrew records, although in such a minor point as chronological exactitude the superiority belongs to Babylon.

Perhaps the two points that will interest readers most are Dr. König's very careful examination of the ethnological relations between Babylonia and Palestine (including the cognate question whether the twelve tribes of Israel sprang from Canaanite tribes), and his comparison of the religious and ethical ideas of the respective records. Here we must refer our readers to the tractate itself, where abundant reasons are adduced for the conclusion, that 'if Babylon was the fontal source of many elements of culture found in regions nearer or more remote, religion, the final factor in all civilization, has its classical literature in the Bible.' We have very great pleasure in recommending this work of Dr. König's as at once most interesting and informing.

The Abiding Value of the Old Testament.

It will be felt by many to be especially appropriate that at the present juncture we should have a pronouncement upon this subject by so well-known and competent an O.T. scholar as Professor Kautzsch of Halle. The work in question (*Die bleibende Bedeutung des Alten Testaments*, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, price 65 pfennigs) has for its basis a lecture delivered by Dr. Kautzsch last year at the *Sächsische kirchliche Konferenz* at Chemnitz.

Passing over what our author says so well regarding the futility and misunderstanding of Social Democrat attacks upon the O.T., we come to the kernel of the discussion. We are called upon to abandon unreservedly positions that are no longer tenable (*e.g.* the mechanical view of inspiration which attributed inerrancy and equal value to every letter of Scripture). We have also to be careful not to press unduly arguments in favour of the O.T. based upon its value from the point of view of mere history and æsthetics. Its real abiding value must be discovered from the religious and ethical side. We feel certain that it will rejoice and reassure many of our readers to have such testimonies as the following from Professor Kautzsch:—'The abiding value of the O.T. lies above all in this, that it guarantees to us with absolute certainty the fact and the process of a divine plan and way of salvation, which found its conclusion and fulfilment in the New Covenant, in the Person and the work of Jesus Christ.'—'There is one thing which utterly refutes every attempt to trace the matter to human reflexion, every appeal to natural development, in short, every form of the evolutionist theories at present so much in vogue,—and that is Prophecy.'—'Having been for more than forty-five years occupied with the O.T. in its original text, I can testify with the utmost sincerity that anything imperfect or even repugnant attaching to the O.T. . . . has year by year shrunk to nothing in face of a deepening penetration into the overpowering phenomenon of Prophecy.' Although meant especially to be a plea for the continued use of the O.T. in schools, this brochure of Professor Kautzsch has a much wider scope, and deserves careful study by all lovers of Scripture.

Miscellaneous.

A WELCOME is due to Professor O. Holtzmann's *Religionsgeschichtliche Vorträge* (Giessen: J.Rickers, price M.3). The volume is made up of lectures delivered by the author at Davos to a popular audience, and will be found interesting by all, and not without value even to experts. The lectures include the following range of subjects: Israel and the Prophets; The Jewish Law; The Century of Jesus Christ; The Conquest of the World by the Church; The Gospel and the Confessions.

A WORK on Confession as an ecclesiastical practice cannot fail at present to find readers. And, like many other subjects, this cannot be satisfactorily treated except from the historical standpoint. Pastor E. Fischer has accordingly commenced a work on the History of Evangelical Confession, of which the First Part has appeared, dealing with the Roman Catholic practice of Confession at the beginning of the Reformation, and describing Luther's attitude to it at the initial stage of his activity. The whole subject is treated with scholarly detail and exactness, and Pastor Fischer's work will supply a felt want, besides maintaining the reputation of Bonwetsch and Seeberg's 'Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche,' to which it belongs (*Zur Geschichte der evangelischen Beichte*, von Pastor E. Fischer, Seminaroberlehrer in Sagan; I. Die katholische Beichtpraxis bei Beginn der Reformation, und Luther's Stellung dazu in den Anfängen seiner Wirksamkeit, Leipzig: Dieterich, price M.4.50).

THE same series (Bonwetsch and Seeberg) contains a work by H. Boehmer with the startling title, 'The Forgeries of Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury' (*Die Fälschungen Erzbischof Lanfranks von Canterbury*, Leipzig: Dieterich, price M.4). Before now, doubts have been expressed as to the genuineness of some of the documents involved in the inquiry before us, but Boehmer goes the length of maintaining that the whole ten Papal Privileges were either forged or falsified by Lanfranc, whose misapplied skill is supposed to have found vent also in the Canon Law and elsewhere. The argument of the book is supported by the style as well as the character of the archbishop, whose motives are examined, and on whose behalf Boehmer declines to hear of any extenuating circumstances. It may be taken for granted that the last word has not been spoken in this controversy, but any champion of Lanfranc will have to encounter a powerful adversary.

ONE of the most interesting works we have met with on Primitive Christianity is E. von Dobschütz' *Die Urchristlichen Gemeinden* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, price M.6, bound M.7). The name of the author will be a sufficient guarantee of the thorough scholarship and accuracy of his account of the social and moral conditions of the early Christian communities. From many points of view the questions he handles have a special interest at the present time, whether one looks upon the primitive Church as our ideal or not.

After an introductory chapter on the Problem and the Sources, Professor von Dobschütz goes on to examine the state of things in the various Pauline Churches (Corinth, Macedonia, Asia Minor, and Rome). In each case the burning questions in these Churches are clearly exhibited, and a great deal of side-light is thrown upon them. Then comes a chapter on Judaistic Christianity, which is followed by one on the later Gentile Christianity (including the Churches under Pauline influence; the Johannine circle; the beginnings of Gnosis; the Churches of the period that witnessed the transition to Catholicism). Then comes a useful summary (pp. 252–263), followed by a Bibliography, and Additional Notes on various subjects, 'James the Lord's brother,' 'Slavery in Antiquity,' etc. We have said enough to show that the student of Church History will find a valuable addition to his authorities in the treatise of Professor von Dobschütz.

IT will be welcome news to many of our readers that Mr. J. Ricker of Giessen is about to publish a German edition of the work of Morris Jastrow, jun., on the Religion of Babylonia and Assyria. This will be practically a new work, the English edition having been thoroughly revised by the author himself, who takes full account of all more recent investigations and all texts that have been published since the English edition appeared. The Bibliography has undergone corresponding expansion. The book is to be published in some ten parts, to be completed within the present year,

and the price for the whole work will be about 15 shillings. Even those who already possess the English edition will find the new work indispensable, if they wish to be up to date; while students who have not yet made acquaintance with Jastrow may be confidently recommended to procure the forthcoming volume as *the* authority on its subject. J. A. Selbie.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

Among the Periodicals.

The Book of Daniel.

Professor Hommel contributes to the *Theol. Literaturblatt* (28th March last) a paper on 'The Date of the Book of Daniel, and the Lunacy of Nabonidos.' The Annals of the latter monarch contain repeated notices (extending over five years) of the absence of Nabonidos from Babylon and his sojourn in Te-ma-a (Têmâ), while his son Bel-šar-uṣur (Belshazzar) with the nobles and the troops was in the land of Akkad. Hommel argues that this exile of the Babylonian king can have been due to nothing but some malady which it was sought to conceal from the knowledge of his subjects, and which in all probability was of a mental character. The special interest of Hommel's article lies in his attempt to bring this into connexion with what the Book of Daniel relates of the lycanthropy of *Nebuchadnezzar*. It is well known that a serious difficulty is occasioned by the circumstance that in that book Belshazzar is called the son of Nebuchadnezzar, whereas there was no blood relationship whatever between them. Nabonidos, on the other hand, was the father of Belshazzar, and Hommel seeks to show reason why in Dn 2–5 we should read נבנד (Nabonidos) for נבכדנצר (Nebuchadnezzar) everywhere except in 5^2. He finds a similar error of transcription in chap. 6, where he would change Darius (דריוש) into Gobryas (גורוש). The bearing of all this upon the date of the Book of Daniel, especially if, with Hommel, one could be brought to accept of the Aramaic portions (chaps. 2–7) as part of an original work, and to look upon chaps. 8–12 as of Maccabæan date, is of no little importance. But the present is not the place in which to examine the validity of his arguments. J. A. Selbie.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

Jacob's Route from Haran to Shechem.

By Professor S. R. Driver, D.D., Litt. D., Oxford.

Of none of the four places, Miẓpah, Maḥanaim, Penuel, and Succoth, which Jacob is stated to have passed on this journey, has the name been preserved locally; and the identifications which have been proposed are in consequence entirely conjectural. From such indications as are afforded by the way in which the places are mentioned either in this narrative or elsewhere, it may be inferred that *Miẓpah* was some elevated spot on the north-east of Gilead; that *Maḥanaim* was within sight of the Jordan (Gn 32^{10}; cf. 2 S 2^{29} $18^{23ff.}$ [see 17^{24}]), near some ford of the Jabboḳ (32^{22}), and also a city of Gad, bordering closely on Manasseh (Jos $13^{26.30}$ 21^{38}); that *Penuel* was close to the Jabboḳ (Gn $32^{22.30f.}$), on higher ground than Succoth, and to the east or south-east (Jg $8^{5.8}$, cf. v.[11]); and that *Succoth* was on the route between Penuel and Shechem, which would pass most naturally over the ford ed-Dâmiyeh (a little south of the point at which the Jabboḳ enters the Jordan), in the territory of Gad, and in a 'vale' (Jos 13^{27}, Ps 60^6), —presumably, therefore, in the part of the Jordan valley through which the Jabboḳ flows into the Jordan, and which is very fertile. The following synopsis will perhaps assist the reader to estimate the relative probability of the principal identifications that have been hypothetically proposed:—

	Merrill.	Conder.[4]	Dillmann.
Miẓpah.	Kal'at er-Rabaḍ.[1]	Sûf.	An indeterminable spot on Jebel 'Ajlun.
Maḥanaim.	Suleikhat.	el-Buḳeï'a.[5]	Undetermined.
Penuel.	Tulûl edh-Dhahab.[2]	Jebel 'Oshā.	Undetermined.
Succoth.	Deir 'Allā.[3]	Deir 'Allā.	South of the Jabboḳ, in the Jordan valley, on the road from es-Salṭ to the ford ed-Dâmiyeh.

[1] A Saracenic castle: see photographs in *Mitth. u. Nachr. des Z.D.P.V.*, 1893, p. 55f. It stands on the top of a hill, and commands a particularly fine view of the entire Jordan valley, from the lake of Gennesareth to the Dead Sea (Le Strange, in Schumacher's *Across the Jordan*, p. 286 f.).

[2] 'The hills of gold,' so called from the yellowish metalliferous sandstone of which they are composed,—two conical hills, round which the Jabboḳ winds, about 6 miles east of Deir 'Allā, up the valley.

All these places, except Suleikhat, as well as the routes and fords mentioned in the following remarks, are shown on G. A. Smith's large *Topographical Map of Palestine*. The reader will also be able to follow the argument with the help of the Map of Gilead in the *Enc. Bibl.* ii. *s.v.*, or even with the shilling Map of Palestine in Murray's *Classical Maps* (both of which indicate the elevations by shadings). Suleikhat, according to Merrill's description, is in the higher part of the W. Suleikhat, 3 miles north of the W. ʿAjlun, and a mile east of the road through the Ghôr from Beisan to the south; it would therefore in G. A. Smith's Map be in the second wady north of W. ʿAjlun, a little below the figure '500.' At the spot indicated there are considerable ruins, standing some 300 ft. above the plain, and commanding an extensive view of the Jordan valley; the site therefore, it is argued, if adopted for Maḥanaim, would well suit the conditions of the narrative in 2 S 18 (see Hastings' *D.B. s.v.*).

On the topography of the Jabboḳ valley, the article of Professor J. A. Paine, 'Succoth and Penuel not yet identified,' in the *Bibl. Sacra*, 1878, pp. 481–98, should especially be consulted. This article is mainly a criticism—and, so far as one who has not personally visited the locality can judge, a conclusive criticism — of an article by Merrill in the same periodical, 1877, pp. 742 ff., in which sites are proposed for these two places. Professor Paine describes the region about the Jabboḳ minutely, with a sketch-map (p. 483), examines Merrill's identifications from the point of view of both topography and philology, and (if his descriptions may be assumed to be correct) shows convincingly that they cannot be sustained. As regards the lower course of the Jabboḳ valley, there is a remarkable conflict of testimony: while Merrill (pp. 748–50) speaks of it as the 'main thoroughfare to the east' with 'a good and easy road,' Professor Paine declares emphatically that there is practically no road through it whatever from the ford ez-Zubliyeh, a little south of Jerash, till it enters the Jordan valley, some 10 miles lower down; the stream rushes along swiftly, at the bottom of a deep chasm like a *cañon*, with very lofty and precipitous banks,[1] fringed by tall canes and rushes, and with no road or passage along either side, except, as it seems, rough paths through the jungle, the best of which is a rocky and perilous bridle-path, on the face of the bluff on the north side, along which Professor Paine found himself frequently obliged to dismount (p. 489 f.). The real ancient thoroughfare in these parts from west to east, says Professor Paine, is a well-marked Roman road (not shown on G. A. Smith's Map), leading up from Deir ʿAllā, past Shihan and Mukhmah to ʿAmmân. Professor Paine's statements certainly produce upon the reader the impression that they are accurate; it is difficult to think that he could have come forward to contradict Merrill as categorically as he does, without the assurance that he was on firm ground in doing so.

It is probable that the 'Miẓpah' of Gn 31[49] was further to the north or north-east than either Kal'at er-Rabaḍ or Sûf (for it seems to mark the border in these parts between Israelitish and Aramæan territory): but that hardly affects the main question; Jacob will in any case have approached the region of the Jabboḳ from the north or north-east. To consider, then, Merrill's route first. If Jacob passed by (or near) Suleikhat, he will naturally have come down to it by the route passing north and south along the Ghôr[2]; but a glance at the map will show how improbable it is that, having reached the neighbourhood of Deir ʿAllā, he should then, if his goal were the ford ed-Dâmiyeh, have made a *détour* of 6 miles to the east, up the valley of the Jabboḳ, to Tulûl edh-Dhahab (= Penuel), and then back again,—crossing the stream (Gn 32[22]) as he returned, and afterwards, of course, recrossing it, to Deir ʿAllā (= Succoth), in order then to resume his journey to ed-Dâmiyeh. Moreover, if Tulûl edh-Dhahab is Penuel, it must have been useless either for the Midianites to take flight up to it, or for Gideon to pursue them; for, as has been shown, according to Professor Paine, the banks of the stream for some 10 miles above Tulûl

[3] Succoth is said in the Talm. to have been called in later times *Tar'alah*, or *Dar'alah*; but it is very doubtful whether, as Merrill thinks, Deir 'Allā has any connexion with this; for *Deir* is a Syriac and Arabic word (common in names of places) meaning 'monastery,' which there is no reason whatever for seeing in the *Tar-* or *Dar-* (without the *yod*) of the Talm. name. Cf. Paine, p. 492 ff.).

[4] *Heth and Moab*[3], pp. 181–186; Smith, *D.B.*[2] *s.v.* Gilead, p. 1192.

[5] A depressed plain (*Buḳei'a* is the dimin. of בקעה), surrounded by sandstone and limestone ridges (*Heth and Moab*, 186). Conder (Smith, *D.B.*[2] 1192[a]) thinks that the name *Maḥanaim* still survives in *Mukhmah* (?) on the W. edge of this.

[1] Similarly Thomson, *Land and Book*, iii. 584: 'The gorge of the Zerḳa is exceedingly wild and picturesque; and the cliffs rise *almost perpendicularly* to a great height on either side.'

[2] The route straight down from Ral'at er-Rabaḍ would have led him to the head of the W. ʿAjlun, not into the W. Suleikhat.

edh-Dhahab, as far as the ford ez-Zubliyeh, are so lofty and precipitous as to be virtually impassable on either side. It thus seems impossible that Tulûl edh-Dhahab can really be the ancient Penuel.

Conder's localization of Maḥanaim and Penuel brings Jacob by an entirely different route. Passing through Gerasa, he will have crossed the Jabboḳ by the ford ez-Zubliyeh (on G. A. Smith's Map, just north of el-Mastabeh); pursuing the route southwards he will have climbed from the level of the Jabboḳ (between 500 and 1000 ft.), 1000 ft. or more, up to el-Buḳei'a[1] (2000 ft.); then turning off to the west, at a point not clearly indicated, but perhaps at Jogbehah, he will have climbed 1200–1500 ft. more, past es-Salṭ, till he reached Jebel 'Oshā (3597 ft.), then—though, if his goal was ed-Dâmiyeh, the shorter and more obvious route would have been for him to go straight down to it from es-Salṭ (see the route in G. A. Smith's Map)—going on in a north-westerly direction he will have come down to the Jabboḳ, have crossed it at about one mile south-east of Deir 'Allā, afterwards, turning southwards along the Ghôr route, he will have crossed it again in order to reach the ford ed-Dâmiyeh. Can this extremely circuitous route of journeying from any part of the Jebel 'Ajlun to ed-Dâmiyeh be deemed probable? Is it likely that Jacob would have gone, with his numerous flocks and herds, up and down these lofty mountains? Let it also be remembered that el-Buḳei'a (= Maḥanaim, upon this hypothesis), so far from being 'near' either the Jordan or the Jabboḳ, is 20 miles from the former river and 8 from the latter, while even Jebel 'Oshā (= Penuel) is 10 miles from the Jordan and 8 from the Jabboḳ. Conder's localizations obviously do not satisfy the conditions of the biblical narrative.

Gn 32^{22} says that Jacob passed over the 'ford' of Jabboḳ. According to both Paine's sketch and G. A. Smith's Map, there are four fords in the lower Jabboḳ: (1) The ford crossed by the Ghôr route (acc. to Paine, p. 497 f., the *Mesra Kênan*, or 'Canaan-ford'[2]); (2) the ford on the road from es-Salṭ to Deir 'Allā and Beisan; (3) the ford on the road from es-Salṭ to Burmah and Gerasa (the *Mesra en-Nâṣariyeh*, Paine); (4) the ford on the road from 'Ammân to Gerasa (the *Mesra ez-Zubliyeh*, Paine). According to Paine, (3) is dangerous, and quite impassable for large droves of cattle, the descent being very steep and the current swift (p. 484);[3] hence natives always send loaded animals round by (4). But even supposing Jacob, coming from the north, had crossed the Jabboḳ by (4), this, as the Map shows, would not have taken him in the direction of ed-Dâmiyeh: there is, as we have seen, no passage down the Jabboḳ, at any rate for flocks and herds; and the road over the ford leads naturally up to Jogbehah and 'Ammân. If he crossed by (2), he could no doubt have 'picked his way' (Paine, p. 489) down past Tulûl edh-Dhahab (= Penuel) to Deir 'Allā (= Succoth): but this implies that Maḥanaim was not at Merrill's site, but somewhere (say) near Burmah; and there remains the further difficulty mentioned above, that there would be no route for Gideon and the Midianites above Tulûl edh-Dhahab. The most natural ford for Jacob to cross would be (1): then Maḥanaim might be (say) at Deir 'Allā, 4 miles north of the ford;[4] Penuel might be (say) near where the Ghôr route crosses the route from es-Salṭ to ed-Dâmiyeh; and Succoth on one of the lower terraces of the Jordan valley (which here sinks from −500 ft. to −1000 ft.) west of the point just suggested for Penuel, in the position, south of the Jabboḳ, and consequently in the territory of Gad, postulated by Dillmann.[5] Perhaps, at some future time, excavation will show whether towns stood anciently upon the sites thus indicated.

It is to be regretted that in recent maps of

[1] Conder himself (p. 185) takes him much further round by the east to reach el-Buḳei'a, viz. by the present Ḥaj route.

[2] Whence, also, on Paine's sketch, a route is marked, and spoken of (p. 498), as leading up to 'Ajlun and other towns of the Jebel 'Ajlun.

[3] Professor Paine's own horse was, in July, swept off its legs. When Tristram crossed by this ford (*Land of Israel*, 549), 'the strong current reached the horse's girths'; it is, however, 'not very formidable' in September (Thomson, *Land and Book*, iii. 584; see for the date p. 578).

[4] Suleikhat, Merrill's site (see above), 13 miles north of the Jabboḳ ford, would not perhaps be too distant from it for the narrative of Gn 32 (it is not certain that 'there' in 32^{13} is Maḥanaim: vv.$^{3-6}$ imply that Jacob had stayed at Maḥanaim for some time, so 'and he lodged there that night' reads like a *new* statement relating to a place to which he had now advanced, and which seems to be the one named afterwards (v.^{30}) Peniel). However, a site nearer the Jabboḳ would seem to be more suitable for a place on the border between Gad and Manasseh (Jos $13^{26.\ 30}$), and belonging properly to Gad (21^{38}).

[5] The route from the south up the Ghôr, through Moab, and past Heshbon and Beth-Nimrah (see G. A. Smith's Map), would also be a natural one for Esau to take in coming from Edom to meet Jacob (Gn 33).

Palestine no attempt is made to distinguish sites which are certain from sites which are merely hypothetical. The student who uses Murray's Map would suppose, for instance, that the sites there given for Betonim, Ramath-Mizpeh, Ramoth-Gilead, Penuel, Ed, Zoar, Zophim, Beth-Peor, were as certain as those of Jerusalem or Hebron, whereas, in fact, they are one and all purely conjectural, and at least in some cases anything but probable. Even in G. A. Smith's extremely valuable Map it is difficult not to think that the note of interrogation might have been suitably used more freely than it has been. The maps in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, however, show in this respect a commendable judgment and reserve. That a place should, in two different maps, be shown with equal certainty in two different positions, is surely the *reductio ad absurdum* of map-making; and yet this is by no means unexampled in maps of Palestine.[1] Thus in maps of this country the sites shown for many places must often be accepted with caution and distrust. A critical map of Palestine, on a convenient scale, in which the certain sites were distinguished consistently—whether typographically or otherwise—from those which are (*a*) only more or less probable, and (*b*) purely conjectural, is a desideratum of biblical students at the present day.

[1] See, *e.g.*, Luḥith (Luith) in G. A. Smith's Map and Murray's Map. The grounds upon which this is placed in the former on the south of Ras Ṣï'aghah are not apparent; those assigned in *P.E.F.M. West Pal.*, pp. 228, 253, are surely questionable and inconclusive in the extreme. Contrast Buhl, p. 272.

The Great Text Commentary.

THE GREAT TEXTS OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

ACTS III. 19–21.

'Repent ye therefore, and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out, that so there may come seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord; and that He may send the Christ who hath been appointed for you, *even* Jesus: whom the heaven must receive until the times of restoration of all things, whereof God spake by the mouth of His holy prophets which have been since the world began' (R.V.).

EXPOSITION.

Repent ye therefore.—The apostles began (Ac 2^{38}), as the Baptist began (Mt 3^{2}), as the Christ Himself began (Mt 4^{17}, Mk 1^{15}), with the exhortation to repentance, to a change of heart and life, not to mere regret for the past.—KNOWLING.

And turn again.—As in Mt 13^{15}, Mk 4^{12}, Ac 28^{27}, so also here, the verb is active, 'turn,' though it is rendered 'be converted' in the Authorized Version.—KNOWLING.

Repent—indicates a change of aim and purpose, while 'turn again' expresses a consequent change in direction and course in life. Both changes are wrought *by*, not *on*, the individual.—ABBOTT.

That your sins may be blotted out.—Particularly their being so terribly at cross purposes with God as to have rejected His Chosen One as a sinner.—BARTLET.

THE ancient mode of obliteration was by applying the blunt end of the stylus to the wax on which letters had been traced with the sharp end.—JACOBSON.

Seasons of refreshing.—The word 'refreshing' was used by the Greek translators in Ps 66^{12} for the *wealthy place* into which Israel was brought after passing through fire and water, and so it takes us back in thought to the Exodus. As Israel then groaned under the tyranny of Pharaoh, so were the Jews now groaning under the yoke of Rome. It was the 'seasons of the Gentiles' (Lk 21^{24}), and the Jews longed for a second Exodus. They wanted seasons of refreshing or of *recreation*, for that is the better meaning, as in Ps 39^{13} where the word again occurs. In fact, Israel wanted 'the regeneration' (Mt 19^{28}), to be made once more a people.—RACKHAM.

That He may send the Christ.—This sending is, by the construction of the Greek, dependent on their repentance, as are the seasons of refreshing.—ABBOTT.

Who hath been appointed for you, *even* Jesus.'—The expression here not only refers to the fact that Jesus was the appointed Christ, inasmuch as the covenant with Abraham was fulfilled in Him, but also to the return of Jesus as the Christ, the Messianic King, at His Parousia, in accordance with the voices of the prophets.—KNOWLING.

Restoration of all things.—The same word is used by Josephus for the return from the Captivity, and by Philo for the restoration of inheritances at the Jubilee. The times which had to run their course before the restitution of all things were already in progress. St. Peter embraced the whole period between the Ascension and the Second Advent, when the regeneration (Mt 19^{28}) will take full effect, when the creature shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God (Ro $8^{19\text{-}21}$) by the bringing back, in the new heavens and new earth (2 P 3^{13}, Rev $21^{1\text{-}5}$), of all things out of the con-

fusion caused by sin, into the harmony of creation before the Fall.—JACOBSON.

Since the world began.—That is, the whole Old Testament, from Gn 3^{15} to Mal 4^{6}, had looked forward to a restoration.—RACKHAM.

THE SERMON.

Conversion.

By the Rev. J. H. Thom.

Is it possible for great and radical changes to take place in character—changes so affecting the fountain of a man's nature, that of its own accord it will now send forth sweet water instead of bitter? Is it extravagant, or against experience, to believe that there may be a mighty action of God within the soul, giving the knowledge of sin, and at the same time such assurance of divine love and power, as will transform all the relations of the sinner to his God, and all the inclinations of his heart? Must it be once bad, always bad? once mean, always mean? once a prey to vile passions, steeped in them for ever? Is there no power to alter this? If not, then we have no contact with Him to whom all things are possible, and nature and habit hold us helpless.

It will not serve to answer such questions by scriptural quotations—'Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?' Other quotations, ready to hand, exhibit both the possibility and the fact of entire conversion, while leaving the truth in that quotation untouched. No change is desired in the Ethiopian or the leopard, for everything is good according to its kind. The contemplative and the active type of man are each good in its kind, and conversion does not seek to change a Washington into a Newton, or a Shakespeare into a Cromwell. Conversion cannot make a man different from what God made him, but it can make him all that God intended him to be: it cannot add one element to those of his nature, but it can introduce peace into the midst of them, and make God their ruler instead of selfishness or passion.

Conversions may be called natural and supernatural. A natural conversion may take place when a man has found his calling, and becomes engaged in a pursuit which is large enough and arduous enough to occupy all his nature. I have known a man's whole nature and character absolutely transfigured, and in a wonderfully short time, by suddenly developing a taste, and at no early period of life, for one difficult and obscure branch of natural history.

But it is another class of conversion, even though the hand of God is not immediately seen in it, when the sense of God comes for the first time upon those who have been living without Him in the world. All real conversions take place in this way: *the heavenly Spirit looks in upon the soul*, and the soul sees Him as He is. This was St. Paul's conversion. The only question now is, 'How are we really to look into God's face?' It is God who brings us into contact with Himself. He is ever willing. He is ever seeking. The light is ever shining towards us, we have but to turn our eyes and see it.

Restoration.

By the late Very Rev. C. J. Vaughan, D.D.

The leading idea in the word used by St. Peter is the bringing back to an original state which has been damaged or forfeited by sin.

1. The restitution of all things will be a clearing away of suffering. This is the special point of that mysterious passage in Ro 8 in which St. Paul speaks of 'the earnest expectation of the creature' as waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God. It is a hard thing this 'bondage of corruption,' this servitude of suffering, laid alike upon righteous and wicked, upon animal life, and even in some sense upon Nature herself. There is only one escape from charging God foolishly. The groans are but the groans of birth; they are 'in hope'; when hope is seen, the creature shall no more remember the anguish in the joy of a delivery and the transport of a new life. Earth shall be restored to its original beauty; its face shall be wiped from tears; its scarred and seamed countenance shall be radiant again, with a more than Eden loveliness; for the earth is one of those *all things* which must receive 'restitution' when the Heaven which has received Him shall send Jesus back.

2. Man himself is among the 'all things' waiting a restoration. The person you most admire, the person you best love, can anything but blind idolatry paint him perfect? You may say you do not wish him perfect, you love him best as he is. We do not believe it. When you disparage perfection you speak of that which often takes its name, an inanimate negative faultlessness, out of which

has departed all the zest and sparkle of the human. But if the very qualities which you love in their imperfection were intensified, if the dross were refined away, the last lingering selfishness extinguished, would not the restoration be a joy unspeakable and full of glory? But this restoration will take place not only in the case of the exceptionally endowed, but of every one who has fled for refuge to the hope set before him in the gospel.

3. In the restoration, God Himself—the conscious presence, the spiritual Shekinah, the divine companionship—will be restored. Thus the restoration affects not only nature and man, but also God. The one great fact of the first Paradise was the nearness of God to sinless Adam. The sinner has ever since been in hiding from the face of God. Calling upon Him has been an effort. His absence has made worship formal, prayer toilsome, prosperity thoughtless, and trouble desolate. In the restoration we shall be admitted again to the presence of God. In the light of that sun all lesser luminaries will pale; all true love will shine in the love of God. Let the prospect make us willing to endure now the difficulty of the pursuit and the delay of the attainment. The way is long and hard, but one moment of heaven will overpay all.

Illustrations.

Seasons of refreshing.

The seasons of refreshing follow on the repentance. Refreshing is a beautiful word, if we remember that it is derived from *refrigerium*, bringing the association of coolness like the idea of a crystal spring in the midst of a dry weary plain through which a caravan drags along till it comes to the water and palm trees and rocks, and the suffering is turned into comfort and peace.—E. W. Beston.

The effective preacher must have elevation and winningness. He must be able to bring the far-off sky a little nearer, and show us the sweet distance where earth melts away into the blue of heaven. His tone must have softness. He must not perpetually be shouting his dogma through a speaking-trumpet. His doctrine must drop as the rain, his speech distil as the dew. How soft a breathing, how tender a fall, is here, when St. Peter speaks of seasons of refreshing.—W. Alexander.

Whom the Heavens must receive until the Restoration.

Is not this a strange saying, that Christ must become invisible until things are put right? Would we not have expected that God would reveal Himself when things are going wrong? Why should the heaven be silent when the earth is in confusion? Because discord cannot hear music. The heavens keep many things to themselves because the earth is not prepared for them; if there were more restitution below, there would be less reticence above.—G. Matheson.

Restoration.

Adam, according to Jewish ideas, underwent six losses when he fell: he lost the glory on his face, life, his superhuman stature, the fruits of the ground, the fruits of trees, and the brightness of the lights of heaven. But these losses are all to be made good to man in the Messianic age.—H. St. J. Thackeray.

If it has happened to any one—whom has it not befallen as life ran its course?—to behold the gradual overclouding, at last the utter bewilderment, of magnificent faculties,—the growth of small imperfections, in a soil once fertile only of good, till the result was almost the littleness of the great, almost the unloveliness of the lovely: if it has been yours to stand finally by the grave, and bury out of your sight, yourself consenting, a face and a form once all but divine to you, and to go back alone to your work and to your labour until the evening: surely you have felt then that the one solace for the loving must be the thought of the restoration, in soul and body, of the loved; you could marvel no longer at being bidden to fasten the eye of hope and of longing upon that glorious Advent which shall be the restitution of all things.—C. J. Vaughan.

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Refreshing.

A STUDY IN THE RELIGIOUS LANGUAGE OF THE BIBLE.

THE word 'Refreshing' occurs in the English Bible but twice (Is 28^{12}, Ac 3^{19}). The verb 'to refresh,' however, occurs more frequently.

HEBREW WORDS.

1. *Nāphash* (נָפַשׁ), a denom. from *nephesh* (נֶפֶשׁ), the soul. The Hiphil (=take breath) is translated 'be refreshed' in Ex 23^{12} 31^{17}, and 'refresh oneself' in 2 S 16^{14}. The reference in Ex is to the refreshing which the rest of the Sabbath affords: the second passage speaks of the refreshing of that day's rest to God Himself. The Sabbath came to be regarded as a 'breathing-spell' (McCurdy) in the week, and Hosea (2^{11}) speaks of it as a day of 'enjoyment'; but the primary meaning is simply ceasing or quitting the ordinary toil (McCurdy, *Hist. Proph. and the Mon.* iii. 376). In 2 S 16^{14} David and his men 'refreshed themselves' with rest. Those are the only occurrences of the Heb. verb.

2. *Rāwaḥ* (רָוַח), a denom. from *rûaḥ* (רוּחַ), breath, spirit, is translated 'be refreshed' in 1 S 16^{23}, Job 32^{20}. It also occurs (as a Pual ptcp.) in Jer 22^{14}, and is translated in A.V. 'large' (A.V.m. 'through-aired'), in R.V. 'spacious.' The reference in 1 S 16^{23} is to the effect upon Saul of David's music: H. P. Smith translates 'would breathe freely,' and believes that the word favours the idea that Saul's malady was accompanied by fits of suffocation. In Job 32^{20} Elihu compares himself to a bottle filled with fermenting wine; he will speak that he may 'get vent,' R.V.m. 'find relief.' Gibson (*in loc.*) compares Wordsworth, 'Ode on Intimations of Immortality':

> A timely utterance gave that thought relief,
> And I again am strong.

3. *Sā'adh* (סָעַד), to support or stay, is translated 'refresh oneself' only in 1 K 13^{7}. The means of refreshing is 'food,' as in Gn 18^{5} (where the E.V. trans. is 'comfort'), Jg $19^{5.8}$ (E.V. 'comfort'), Ps 104^{15} (E.V. 'strengthen').

4. *Shûbh* (שׁוּב) in the Hiph. is trans. 'refresh' (lit. 'restore') in Pr 25^{13}. A faithful messenger is said to refresh his master's soul 'as the cold of snow in the time of harvest.' In 26^{1} 'snow in summer' is said to be unseemly; but here the reference is probably to 'a draught (of wine) made cool by snow.' Cf. 25^{25} 'As cold water to a thirsty soul' (Montefiore in *J.Q.R.* iii. 643). It is interesting to note that the Vulgate trans. of 'refreshing' both in Is 28^{12} and Ac 3^{19} is *refrigerium*.

5. In Is 28^{12} *margē'ah* (מַרְגֵּעָה) is trans. 'refreshing.' It is the only example of the word. Isaiah calls his advice to wait on Jehovah and not go to war, the true rest and the true refreshing.

GREEK WORDS.

1. ἀναπαύω='make to cease,' for the purpose of giving rest from work. It is used actively, and is translated 'refresh' or 'be refreshed' in 1 Co 16^{18}, 2 Co 7^{13}, Phm $^{7.20}$. In every case the thought is of the refreshing that comes from sympathy actively exercised towards one who is toiling or in distress. This is the word used by our Lord in Mt 11^{28} 'I will give you rest.' In Rev 14^{13} it introduces the rest of the blessed dead.

2. συναναπαύομαι, to find rest or refreshing in company with another, and employed in LXX of Is 11^{6} of sleeping together. It occurs in N.T. only in Ro 15^{32} ἵνα . . . συναναπαύσωμαι ὑμῖν, A.V. 'may with you be refreshed,' R.V. 'may together with you find rest.' The word is chosen by St. Paul from characteristic delicacy of feeling. Cf. Ro 1^{11}, and see Hort, *Chr. Eccl.* 133. The word occurs in the fragment of Hegesippus preserved in Eusebius, *H.E.* iv. 22, where Heg. says that he spent several days with the Corinthians, 'during which we had restful sympathy with the right doctrine' (συνανεπάημεν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ). See Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 107.

3. The phrase ἐπιμελείας τυχεῖν in Ac 27^{3} is trans. 'to refresh oneself,' lit. as R.V.m. 'to receive attention.' Rackham (*in loc.*) says, 'The apostle was now suffering from depression or illness, and Julius permitted him to visit his friends and obtain the requisite rest and *attention*.' Field (*Notes*, p. 143) calls it 'an excellent Greek phrase,' and quotes parallels from Greek writers;

in one of the quotations the verb ἐπιμελοῦμαι is used of giving medical attendance. See Hobart, *Med. Lang. of St. Luke*, p. 269.

4. ἀναψύχω (from ψύχω, to breathe, cool by blowing, whence ψυχή, breath, life, soul), found in N.T. only in 2 Ti 1[16], where it is used actively, 'to refresh one,' apparently by sympathy as well as attention to one's bodily wants.

5. ἀνάψυξις also occurs only once in N.T., Ac 3[19], and is rendered 'refreshing.' St. Peter promises to those who repent and turn again 'seasons of refreshing (καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως) from the presence of the Lord.'

Résumé.

Thus the thought of Refreshing in the Bible runs through a considerable range of meaning.

1. It expresses the relief which comes when one finds utterance to thoughts that are pent up in the breast. Elihu felt this relief, and so did the prophets.

2. The tired body is refreshed by food and by a cooling summer drink. The distracted mind is refreshed by the soothing power of music.

3. The spirit also is refreshed by the sympathy of friends, and by their loving attentions when one is weary or depressed.

4. The Sabbath rest brings refreshing to God and man; not merely because it is the cessation of toil, but also because it is the occasion for the exercise of sympathy and love.

5. And so the fulness of Refreshing is obtained under the Sabbath rest and divine-human sympathy of the gospel. This is the Refreshing promised by the prophets. It is realized by those who repent of their sins and turn to God, and through faith in Christ 'obtain the promises.'

Religious Thoughts.

The most important occurrence of the word is in Ac 3[19]. This is its 'great text.' The question is much discussed whether St. Peter, when he spoke of 'times of refreshing' coming from the presence of the Lord, referred to the immediate results to the believer of faith in Christ, or to those things which accompany the Consummation and the Second Coming. Commentators are almost equally divided. But the difference is perhaps not so glaring as we make it. St. Peter speaks of two blessings. He calls the one 'seasons of refreshing' (καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως), the other 'the times of restoration of all things' (χρόνοι ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων). The one may seem to us to belong to the beginning of the Christian era, the other to its close. To St. Peter both belonged to the Messianic age, the age promised long and now arrived. And, since both belonged to the Messianic age, they could not seem to be separated by any great interval of time. For it was not in terms of time that St. Peter conceived the age that had now begun for him, it was in terms of blessedness. The followers of Jesus had waited long for the Christ to appear; now that He had come and brought all His favours with Him, they could not begin to consider how long some of these favours would take to reach them. Having Him, they already had everything. Do we not make too much of the difference in time, too little of the difference in glory?

Yet the phrases are not synonymous. They were probably familiar to St. Peter's Jewish hearers, and recalled different ideas to their minds. The very words used by the apostle are rare in the Greek Old Testament. One of them does not occur there at all, the other (ἀνάψυξις) occurs but once (Ex 8[15]). But ἀνάψυξις is found in Philo (*De Abr.* 29), and its verb is common enough both in the Old Testament and in the New; while ἀποκατάστασις is used both by Philo and Josephus, and its verb is of very frequent occurrence in the LXX., one passage being so pertinent as to have probably been in St. Peter's mind, Mal 4[6]. The 'Season of Refreshing' was the promised period of respite from the yoke of the foreigner, and the 'Time of Restoration' was the promised ingathering of Israel to their own land. St. Peter gives a deeper and more spiritual meaning to both. Under the gospel the seasons of Refreshing are enjoyed by every one who through repentance and turning again finds the load and even the 'consciousness of sins' removed. The Restoration had already been made less political and more ethical by Malachi. St. Peter makes it spiritual now, and at the same time broadens its application. Not only will Israel be restored to the Land of the true Israel, even to the new heavens and the new earth, but the nations will follow, all mankind will receive of the blessing, and even Nature herself, now 'groaning and travailing in pain,' will share in the joy of 'the glorious liberty of the children of God.'

Recent Biblical Archaeology.

By Professor A. H. Sayce, LL.D., Oxford.

Professor Hilprecht has recently communicated some very interesting news to the *Sunday School Times* of America. In return for the services of the professor in gratuitously arranging and cataloguing the cuneiform collections of the Museum at Constantinople, the Sultan has presented him with the larger part of the thousands of inscribed tablets discovered by himself and the other members of the American expedition in the ruins of the ancient library of Nippur. The library was destroyed and buried in the age of Abraham; and Professor Hilprecht calculates that the task of examining its contents will fully occupy the next twenty years. It is needless to say that he has handed on the gift to the University of Pennsylvania, at whose expense the excavations at Nippur have been carried on. When the tablets arrive in America it will be possible to copy them at leisure, and we may feel sure that startling discoveries will be the result. A cursory examination of them has already shown that they relate to all the branches of learning that were studied at the time of their composition, history not excluded.

In addition to the excavations at Nippur, another American expedition has been endeavouring to obtain permission to excavate on the site of Ur, and Dr. Banks has been vainly applying for a firman on behalf of it for the last sixteen months. A compromise, however, seems at last to have been effected, and, instead of Muqayyar or Ur, Dr. Banks and his party are to be allowed to work at Tell Ibrâhîm or Kutha. Meanwhile the German excavators are steadily and systematically proceeding with their work at Babylon, where they have been joined by Professor Friedrich Delitzsch. They are now about to attack two other sites, Abû Ḥatab and Fâra, in southern Babylonia.

Professor Hilprecht also gives an account of Dr. Belck's latest discoveries in Asia Minor. While in the neighbourhood of Kaisariyeh he found one of the missing leaves of the Codex Purpureus, recently acquired by Russia, in the hands of a Greek; and near the village of Boghche, about 25 miles west of Kaisariyeh, he discovered a Hittite stela of pyramidal shape and about 5 feet high, previously unknown. Its four sides are inscribed with Hittite hieroglyphs, each side being divided into four panels, each of which contains two lines of text. The inscription, it is said, is 'clear and well preserved.' Dr. Belck has visited Eyuk among other places, and believes the remains there to be those of a great Hittite temple belonging to the period 2000–1500 B.C.

Assyrian Deeds and Contracts.

Mr. C. H. W. Johns has lately published the third volume of his monumental work on *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co., 1898–1901). I have called it monumental, for it is one of those works which we are accustomed to associate with German patience and minuteness of treatment rather than with the less elaborate scholarship of England or France. The labour that has been expended upon it is enormous, and can be fully appreciated only by those who have worked in the same field. The commercial and legal documents of Assyria, brought from the library of Nineveh to the British Museum, have been edited once for all; here and there additions may be made to Mr. Johns' work, or doubtful points cleared up and corrected, but the work itself need never be done again.

The first volume and part of the second contain copies of the original texts, among which are to be found amended readings of those which have been already published. I gather from certain remarks in the third volume that some supplementary copies of inscriptions are still to follow, including what seems to be a very interesting one, in which Sennacherib traces his genealogy back to the hero 'Gilgames, [the friend of] Ea-bani [and the conqueror of] Khumbaba.' One of the names in the genealogy, Egiba, is noticeable on account of Professor Delitzsch's view, that it is the biblical Jacob; another name, Assur-na . . ., must be completed as Assur-na[zir], which I have found on a fragment from Kouyunjik.

It is, however, not with royal genealogies, but with the so-called contract tablets, that Mr. Johns' volumes are concerned. They differ considerably

from the contract tablets of the second Babylonian empire in both character and phraseology, and Mr. Johns may be right in holding that they are of royal rather than of private origin. The chapters in which he analyzes and discusses their contents and the questions which arise out of them are a model of exhaustive treatment. Indeed the only fault I have to find with them is that they are too German in their thoroughness; the author gives us not only his results but also all the processes of his workshop, so that we assist, as it were, at the gradual formation of his conclusions as fresh evidence came before him. The consequence is that the reader is sometimes puzzled by finding different translations or interpretations of words and phrases in different parts of his work.

To me the most interesting of his chapters are those on the officials and on Babylonian and Assyrian metrology. The *satammu*, by the way, was the superintendent of the *sutummu*, or 'public granary,' and Mr. Johns will find the fact that the Sumerian *khal*, 'the divider,' is the Semitic *barû* or 'seer' stated in papers of mine more than twenty years ago. As regards the use of coined money in the Babylonia of Nebuchadrezzar, and probably therefore in the Assyria of the contract tablets, I am entirely at one with him; the employment of the Babylonian metrological system and the Babylonian word *mna* goes to show that Babylonia, and not Lydia, was its original home. But *anaku* must be 'lead,' not 'tin'; Asia Minor was one of its principal sources, and mention is made of it in the Cappadocian tablets.

Mr. Johns promises a chapter on chronology in a future volume. I hope he will also write on the proper names, of which the tablets are full. Many of them are of great interest. The geographical name Tarbúsiba, for instance, is the same as Tarbúsip, which Winckler has shown to be the native name of the city near Carchemish, which the Assyrians called Til-Bársip (in which I see the classical Barsampsê). Mr. Johns notes that the name is also written Tarbusê. It is the Tarbus and Tarbu of the geographical lists of the Egyptian Pharaohs, Thothmes III. and Ramses III. The final *-ip* is probably the Mitannian suffix *-ippi*, as in Tun-ip, by the side of Tuna, and Khal-ip, by the side of Khal-os. The foreign word *zalkhi*, or *zarakhi*, 'lead,' quoted by Mr. Johns at the end of his last chapter, is also Mitannian, like other words ascribed by the lexical tablets to the language of 'SU.' Hence its variant spelling by the Assyrian scribes.

Khandapî of the city of Khubaba is another interesting name, as the parallel names Tarkhundapî and Sandapî show that it is Hittite. Perhaps the name of his city throws light on the Kh-l-b-b of one of the Sinjirli texts.[1] Another name from the Hittite region may be Maganizi, the Egyptian Magnas and classical Tel-menissus. On the other hand, Adunaiz is certainly the Greek Adonais.

It only remains to say that the excellent indices Mr. Johns has added to his volumes are a priceless boon to the student.

The Anzanite Inscriptions.

The third volume of the results of M. de Morgan's excavations at Susa has been printed, containing the 'Anzanite' or non-Semitic inscriptions of the Elamite kings, which have been edited and translated, with notes, by Dr. Scheil.[2] Nearly all of them have been found in the ruins of the ancient capital of Elam. They add considerably to our knowledge of the agglutinative language of Elam, as well as of the history of the country itself, and Dr. Scheil has shown his usual ability and philological penetration in the decipherment of them. That in many cases his renderings of particular words or grammatical forms would be questioned by other scholars, goes of course without saying; in fact, in his Preface he points out how provisional and uncertain much of the translation must be. At the same time the amount of material collected by M. de Morgan, and the analogy of the Semitic inscriptions published in a preceding volume, allow the general sense of the texts to be determined with certainty, and the historian of the ancient East accordingly has a large amount of new and interesting matter now placed at his disposal.

At the end of the volume the rock-cut inscriptions of Malamir, to the east of Susa, for which we have hitherto had to depend upon the imperfect eye-copies of Layard, are given from squeezes and casts. Many of Layard's readings are corrected, and uncertain passages restored. On the whole, however, Dr. Scheil has not been so suc-

[1] Panammu i. 3, 9. It is read Khulbâbâ by Sachau.

[2] *Délégation en Perse: Mémoires*, iii.; *Textes élamites-anzanites*. Paris: Leroux, 1901.

cessful in dealing with the decipherment of these Malamir texts as he has been with that of the more purely Susian ones. He does not seem to have seen my Memoir upon them in the *Transactions* of the Sixth Oriental Congress, and, though my readings and renderings must now be given up in many cases, there are others in which he would have done well to follow them. From time to time he rides rough-shod over Anzanite grammar, making the participial genitive *takhkha-na*, for instance, a first person singular, and he has never gone for help to the trilingual Amardian or 'Neo-Susian' inscriptions, which, after all, constitute the only sure basis for decipherment. In place of these, he depends too much upon the existence of Semitic loan-words in the agglutinative texts. It is certainly true that many such loan-words are to be found, but Dr. Scheil discovers them everywhere, and is sometimes led astray by the meaning of an Assyrian word which, without any reason, he believes to have been borrowed by the non-Semitic Elamites. Nor has he always recognized the ideographs that occur in the texts. Thus 'the river Pirin' is turned into 'the country of Amespirin'; and 'the god Kirissa, the lord of the Little River,' into 'Kirissana, Tepti, the fathers, the sons.'

But we must not be ungrateful to a work which has put into our hands the rich stores of linguistic and historical spoil obtained by the excavations of M. de Morgan, and has placed them before us with French lucidity and conscientious labour. The photographic reproductions of the inscriptions leave nothing to be desired, and the elaborate index of words enables us to control without difficulty the translations proposed by the editor. M. Jéquier has added a description of the site of Malamir, where, however, he is mistaken in saying that it was from here that the Elamite contracts, now in the British Museum, have come. I suppose he alludes to those which I have published in the *Recueil de Travaux*, since the British Museum contains no others; but all these were found at Kouyunjik.

Discoveries in Eastern Palestine.

In the *Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, vol. cxliv., Professor Musil has published the first instalment of his account of his exploratory journeys on the eastern side of the Jordan. It is mainly occupied with a description of the very interesting fortress called Quṣeir ʿAmra which he discovered in the desert, eastward of Moab and the Pilgrims' route, and to which he paid two visits. The walls and domes of the chambers inside it are decorated with well-preserved and really artistic frescoes, photographs of some of which are given. From their subjects it would seem that the fortress belongs to the later period of the Roman empire, when art was passing into its Byzantine phase, but was still pagan. The fact is of considerable interest, as Quṣeir ʿAmra forms one of a series of fortresses which have been carefully examined by Professor Musil. He notes that they constitute a chain which once separated the cultivated land from the desert, and in the architecture of some of them Perso-Byzantine influence may be detected. His own view appears to be that their builders were 'the powerful chiefs of the Beni Ghassân.'

In any case, a most interesting group of structures has been made known, the wonderful state of preservation of which is explained by their situation. In one of them, that called El-Kharâni, Professor Musil found remains of Greek inscriptions. The discovery and exploration of them, however, was attended with considerable danger and hardship. The country is infested by mutually hostile tribes of Bedawin, and only a scholar like Professor Musil, who can travel as an Arab, and is in fact 'blood-brother' of an Arab chief, could have ridden through it.

The journeys to ʿAmra and its sister fortresses formed only part of a systematic exploration of the whole unknown or little known district which lies to the east of Moab. The work of exploration was commenced by Professor Musil in 1896, and it is still unfinished, as the old Midianitish territory of El-Ḥegr has still to be explored. But meanwhile the desert between the Dead Sea and El-ʿArîsh in the north and El-ʿAqaba in the south has been mapped out, and this first instalment of the traveller's results will be followed by two more volumes on Moab and Edom, illustrated by maps, plans, and photographs. Future volumes will deal with the ethnology of Arabia Petræa and the Nabathean inscriptions.

The 'Weeks' of Daniel.

By Professor Ed. König, D.D., Bonn.

The nature of the concept 'weeks,' which occurs in the difficult passage Dn 9^{24-27}, still continues to be somewhat obscure, in spite of all the investigations of bygone centuries. Hence I may be permitted the attempt to shed some light upon the term.

1. The first feature that marks the peculiar nature of these 'weeks' is found in the circumstance that they are an exact counterpart of the expression *shibʿîm* ('seventy') of Jer 25^{11} || 29^{10}, as is expressly noted in Dn 9^{2}. For it is a hitherto unexplained fact that the plural of the Hebrew word for 'week' occurs in the form *shabûʿîm* only in the Book of Daniel, and that six times ($9^{24.\ 25ab.\ 26}$ $10^{2b.\ 36}$), whereas the plural everywhere else in the O.T. (Ex 34^{22}, Nu 28^{26}, Dt $16^{9ab.\ 10.\ 16}$, Jer 5^{24}, Ezk 45^{21}, 2 Ch 8^{13}) is *shabûʿôth*. Perhaps the circumstance that the consonants (שבעים) of the Hebrew word *shibʿîm* ('seventy') could be pointed also with the vowels of *shabûʿîm* ('weeks') is the principal ground of the change of the word *shibʿîm* (Jer 25^{11} || 29^{10}, Dn 9^{2}) into *shabûʿîm* (Dn $9^{24ff.}$). But it may be that a contributory cause was also the further circumstance that the number of days in a week, namely seven, was itself again a round as well as a sacred number (cf. my art. 'Number' in vol. iii. of Hastings' *D.B.*). A third motive which led to the multiplying of those 'seventy' (Jer 25^{11} || 29^{10}, Dn 9^{2}) by 'seven,' may have lain in the circumstance noted by Professor Bevan in his admirable work, *A Short Commentary on Daniel* (*ad loc.*), that the Israelites, according to Lv $26^{18.\ 21.\ 24.\ 28}$, were to be punished 'seven times' for their sins.

2. These 'weeks' are to be taken as actual sevens. This follows (*a*) from examining the first seven 'weeks.' For these are reckoned, in all probability, from the first going forth of the word contained in Jer 25^{11} || 29^{10}, *i.e.* from *c.* 606 B.C. (Jer 25^{1}) down to the entrance upon the stage of history of the anointed (Is 45^{1a}) prince Cyrus, *i.e.* 558 B.C. It is extremely likely that what the author of the Book of Daniel looked back to was the prophecy of Jer 25^{11-13} || 29^{10}, for it is there that we find both the word 'seventy' (Dn 9^{2}) and the expression 'bring back' (השיב, Jer 29^{10b}, Dn 9^{25a}). Further, the 'going forth' of this prophecy took place *before* the Chaldæan conquest of Jerusalem, and even its epistolary communication (Jer $29^{10ff.}$) was prior to that date. Hence there is less probability in the method favoured by Professor J. D. Prince in his *Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (1899), p. 159, who reckons the first seven 'weeks' from 586 B.C., appealing to 2 Ch 36^{19-21}. In the latter passage, however, what is in view is the 'seventy years' of Jer 25^{11} and not the 'seventy weeks.' But even if Prince's way of reckoning should be preferred, the first seven 'weeks' are to be understood as 49 years, namely from 586 to 537 B.C., the latter being the year when Cyrus' edict of liberation was issued.—(*b*) That the 'weeks' of Dn $9^{24ff.}$ are meant to be sevens, follows no less from an examination of the last 'week,' which covers the period 171–164 B.C. This point need not be further insisted upon, as it has quite recently been thoroughly cleared up by Canon Driver in the very exhaustive excursus he devotes to Dn 9^{24-27} in his excellent *Commentary on Daniel* ('Cambridge Bible' Series, 1900). —(*c*) It is true that the 62 'weeks' lying between must be regarded a non-chronological expression for the period from Cyrus down to the murder of the legitimate high priest Onias III. (2 Mac 4^{34}). This high priest, who was murdered by Andronicus in the year 171, is in all probability the 'anointed one' of Dn 9^{26a}, for the term *mashîaḥ* is used of Aaron in Lv $4^{3.\ 5.\ 16}$ 6^{15} (cf. 21^{10}, Ps 133^{2}), and in Dn 9^{26b} it is said 'no one was to him,' *i.e.* he had, in the judgment of the Hasidæans, no legitimate successor in Jason or Menelaus. Thus the 62 'weeks' are a non-chronological expression. But we note also elsewhere that chronological materials are ranged under the rule of an idea. For instance, there are the 70 or 72 peoples enumerated in the list of Gn 10; the 70 descendants of Jacob who migrated to Egypt (Gn 46^{27}, Ex 1^{5}); the 70 descendants of Noah (1 Ch 1^{5-23}) and of Abraham (vv.$^{29-42}$); the thrice 14 generations which are reckoned from Abraham to Christ (Mt 1^{2-17}). At all events, it is an undeniable fact that the later Jews at times show themselves inexact in defining periods of time. Are not the twenty years between

701 and 681 B.C. contracted to fifty (or, according to another reading, forty) days in Tob 1^{18-21}? (A number of other instances of the same thing have been given by me in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, x. p. 256 f.). Nay, even to biblical writers chronology appears to have been a point of secondary importance. According to the Massoretic text of Ex 12^{40} the sojourn of Israel in Egypt lasted 430 years, and—a circumstance which has not yet been observed—this statement of the M.T. is proved by the 390 + 40 years of Ezk $4^{5f.}$ to be the original one, as compared with the LXX of Ex 12^{40}. But according to Gal 3^{17} the 430 years covered rather the whole period from the covenant with Abraham down to the giving of the Law at Sinai.

3. These 'weeks' are not 'labourers' weeks' of six days. This hypothesis is maintained by Mr. Buchanan Blake, both in his very readable work *How to read the Prophets*, vol. v. *ad loc.*, and in a friendly letter I received from him some time ago. This attempt at a new explanation of the 'weeks' of Dn 9 is not so much as touched on by Canon Driver in his very instructive excursus. It may thus be of interest to the readers of the present periodical to hear what it appears to me must be the judgment passed on Mr. Blake's theory.

He supports his view, first of all, by the assertion that the product of 70×6, namely 420, actually brings us down from 588 to 168 B.C. This argument is almost fascinating, but it cannot be regarded as decisive. For, in the first place, there is the possibility that the circumstance just mentioned is fortuitous. Secondly, the context of Dn 9^{24-27} demands that 'the *going forth* of the commandment to bring back,' etc. (9^{25}) be taken as the starting-point in reckoning the 'weeks.' Now the 'going forth' of this promise was Jeremiah's announcement regarding the 70 years (Dn 9^{2}), and this took place in the fourth year of king Jehoiakim (Jer $25^{1ff.}$), *i.e.* about 606 B.C.

In the second place, Mr. Blake appeals to the circumstance that in Dn 9^{24-27} the word *yamîm*, 'days,' is wanting with *shabû'îm*, but is read in $10^{2f.}$. But this difference is no evidence of the correctness of his theory. It proves nothing more than that in 9^{24-27} a different kind of 'weeks' is intended from that in $10^{2f.}$, namely, in the first case 'weeks' of years, and in the other 'weeks' of days. This difference would support Mr. Blake's view only if in $10^{2f.}$ the *number* of days was specified.

Thirdly, Mr. Blake cites the expression 'years of an hireling' (שני שכיר, Is 21^{16}), which he interprets to mean 'years *minus* the Sabbath.' But how can this be made plausible? The day-labourer, to be sure, does not work on the Sabbath. But the Sabbath does not cease on that account to be part of his year. For the same reason there is no probability in Kittel's view (*Kgf. exeg. Hdb.*, 1898, *ad loc.*) that in Is 21^{16} 'years of scrimp measure' are to be understood. Is there any likelihood that the attribute 'labour' or 'hireling,' which is attached to 'years,' is meant to describe the years *quantitatively*? Surely it is much more natural to take it *qualitatively*. In this way all the four O.T. passages are explained, where the expression שכיר is connected with the notion of time. In Lv 25^{50} the words 'as the days of an hireling' mean 'as if one had to do with the reckoning of a particular number of days' service by a hired labourer.' Is 16^{14} expresses the idea 'three years, which are as full of toil and struggle as the years of a hired labourer or soldier.' [Marti, in the *Kurzer Hdcom.*, 1900, *ad loc.*, suggests that it was customary to hire mercenary soldiers for a period of three years. This, however, is very questionable. The number 'three' is here probably a round number, as in many other passages cited in my *Stilistik*, etc., p. 52]. In like manner, in Is 21^{16} what is meant is simply years full of labour and want (cf. $vv.^{11.\ 14f.}$). Finally, 'the days of an hireling' in Job 7^{1b} are plainly toilsome and anxious days. None of the four passages contains any indication that 'years' of an hireling are of a different *length* from the years of other people. And what holds good of the two expressions 'years of an hireling' (Is 16^{14} 21^{16}) and 'days of an hireling' (Lv 25^{50}, Job 7^{1b}) would hold good also of 'weeks of an hireling' if such were mentioned in Dn 9^{24-27}. They would *not* be distinguished *quantitatively* from the weeks of other people, they would be simply toilsome and anxious weeks, such as Goethe describes in the lines—

> Tages Arbeit, Abends Gäste,
> *Saure Wochen*, frohe Feste.

But the notion of a 'labourer's week' is not found at all in Dn 9^{24-27}, but simply the term 'week' (*shabúa'*, plur. *shabû'îm*), and there are two further circumstances which show that this simple expression could indicate nothing other than a period of *seven* days (or years). I refer to the phonetic

and etymological connexion between *shabûa'*, 'week,' and the Hebrew for 'seven' (*sheba'*, fem. *shib'a*). Any one who used *shabûa'* would be directly reminded of 'seven,' and it cannot be doubted, further, that *shabûa'* and *sheba'* are derived from one and the same root.—For all the above reasons I am unable to accept of the very interesting theory of Mr. Blake.

Perhaps the question may be on the lips of not a few of my readers whether the 'weeks' of Dn 9^{24-27} point to the time of Christ. My reply is, No. The justification for this negative answer is really contained in my previous observations, to which I may be permitted to add the following. The clearest evidence that the author of Dn 9^{24-27} had not the time of our Lord in view is found in his statement that the offerings in the temple are to be suspended during the second half of the last 'week' (v.^{27b})—a statement which implies that the sacrificial cultus, which existed in the temple at Jerusalem before this last 'week,' is to be resumed after this period. On the other hand, our Saviour has 'accomplished an eternal redemption' by giving Himself a ransom for many (Mt 20^{28}, 1 Co 5^{7}, He 9^{12}). And are we to grieve that the 'weeks' of Dn 9^{24-27} do not come down to the Christian era? No, we may rejoice on that account. For if Jesus Christ had come upon the scene at the actual termination of these seventy 'weeks,' it might have been said that Jesus of Nazareth derived His commission from this circumstance. Let us thank God that He has deprived the enemies of Christianity of the possibility of wielding this weapon against our religion!

At the Literary Table.

THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.[1]

For some time now it is the Gospels that have been passing through the fire. But it is of no account to destroy the credibility of the Gospels if the credibility of the Acts of the Apostles remains. For it is not the Gospels themselves that matter, it is the gospel that they contain. And so long as the Book of the Acts of the Apostles is allowed to testify to the facts contained in the Gospels, especially to the resurrection of Christ from the dead, there is nothing gained or lost by dating the Gospels in the second century. So it is to the Acts that unbelieving criticism ever returns.

Professor Chase is well aware of the strategical importance of the Acts of the Apostles. And when he was appointed Hulsean lecturer for 1900–1901 he determined to make the credibility of the Acts of the Apostles his subject. It is a subject that demands minute investigation. Dr. Chase knew that it would not be easily handled in lectures. But he could not have been unconscious that he possessed the gift of combining accuracy with lucidity of statement, and he no doubt promised himself, if not his audience, that when he published the lectures he would supply all the proofs and processes in footnotes. In reality the footnotes are not numerous. The lectures themselves contain the whole argument for the credibility of the Acts. It is the most convincing presentation of the evidence in the English language outside the Dictionaries.

Dr. Chase is not an advocate at all costs. He does not believe in the traditional account of the Acts because it is traditional. Examining the whole of the evidence for himself, he rejects not a few points that tradition has both handed down and held essential. His attitude to the whole subject indeed is different from that of tradition, for he knows that the early Christian writings did not come into existence as tradition has asserted. But his detachment makes his investigation at least as thorough as it would have been, and his results much more acceptable. If he is even provokingly suspicious of the apostolic miracles, it is the more convincing when he finds the evidence for the miraculous Call of the Apostle to the Gentiles to be irresistible.

[1] *The Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles.* By Frederick Henry Chase, D.D. Macmillan.

THROUGH SCIENCE TO FAITH.[1]

In his new book Dr. Newman Smyth is at his best. The subject is congenial. His interest in it has grown with his devotion to its study. His belief in its sweep and its certainty could not now be stronger. His subject is evolution. He carries it from the infinitesimal biological dot that hides itself from the most powerful microscope right up to the personality of St. Paul, *without a gap*. Even the inanimate passes into the animate without outside interference or intervention —though Dr. Smyth cannot tell how.

Is Dr. Newman Smyth become a rationalist, then? By no means. There is intelligence in the whole process, and it is intelligence which knows to adapt means to ends with perfect nicety. 'Yesterday,' relates Kepler the astronomer, 'when weary with writing, and my mind quite dusty with considering the atoms, I was called to supper, and a salad I had asked for was set before me. "It seems then, I said, that if pewter dishes, leaves of lettuce, grains of salt, drops of vinegar and oil, and slices of eggs, had been floating about in the air from all eternity, it might at last happen by chance that there would come a salad." "Yes," said my wife, "but not so nice and well dressed as this of mine is."'

That intelligence is God. No less will do, for the evolutionary process refuses to stop until it has reached God. But the noticeable matter is that God puts St. Paul into an anemone or even into a handful of white sea-sand. And He does not need to watch St. Paul working his way out of the sea-sand and introduce life here and consciousness there. It is all in the sea-sand at the beginning. How wonderful is nature, seen under the process of evolution! In wisdom hast Thou made it all.

But what about the Fall? Well, the truth is, evolution is not always forward. This is the inexplicable in science, as it has been in theology since the world began. When we have got to man and found the freedom of the will at work, it is not so hard to understand that there might be an occasional back-set to the evolutionary process, or even such a 'jog' as 'maist ruined a'.' The mystery is in the way this disturbance works backwards. What have the brutes to do with it? Dr. Newman Smyth repudiates (tacitly) Dr. Dallinger's terrible pictures of the suffering of the lower creation, and holds by Dr. Russel Wallace, who believes it is mostly an imagination of ours. Still the mystery remains, why the creature should groan and travail in pain at all, especially why if it is on man's account.

But there are certain things which we consider signs of degeneracy, and they are not. Death is the chief of them—physical death. The *fear* of death is a mark of human degeneracy, a primitive consequence of man's sin. But death itself is one of the most necessary and most beneficent gifts of an all-wise and all-loving Creator. It is not a sign or consequence of degeneracy, it is a means rather of the rejuvenescence and enrichment of life.

[1] *Through Science to Faith.* By Newman Smyth. Clarke.

GEORGE MEREDITH.

An edition of George Meredith is not a necessity like a Bible Dictionary. It has therefore been for most of us a desire rather than a possession. But the publishers of Meredith have now brought him so near, and made him even so tempting, by cheapness and beauty, that it is possible for many of us to turn the tables on 'the vanity of human wishes' and see the volumes stand on our own shelves waiting our own convenience.

And no one need be ashamed of George Meredith. The rage for romance needs checking, and we may consider with sincerity whether we could not check it by example. Christianity is non-indulgence. It is here that indulgence is most successful with some of us, sending our Christianity asleep, or even into the grave of incompetency. We have had our arguments. The knowledge of men and women, even bad men and women, was so necessary to the teacher of ethics and religion—the worse the men and women, said our argument, the more necessary that we should know them; for we can all be Calvinists when it suits us. But the arguments have not arrested the incompetency. And we might consider.

But George Meredith is apart. It is not the self-indulgent who read George Meredith. And the argument that life has to be seen, and seen in novels, holds good with him. It is actually applicable. To which has to be added this fact, that George Meredith does not blunt the appetite

for the wholesome and the clean. That he becomes their 'favourite author' to those who possess and read him, almost a shrine, at which certain forms of intellectual worship are gone through, even that does not make him dangerous. For wherever worship elevates, it should be performed. The difference between Jehovah and Baal was just there—the one lifted up, the other dragged down. There are those who worship at the shrine of Thomas Hardy—it is Baal-worship; let them choose George Meredith this day.

The new edition, we said, was cheap and charming. Messrs. Constable know that George Meredith must select his audience, for the thousands who indulge in novel-reading will not have patience with him. So their enterprise is most commendable. A 'fine set' every one exclaims, seeing it on the shelf. Yet finer, we add, as a book to go railway travelling on, so small is it in size, so fair is the type even in the largest of the volumes, the thinness of the paper making all that possible.

THE INTEGRITY OF SCRIPTURE.[1]

There is just one John Smith in Scotland. This is he. His friends have wondered what has sent him into open conflict with the popular scholarship of the day. He has no enemies, and this book will make none. But its attitude is unexpected, for Dr. Smith has read the books, and he lifts his hand to strike, not to beat the air. What is it that has sent him to the front who hates war with Quaker fervour, and says so? It cannot be, it plainly is not, the 'integrity of Scripture' in the old use of the phrase. The old defenders of the integrity of Scripture said, 'If your science—your geology, astronomy, archæology, criticism, and what not—does not agree with Scripture, it is the worse for your science.' Dr. Smith knows better than say that. He knows that if the Bible touches astronomy, or even criticism, it must be judged where it touches by the astronomy and the criticism of every age, and no theory of inspiration can save it. He would no more dream of setting the Bible before the modern critic and saying, 'Thus far shalt thou go,' than he would approve the priests who set it before Galileo and condemned his astronomy. He knows that there is no word more faithful to the Bible and to God than *E pur si muove*.

What is it, then? It is, we think, that Dr. John Smith and the critics have their minds on different things in the Bible. The critics have their minds on its science, Dr. Smith has his on its religion. The religion of the Bible is the Bible, and as a matter of pursuit Dr. John Smith has all the glory. But the critics have some room for the sole of their feet even in the Bible. And it is clear that the utmost zeal for the integrity of the religion of the Bible need never come into conflict with the science of the Bible. Dr. Smith is absorbed in the religion of the Bible. He sees nothing else in it. And in these days when so many who ought to be preachers of the religion of the Bible are spending their time with its science, we rejoice exceedingly in his whole-hearted devotion to what is first and last in Bible study.

[1] *The Integrity of Scripture.* By the Rev. John Smith, M.A., D.D. Hodder & Stoughton.

ZWINGLI.[2]

There is a wealth of literature as well as art about the series called 'Heroes of the Reformation' which ought to set it apart from others and make it desirable. The authors have been chosen with great care. They have been historians who could write well. And no expense or trouble has been considered too much to get the most accurate and interpretative illustrations, of which every volume is full.

The latest volume is written for the most part by the general editor of the series. We say 'for the most part,' because there is a chapter on the History of Switzerland before the Reformation by Professor Vincent of Johns Hopkins University, and one on Zwingli's theology by Professor Foster of the University of California.

Professor Jackson has the biography of Zwingli to write. He writes it historically, rarely staying his hand from the narrative to make a reflexion. The history is itself the best biography. 'This is what Zwingli did and said, this is how he suffered and fought—what do *you* think of him? it does not matter what I think.' It is the best kind of biography. For if the man *is* a hero, you see that he is a hero, and you never forget it. Zwingli is a hero. Are they not all heroes, as they call them in this series, these men of the Reforma-

[2] *Huldreich Zwingli.* By Samuel Macaulay Jackson. Putnams.

tion? Where were there men like them then? Where are there men like them now? The simple narrative of Zwingli's death is a picture to remain for ever in the memory.

And, on the whole, one feels that the man is more than the theology. They were great theologians. But we have made a mistake to forget that they were greater men. They were indeed the true successors of the early Christians—great in theology, but greater in life, and greatest of all in death.

There are many 'Heroes of the Reformation' to come yet. This is but the fifth. The volumes are most handsome in their uniform binding, but we desire their continuance for the inside rather than the outside appearance.

BROOKS BY THE TRAVELLER'S WAY. By J. H. Jowett, M.A. (*Allenson*).—Crowds go to hear Mr. Jowett preach, they say. Were we within reach we should go too. For he touches us with these sermons. The cold page does not keep him from touching us. And it is the touch of life. He is a spiritual channel, grace flows from his lips, there is no resisting the healing eloquence of his words. When the very majesty of the gospel is fitted into the necessities of the daily life with such art of moving, mastering language, who can resist it?

AIDS TO PRACTICAL RELIGION. (*Cassell*).—Under this title has been published a volume of selections from the writings of the present Bishop of Ripon. The selections have been made by the Rev. J. H. Burn, B.D. And that is to say that they have been made with experienced judgment and out of the largest possible range of material. Some passages have not appeared in book form before. For their purpose—and the title expresses their purpose admirably—these selections are most suitable.

THE TEMPLE BIBLE (*Dent*). — Few publishers know the secret of attractiveness so well as Messrs. Dent. Their range of publication is wide, and there must be variety in its worth. But there is never a failure in outward charm. The Temple Bible is sure to be chosen out of a multitude of commentaries simply because each volume is so beautiful. And yet there is worth along with the beauty. Two volumes which have just been published—*Numbers*, by Professor Buchanan Gray, and the *Earlier Pauline Epistles*, by Professor Bartlet (both of Mansfield College)—carry as much scholarship as it is possible to pack into their space.

THE CENTURY BIBLE (*Jack*).—Small as they are and of little promise, dainty in appearance and seeming to be made more for ornament than use, this series of commentaries will yet take its place among the most scholarly expositions, and will advance the science of the interpretation of Scripture. The two latest volumes fall into the ranks with the earliest and give the series additional strength. They expound some of the Pauline Epistles—Thessalonians and Galatians, by Professor Adeney himself; Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians, by Mr. G. Currie Martin. One or two of the series are already the very first we turn to when we look for a fresh interpretation of a difficult text.

The latest issue of Messrs. Rivington's 'Oxford Church Text Books' is the *The Church, its Ministry and Authority*, by Principal Darwell Stone. No subject presents such difficulties at present to a conscientious learned Anglican. Mr. Stone is definite and decided enough in his Anglicanism, but he is most courteous, almost conciliatory, in his statement of it. We are on the edge of a new world of thought here; Mr. Stone feels it—we feel it as we read him. Is it a union of forces in one great army against the foe, so confident and contemptuous to-day? Or is it still to be divided forces, suspicion, and sometimes civil war?

FELICIA SKENE OF OXFORD: A MEMOIR. By E. C. Rickards (*Murray*).—The interest of this book is in the record it contains of Felicia Skene's good works in Oxford. She 'went about doing good.' And it is a deep, lasting interest. There are many, thank God, of the wealthy and well-born who give themselves in our day to good works. But Felicia Skene was so identified with one sphere of labour, and spent herself with such unstinting goodwill upon it, that she stands apart from the multitude of women who will reap the crown of life, and deserves even here the honour of this glowing memoir. Her work was among the prisoners. Its record is

a terrible revelation. But it is a revelation with its bright side as well as its dark side, and we see the 'compass' of human nature—Felicia Skene at the one end of the scale, Mrs. H——, who 'represented herself as a model of virtue, and has been a villainous old wretch for years,' at the other.

But there is another interest. It gathers round Sir Walter Scott. For Sir Walter Scott and Felicia Skene's father were closest friends, as one may read in *Marmion*. And the whole family tradition carries the flavour of Scottish chivalry and romance. It is very fine to see this strain in Felicia herself. But it is finer to see its heathen elements melt away or become transfigured in the love of Christ. The book is altogether a success. And Mr. Murray has added so many portraits that one easily makes the acquaintance of the whole romantic family.

A BOOK OF SECRETS. By Horatio W. Dresser (*Putnams*).—The thoughts so nakedly uttered in this book are human thoughts, else they could not be understood. The writing is severe and straining. There is no illustration or other relief. It is like hearing argumentative sermons for hours on end. But the thoughts redeem all. They are simple, ordinary, level with life. They touch the humanity in us. They are not mystical, nor scientific, nor critical, they are just human. That is the secret of all their secrets, the secret of Mr. Dresser's invariable success.

Another volume has been issued by the Vir Publishing Co. of the 'Self and Sex' Series. Its title is, *What a Woman of Forty-five ought to know*; its author is Mrs. Drake, M.D.

THE DIVINE ORDINANCE OF PRAYER. By W. Hay M. H. Aitken (*Wells Gardner*).—The devotional writer often lacks knowledge of men, the practical writer often fails of true confidence in God. Mr. Aitken has had unrivalled experience of men, and he waits upon God unceasingly. No simpler, no more sincere or penetrating guide to the practice of prayer has been written in our day. If Mr. Aitken had chosen, he might, by adopting an old-fashioned style and ending his tenses in *-eth*, have taken his place among the devotional classics at once. He will yet take his place. Meantime he writes, as did the prophets, and all the classical writers, for his own age. And is there anything that needs to be urged more earnestly upon the present generation than the practice of prayer?

RELIGION AND MORALITY. By the Rev. James J. Fox, S.T.D. (New York: *Young*).—This volume contains a dissertation written for the doctorate in theology at the Catholic University of America. It will not do to say that it deserved publication. Rather ought it to be said that its great practical subject has been sensibly enriched by its publication, and even advanced a step towards its final comprehension. The book is a large one, the style is direct; there is ample space, and no space is lost: thus the subject receives adequate treatment. It is divided into three parts. The first part contains a short statement of the idea of religion, its universality, and its origin. The second is historical. The religions of Assyria and Babylonia, of Egypt, of India, Persia, China, Arabia, Greece, and Rome are sketched, and the conclusion is reached that belief in a religious sanction for conduct is common to all forms of religion; and it is this religious sanction which has everywhere held men together and made social existence possible. But, apart from revelation, morality has been before religion. It has not been religion that has said to the nations of the world, 'This do and thou shalt live'; the necessity of right conduct having been seen, the sanction of religion has afterwards been sought for it. It is only revelation, by saying 'God is love,' that has placed religion before morality, and made known both what to do and how to do it. The third part of the book is doctrinal. It deals with revelation. It places religion first, and then expounds the text, 'If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.'

The books of the month include—*Professor Harnack and his Oxford Critics*, by T. Bailey Saunders (Williams & Norgate); *Francis E. Clark*, by W. Knight Chaplin (Melrose); *Daily, A Help to Family Prayer*, by C. F. Harford Battersby (Marshall Brothers); *Towards the Sunrising*, by J. G. Greenhough, M.A. (Stockwell); *Just in Time*, by W. Sampson (Stockwell); *The Epistle of Psenosiris*, by A. Deissmann (Black).

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Contributions and Comments.

'Jew,' 'Jewry.'

In reply to one of Professor Nestle's questions, the *New English Dictionary* dates its first reference to the word 'Jew' (Gyv), c. 1275, and tells us that the English word was adopted from the old French *giu, gyu, giue*, earlier *juieu, juiu, jueu*. The *d* does not appear to have been dropped by the Latin.

J. A. Cross.

Leeds.

'Emmaus' Mistaken for a Person.

Mr. A. Souter, in the note thus inscribed in The Expository Times for June, is right, so far as my knowledge goes, that there is no trace of this mistake '*in any Greek manuscript.*' But he ought to have added that this mistake was possible, and probably occasioned, by the reading ὀνόματι in the Greek Codex D for ᾗ ὄνομα of the rest of the MSS. Compare my *Introduction to the Textual Criticism*, p. 121 f., where I discuss these Greek and Latin readings.

Eb. Nestle.

Maulbronn.

The Rivers of Damascus.

As I am on a visit to this place, I have been looking over my paper in the February number of The Expository Times, and notice two or three things that require correction. Firstly, *'Ain Fundûk* ought to be *'Ain Barada*; the former spring is higher up the valley, and most of its waters are used up in the plain of Zebedani. Secondly, for *east*, on p. 216, under the headings Nahr Kanawat and Nahr Banias, read *south*; and for *western*, under heading Taura, p. 217, read *northern*. Thirdly, *Daiwané* ought to be *Dairané*, and *Mezzaweh* ought to be *Mezzawé*.

E. W. G. Masterman.

Damascus, April 1902.

The *Locus Classicus* for the Incarnation overlooked.

Students of the New Testament cannot have failed to observe that Christology in the Gospels presents two different aspects of development. Whereas the Synoptists start from *below*, regarding Jesus as a man, and follow Him through the successive stages of His life up to His rise to heavenly glory and full divinity, the Fourth Gospel seems to start from *above*, by representing Jesus as a Divine Being possessing and manifesting, at the very outset, all the fulness of God. In the Synoptists Christ is regarded as a man in whom God, or the spirit of God, dwells, and who, after His probation on earth, is raised by God to heavenly glory; in the Fourth Gospel He is regarded as a heavenly Spiritual Being, the highest after God, who has assumed flesh, and who after His work on earth returns to heaven.[1] It is this latter aspect of the Incarnation that will form the subject of the present paper, my object being to examine the doctrine and adduce what I believe is a new and important passage hitherto overlooked.

The doctrine of the Incarnation is indeed implied through the whole of the Fourth Gospel (cf. especially 1^{18} $3^{13f.}$ $6^{33.\ 50f.\ 58.\ 62}$), which represents Jesus as dwelling on earth in the shape of a human being labouring under hunger ($4^{8.\ 31}$), thirst ($4^{7.\ 9}$ 19^{28}), fatigue (4^{6}), grief (11^{35}), fear (12^{27}), hesitation (7^{8}), etc.; but the *act* of His Incarnation, *i.e.* the *act* by which the spiritual Christ *became* a man, is believed to underlie 1^{14} 'and the Word became flesh' (καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο), where the term *Word* is alleged to be identical with that contained in the opening sentence of the Gospel (1^{1}): 'In the beginning was the *Word*, and the *Word* was with God, and was God.' Again, the spiritual pre-existence or pre-incarnate state of Christ is not explicitly stated, but we are left to infer it from certain passages (*e.g.* $1^{1f.\ 18}$ $3^{13.\ 31ff.}$ $6^{33.\ 38.\ 42.\ 46.\ 50\text{-}51.\ 58.\ 62}$ 16^{28} 17^{5}) which, in some cases, defy grammar and sense (cf. $17^{5.\ 24}$). It is this pre-incarnate existence of Christ and the act of His Incarnation that we have to investigate here.

In a previous article published in the *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (February 1901) —of which article The Expository Times gave a summary and a review in last March and December respectively—I have shown that the Logos in the opening sentences of the Fourth Gospel does not

[1] So Harnack, in his *History of Dogma*, p. 188 f., summarized by James Orr, *The Progress of Dogma*, p. 76.

mean the Incarnate Word or the Son of God, but that it echoes the cosmogonic word which God, after creating heaven and earth, uttered in calling the world into existence. I further showed that the language employed in the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel has no direct bearing on Philo's parallel language, but that both he and the evangelist had in view the same historic event, the well-known account of cosmogony recorded in the Book of Genesis. I further pointed out that the unmistakable coincidence in the language used by the evangelist and Philo respectively was due to the identity of the subject, and that while Philo is concerned especially or exclusively with the whole account of Genesis, discoursing, commenting, and speculating upon it in the interest of his race, the evangelist, being little concerned with Jewish beliefs and institutions, considers only the opening verses of Genesis as a historic event well known to his readers, and utilizes it as a suitable and appropriate introduction to his subject.

Now there are three ways of reporting a story or a well-known event. We may reproduce it faithfully, taking it in a *literal sense*, without passing critical comments upon it: this is the case with the writer of the Book of Genesis ;—then we may interpret the story in a *speculative* or *allegoric sense*, a method very popular in Greco-Roman times, especially among Neoplatonic and Judæo-Alexandrine philosophers: this is the case with Philo, the trained Jewish philosopher; — then, again, we may interpret the story in a godly spirit or in a *spiritual* and *ethical sense*: this is the case with the writer of the Fourth Gospel, who interprets the subject of cosmogony in a *spiritual* sense, and so attaches a spiritual and ethical meaning to the language of the story. Hence the words λόγος, πάντα (κόσμος), ζωή, φῶς, σκοτία, found in the exordium, then ἄρτος, τροφή, ὕδωρ, πατήρ, υἱός, ἀγάπη, ναός, and many other terms constantly recurring in the Gospel, are used in a *spiritual* or metaphoric sense. It is in this spiritual principle, then, that we must approach the Prologue and try to disclose its true purport. Before doing so, however, it will be expedient and necessary to clear up two points which otherwise would impede our investigation.

Though accepting the Old Testament 'Scripture' in a sense, our evangelist does not exhibit a thorough knowledge of its contents. He even regards the system, on the whole, especially as interpreted by the Jews, as a fallacy. Accordingly, when he quotes the Old Testament Scripture, he does so either to strengthen some particular argument of his, such as the Messiahship of Christ (cf. 1^{46} 2^{16} 3^{14} $5^{39f.\ 45ff.}$ 7^{37} $12^{37ff.}$ 13^{18}); or in order to correct or even disprove it, as in cases referring to Moses (*e.g.* 1^{17} 6^{32} $7^{22f.}$).

The other point requiring elucidation is of a grammatical nature, and refers to 1^{6}, that is, to the first instance introducing the account about John the Baptist. 'There was (R.V. came) a man sent from God; his name was John.' The Greek text in all editions, both common and critical, give the reading ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος, ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεοῦ· ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἰωάν(ν)ης. True, one of our leading uncial codices, D*, for θεοῦ reads κυρίου, but, even if adopted, this reading would not materially affect the sense. On the other hand, ℵ* D*, our leading authorities of the so-called Western δ-text, as well as Irenæus, after θεοῦ (D* κυρίου) insert ἦν, which is very important, especially if considered in its bearing on the context. For in the first place the words παρὰ θεοῦ undoubtedly belong not to ἐγένετο, so as to mean 'there was *or* came from God,' a construction unanimously rejected by editors and critics; it belongs to ἀπεσταλμένος, 'sent from God.' Again, all critics are agreed that ἀπεσταλμένος does not depend upon ἐγένετο, serving as its predicative complement,[1] but that it stands by itself. Moreover, this participle of ἀποστέλλω presents two points of interest for us, in that ἀποστέλλω is more formal, 'to despatch, mission, delegate,' than πέμπω 'to send'; and then that the participle ἀπεσταλμένος acts like a *noun*, denoting 'a *delegate*,' 'an *envoy*,' 'an *ambassador*' (1^{24} 3^{28} 9^{7} (cf. 5^{36}), Mt 23^{37}, Lk 13^{34} 19^{32}, Ac 10^{17} 11^{11}). This being so, ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεοῦ means 'an envoy from God.' As to the other two words preceding, they remain isolated, and so give rise to doubts as to their real purport and function in the context. Now it is manifest that ἄνθρωπος cannot be mistaken, for it always means *homo*, 'a human being,' 'a person,' 'a man,' often with the connotation of insignificance: 'somebody'; but the case of ἐγένετο is very different. True, the A.V. renders it by

[1] Such a combination, ἐγένετο ἀπεσταλμένος, which would mean 'a man became an envoy *or* delegate,' and so could not be equivalent to ἀπεστάλη, as Chrysostom wishes it to be taken, has no parallel (3^{28}, Rev 16^{10} are irrelevant); hence editors and expositors are unanimous in dissociating ἀπεσταλμένος from ἐγένετο.

'*was*,' but this '*was*' is a mistranslation of the *fuit* of the Latin versions, and corresponds to an ἦν, *erat*, but not to ἐγένετο, which means *fuit* and *factus est*. As to the rendering 'came' of the R.V.,[1] it is inadmissible, seeing that γίνομαι in this sense ('to come,' 'to arise,' 'to appear') should be followed by an adverbial complement denoting the *place* 'where' or 'whence,' as ἐγένετο ἐγγύς, μακράν, ἐν, εἰς, ἐπί, κατά, πρός, ἐκ, ἀπό.[2] Nor could we maintain for a moment that ἐγένετο here stands for συνέβη: 'a man came to pass, happened, occurred.' So there remains only the alternative of taking the word in the sense of *factus est*, *became*, *was made*, its commonest and most natural meaning. But 'who *became*' and 'what *became* he'? Now we readily see that in the two words ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος the nominative ἄνθρωπος cannot be the subject, since in that case ἐγένετο would have ἀπεσταλμένος for its predicate, a construction which, as we have already seen, is unanimously and justly rejected by all editors and critics. The only alternative left, then, is to read ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος as meaning 'became a man.' But who or what is it that 'became a man'?

Let us examine more closely the preceding account and language of the Prologue, always bearing in mind the principle of spiritual interpretation upon which the evangelist goes. Here we are told that God's Word—itself God—was the original author of all things, that it created the Life and the Light of mankind, but that darkness having failed to understand that Light . . . *it became a man*: Yes, the Light became a Man (ἄνθρωπος), —evidently to interpret or reveal the true Life and Light, that divine or 'spiritual' creation which darkness or ignorance had failed to comprehend. But in order to make sure of our interpretation let us read the Greek text, and let us at the same time emancipate ourselves from the current punctuation and verse division which editors have introduced as a means of convenience, though in very many cases also as a means of confusion.

Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ θεὸς ἦν. ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν. ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ,[3] ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ[3] οὐ κατέλαβεν; ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος.

Ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεοῦ ἦν· [4] ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἰωάννης.

'*In the beginning was the Word* (*i.e.* the cosmogonic oracle which God uttered in creating the world), *and that Word was with God and* so *was a God* (*i.e.* itself of the nature of God). *It was this Word* (*i.e.* not the literal word as recorded and understood in the O.T., but the divine or spiritual Word) *that was in the beginning with God. All things* (*i.e.* the world in a spiritual sense, cf. v.[10]) *came into being through it* (*i.e.* through the divine Word), *and without it not a thing came into being. That which came into being thereby* (*i.e.* whatsoever was created by the said Word)[5] *was* (not matter, but) *Life, and this Life was the Light of men. Now is the Light shining in the darkness, and hath darkness failed to apprehend it?*[6] *it became a man.*

'*There was an envoy from God; his name was John.*'

If this interpretation and exposition of the Prologue reflect the true meaning and purport of the evangelist, many new points come to light and deserve consideration. Thus (*a*) the opening λόγος appears once more, beyond all reasonable doubt, to echo the well-known oracular word which, according to Gn 1[3ff.], God uttered (nine times) in creating the world; if this λόγος referred to the Person of Christ as the pre-existent Son of God, the evangelist would have used the term υἱός.

(*b*) V.[2] ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν is not, as commonly and conveniently assumed, a tautology, nor an emphatic repetition of v.[1], nor a combination of the two sentences contained in

[1] In this rendering of ἐγένετο by *came*, the Revisers were apparently misled by the succeeding οὗτος ἦλθεν; but this ἦλθεν obviously refers to ἀπεσταλμένος: having been *sent*, he *came*.

[2] Lk 1[5]: ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος . . . ἐξ ἐφημερίας Ἀβία, is irrelevant.

[3] Codex II has **αυτον**, similarly the Latin *e g* (lucem) *eam*; so, further, Theodoti excerpta, § 8 (*ap.* Clem. Alex. 969): καὶ ἡ σκοτία **αὐτὸν** οὐ κατέλαβεν, then Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6, 28 (p. 115): καὶ τὸ σκότος **αὐτὸν** οὐ καταλαμβάνει, and ii. 9, 78 (p. 218): καὶ ἡ σκοτία **αὐτὸν** οὐ καταλαμβάνει (but not ii. 10, 99 [p. 229]: καὶ ἡ σκοτία, φησίν, **αὐτὸ** οὐ καταλαμβάνει); then Ephraem Syr. 5: et hae lux in tenebris lucebat, et tenebrae *eam* non vicerunt.

[4] So with ℵ* D* and Irenæus.

[5] Here ἐν αὐτῷ belongs to the preceding γέγονεν, not to the following words; the latter construction would imply that 'whatsoever was created contained life,' but the author insists on the λόγος as the creative agent.

[6] Question and answer, a mode of discourse and narrative very favourite with the evangelist, as may be seen throughout the Gospel, and will be more amply illustrated in my forthcoming edition of *St. John's Gospel and Epistles*.

v.[1]; it is a pointed allusion to Gn $1^{3ff.}$, that is, to its literal and earthly interpretation, and so serves to correct that misinterpretation, on the part of the Jews, by emphasizing the *spiritual nature* of the divine Word in question.

(*c*) The spiritual *Life and Light*, having been misapprehended (οὐ κατέλαβεν) by darkness or ignorant mankind, assumed the shape of a man in order to interpret or reveal to men the true meaning of God's word or doctrine.

(*d*) The *locus classicus* for the Incarnation, especially for the *act* of the Incarnation, is contained in the Prologue 1^{5} ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος. Cp. Phil 2^{7} ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος.

(*e*) As to 1^{14} καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, 'and the Word became (*or* was made) flesh,' I still maintain that it has no connexion with the opening λόγος in 1^{1}, but that it refers to the immediately preceding ἐξουσία, to the *authority* or *mandate* given to those who had received Him (*i.e.* to His disciples) to become (dutiful) children, *i.e.* servants or apostles on behalf of those who had believed in Him, so that the passage alludes to the *mission* received by the apostles (20^{21}; cp. 17^{18}). Hence it is not the λόγος but the *Life* or *Light* that became man. This being so, the passage 1^{14} καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο does not refer to the *act* of the Incarnation of the Son of God, (1) because the Incarnation is already implied in $1^{9f.}$ 'the true light which lighteth every man, as it cometh into the world, was (*i.e.* had been) in the word, yea, the world had been made by Him, albeit the world knew Him not'; (2) because neither Jesus ever assumes the title λόγος, nor does the evangelist ever designate Him by that epithet; (3) because, even assuming that the λόγος meant the 'Son of God,' it would be strange indeed that He who is and calls Himself the *Life* (ἡ ζωή, 6^{35} 14^{6}; cp. 1^{4}, Col 3^{4}) should enter the world not as living ἄνθρωπος but as σὰρξ, as '*lifeless* flesh,' that very 'flesh' which He so often and so strongly decries.

A. N. Jannaris.

Inter Alia.

The theft of the leaf of the great Sinaitic Palimpsest, made public in The Expository Times last month, has necessarily attracted wide attention. Some time must elapse before the fact can become known everywhere. It is interesting, however, to know that by the natural circulation of the magazine the news will be carried throughout the world. Mrs. Lewis says that she sent word of the theft to us, because she found that The Expository Times was read, not only on the continent of Europe, but even in the East. She came upon two Dominican monks at Sinai itself who were reading it.

Mr. Box hopes that, when the English translation of Dalman's *Die Worte Jesu* appears, the present scandalous neglect of Jewish antiquities will cease. Well, the translation has been published. It is made by Professor Kay, recently appointed to the Chair of Hebrew in St. Andrews. It is published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark (*The Words of Jesus*, 7s. 6d. net). It comes too late for review this month, but it is a book that has not to wait on the opinion of reviewers.

Another great book comes too late this month. It is Fairbairn's *Philosophy of the Christian Religion* (Hodder & Stoughton). It is not to be dealt with as Dalman. Reference must be quotation. The words belong to the thought. And quotation is impossible. Every thought belongs to the whole argument. We shall do our best with it, but there is only one review that will serve any good purpose, the review that sends its readers to the book.

One of the reviewers of the fourth volume of the *Dictionary of the Bible* includes Professor Max Müller among the authors who have died since the work began. But there were two Max Müllers. The Max Müller of the *Chips* is dead. But Max Müller of Philadelphia, the author of *Asien und Europa*, the great authority on Eastern Geography, is happily with us still. The Max Müller who is dead wrote nothing in the *Dictionary of the Bible*. That was not his line.

Printed by Morrison & Gibb Limited, Tanfield Works, and Published by T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, Edinburgh. It is requested that all literary communications be addressed to The Editor, St. Cyrus, Montrose.

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

THERE are two directions in which the study of the New Testament promises the freshest results at present. The one is the discovery and decipherment of papyri and inscriptions. It is best represented by Deissmann's *Bible Studies*. The other is investigation into the language chiefly spoken in Palestine in the time of Christ. It is made most accessible in Dalman's *Words of Jesus*.

Dalman's *Words of Jesus* has just appeared in an excellent English translation. It is noticed on another page. Here we shall be content to touch on the interpretation of a single New Testament sentence.

It is the statement in St. Luke 17^{21}, 'Behold, the kingdom of God is within you.' That is the translation of the Authorized Version. It is retained in the Revised Version. But there is doubt in both. The margin of the Authorized Version reads, 'Behold, the kingdom of God is among you,' and the margin of the Revised Version 'in the midst of you.' The question is whether it should be 'within you' or 'among you,' and it is a question that is much debated.

The words used by St. Luke (ἐντὸς ὑμῶν) may mean either. But when he expresses 'among' elsewhere, he always uses another phrase (ἐν μέσῳ, Lk 2^{46} 8^{7} 10^{3} $22^{27.55}$ 24^{36}, Ac 1^{15} 2^{22} 27^{31}). The probability, therefore, is that here the meaning is 'within you.' Again, the contrast is with the words 'with observation'—'the kingdom of God cometh not with observation' (17^{20}). Now, says Dalman, the complete negation of 'with observation' is not 'among you,' but 'within you,' 'in the secrecy of the heart.' And so he would not disapprove of Ephrem's rendering, 'in your heart,' though it is rather a paraphrase than a translation.

But the words were addressed to the Pharisees. How could it be said that the kingdom of God was in the Pharisees' heart? Dalman replies that the words, 'then is the kingdom of God come upon you,' in Lk 11^{20} were also addressed to the Pharisees; and these words were spoken when the Pharisees had obstinately refused to recognize the claims of Jesus. It was to the general company of His hearers that our Lord said, 'The kingdom of God is within you.' He thought of the seed of the word. It is always sown in the heart. Some hearts may be too hard or too shallow to admit it or retain it. But when it is retained it germinates silently, secretly. One is brought within the kingdom, and another, and another. The kingdom of God comes. And it is all 'without observation.'

Professor Dalman has published through Messrs.

A. & C. Black the facsimile of a letter which he describes as, 'apart from a letter from Rome to the Fayûm, the oldest original letter that has so far been transmitted to us from the hand of a Christian.'

During one of the fierce Roman persecutions a woman named Politike 'stood before one of the highest officials in the kingdom.' She was charged with being a Christian, and confessed the crime. Two courses of action were set before her. If she offered sacrifice to the Genius of the Emperor, she was set at liberty. If she refused, her possessions were confiscated and she was sent into banishment. Consent was the act of a moment. Refusal was a lifelong misery. And for Politike it was the harder that it meant separation from her dear son Neilos. But what help is it to a woman if she keep the whole world and harm her own soul? She refused to sacrifice; she forsook her child for His name's sake, and was sent into the Great Oasis.

'They reach Syene, take a hurried farewell of the eternal river,—the river Politike loved so well that her son was named after it,—and then a little caravan moves westwards into the barren land, the bare tops of whose hills are traced in sharp outlines in the evening sky—the desert! The desert with its parching heat and bleaching bones, unfolding a tale of robbers, murder, and the malice of demons! And what, forsooth, will happen when, all these terrors passed, they arrive at the Oasis?' Six times the sun rose and set. The tortures of the desert were becoming intolerable. Outlines of buildings and trees began to appear on the horizon. They reached at last the city of Kysis. The soldiers made their report to the captain of the castle. Politike was set free. She might go wherever she pleased—alone, like the scapegoat in the wilderness.

A man approached. He had been waiting till she should be set at liberty. She shrank from him. He uttered the name of Jesus—

> How sweet the name of Jesus sounds
> In a believer's ear:
> It soothes his sorrows, heals his wounds,
> And drives away his fear.

We sing that lightly; Politike felt it. In a little time she was among friends, cared for and comforted. She was sent further inland for greater security, and an effort was set on foot to bring her son Neilos to her.

She was sent further inland to one Psenosiris. When she arrived, Psenosiris wrote a letter to his friend and brother-presbyter Apollon, who had spoken to Politike that day she arrived in Kysis. This is the letter—

> 'From Psenosiris the Presbyter to Apollon
> the Presbyter, his beloved brother
> in the Lord, Greeting!
> Above all I salute thee oftentimes, and all the brethren that are
> with thee in God. I would have thee
> know, brother, that the grave-diggers
> here into the inner part
> have brought Politike, who was
> sent into the Oasis by the
> government. And her have I
> forthwith given over to the care of
> the good and faithful among
> the grave-diggers, until that
> her son Neilos be come. And
> when he hath come with God,
> he will bear thee witness of
> all that they have done to
> her. Do thou also on thy part
> make known to me what thou dost wish
> done here. I will do it gladly.
> I wish thee welfare
> in the Lord God.'

It is a slip of papyrus. On the one side is that letter. On the other this address—

> To Apollon × from Psenosiris
> the Presbyter × the Presbyter in the Lord.

It is a simple letter enough, it has to do with simple folk. But it is an *original source* for the history of the Christian Church. Now 'the further back into the past we transport ourselves, the more scanty do such sources become, the

more carefully must every relic of the culture of that time be turned to the best advantage for the purpose we have in view. It is in this way that we accumulate, by quiet, unassuming work—work removed from the struggle for law and orthodoxy—the foundation-stones for a history of the Church, not indeed of the official Church, often rather of the unofficial, yet always of the Church, if we mean by it Christianity,—proofs of its elasticity, of its inexhaustible power of adapting itself, of transforming itself, of bending to the lowly and of ennobling the commonplace.' Professor Dalman quotes those words from Dr. Jülicher, the Rector of the University of Marburg. They give the reason why he writes so much and so carefully on THE EPISTLE OF PSENOSIRIS.

Mr. J. R. Wilkinson, M.A., formerly Scholar of Worcester College, Oxford, believes that he has discovered *A Johannine Document in the First Chapter of St. Luke's Gospel*, and under that title he has published a thin octavo through Messrs. Luzac, in which he tells the whole story. It is a story of gospel criticism, always acute but not always convincing, and the reader must go to Mr. Wilkinson's book for it. Here it is enough to notice an incident in the progress of the dissection.

The chief value of Mr. Wilkinson's discovery is perhaps the search which it sent him to make into the evidence for the existence of John the Baptist's disciples in Palestine after our Lord's resurrection. For it is to be observed that when he speaks of a 'Johannine document' Mr. Wilkinson means a document having to do with the party of John the Baptist. The evidence for the existence of such a party is not plentiful, but Mr. Wilkinson believes that it exists and is sufficient. That after the imprisonment of their master and during the ministry of our Lord the disciples of John held together, is shown by the reference to them on the subject of fasting (Mk 2^{18} and parallels).

But if they held together during Christ's ministry, His crucifixion was not likely to disperse them. The crucifixion of the Messiah was a stumbling-block to the Jews in general, how much more to the ardent disciples of John the Baptist. No doubt, in opposition to other Jews they and the disciples of Jesus had much in common. Each party made the immediate approach of the Messianic kingdom the chief article of their faith, each urged the supreme importance of repentance and change of heart, each laid stress on moral goodness and depreciated the saving efficacy of Jewish privileges, each acknowledged John the Baptist to be a prophet. They agreed in almost everything. In one thing only did they differ. But it was the vital thing. John's disciples could not accept Jesus as the Messiah. They could not reckon Him so great as their own master, from whom He had been glad to receive baptism. One thing, but it was the vital thing,—they rejected the Messiahship of Jesus, and the crucifixion was not likely to induce them to recognize it.

Mr. Wilkinson believes that in the early days of the primitive Church the disciples of John extended far beyond the bounds of Palestine. In the city of Ephesus there were found both Christians and Johannines. They do not seem to have been actively hostile, though they were distinct. When Paul came upon some twelve of the Johannine sect together, and put to them the question, 'Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye believed?' they answered in all sincerity that they had not heard that the Messianic gift of the Holy Spirit had yet been poured forth. Another reading of their answer is, that they had not so much as heard of the existence of a Holy Ghost. But Mr. Wilkinson thinks that is too much to believe of any disciple either of Jesus or of John. What they said in effect was that they did not know that the Holy Ghost had been poured out in recognition of the Messiahship of Jesus. When they were led by Paul's words to believe that this evidence of the Messiahship of Jesus was in

existence and could be furnished them, they believed, and were baptized into the name of Jesus. And when Paul laid his hands on them, they also received the gift of the Holy Ghost.

Apart from those twelve, however, and in an earlier narrative, one of John's disciples is given by name. His name was Apollos. That Apollos was a member of the Johannine sect is evident, Mr. Wilkinson holds, from the statement that he 'knew only the baptism of John' (Ac 18^{25}). And he thinks that when Priscilla and Aquila 'took him unto them and expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly,' what they did was to carry him further than yet he had been able to go, until he acknowledged Jesus to be the Messiah.

There is certainly a somewhat serious difficulty. For, in the same sentence in which it is stated that Apollos knew only the baptism of John, it is also stated that he 'taught carefully the things concerning Jesus.' Mr. Wilkinson has no way with this difficulty but the drastic way. It is an interpolation. But he is not alone in thinking so. Jüngst and Spitta have called it an interpolation before him. Well, if that statement is out of the way, the course is clear. Apollos was a Johannine; he was likely to be a tower of strength to the sect; but, being brought to the Lord by the instrumentality of Priscilla and her husband, it was almost worth placing his conversion by the side of that of Paul himself. And when Apollos found it advisable to leave Ephesus (as Paul had had to leave Damascus) after his conversion, the Christians in Ephesus encouraged him, and wrote to the brethren in Achaia to receive him.

'God has two families of children on this earth, says Francis W. Newman, '*the once-born* and *the twice-born*.' If we are familiar with our Lord's conversation with Nicodemus, and with the theology that has sprung from it, we understand at once that all are born once into this world, that all *ought* to be born again, but some refuse or are rejected; and so we say, Yes, there are the two classes of God's creatures, the once-born and the twice-born. We understand what Francis Newman means.

But that is not what he means. What he means is that we are *all* God's children, but some of us think that we are not God's children until we are 'born again,' and so we agonize till we have passed through that experience. We are no better, however, and we may be much worse, than those who accept their sonship by nature without agony. There are the once-born and there are the twice-born, and—well, it is better to let Newman describe the once-born and we shall understand.

The once-born, says Newman (*The Soul*, 3rd ed., 1852, pp. 89, 91), 'see God, not as a strict Judge, not as a glorious Potentate; but as the animating Spirit of a beautiful, harmonious world, Beneficent and Kind, Merciful as well as Pure. The childlike quality of their nature makes the opening of religion very happy to them: for they no more shrink from God, than a child from an Emperor, before whom the parent trembles. They read his character, not in the disordered world of man, but in romantic and harmonious nature. Of human sin they know perhaps little in their own hearts and not very much in the world; and human suffering does but melt them to tenderness. Thus, when they approach God, no inward disturbance ensues; and without being as yet spiritual, they have a certain complacency and perhaps romantic sense of excitement in their simple worship.'

Is this religion? Professor William James of Harvard seems to think it is. He calls it 'the Religion of Healthy-Mindedness.' Professor James delivered the Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion before the University of Edinburgh during the session 1901–1902. He has now published them through Messrs. Longman under the title of *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. They have been

somewhat condensed for publication. Nevertheless, the volume offers a generous page to the reader, and we shall not run any risk when we prophesy that this will have the widest circulation of all the volumes on the Gifford foundation that have yet been published.

Well, it is Professor James that makes the quotation from Francis Newman. And, as we have said, he seems to agree with Newman that the once-born are really religious, for he describes them throughout a whole chapter, to which he gives the title of 'the Religion of Healthy-Mindedness.'

It is easier for Professor James to class 'the healthy-minded' as religious than for some of us, because he is a psychologist, and not a theologian. As a psychologist he concerns himself only with phenomena, that is, religions which show the signs of religion. And the signs of religion being 'to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with one's God,' it is quite within the power of Professor James to call the healthy-minded religious, and proceed to offer us examples of them.

He says that Emerson is an admirable example of the healthy-minded in religion. Theodore Parker is another. He quotes two passages from Theodore Parker's writings. This is part of one of them: 'I have done wrong things enough in my life, and do them now; I miss the mark, draw bow, and try again. But I am not conscious of hating God, or man, or right, or love, and I know there is much "health in me"; and in my body, even now, there dwelleth many a good thing, spite of consumption and Saint Paul.'

That is well enough. But a still better example is Dr. Edward Everett Hale, the eminent Unitarian preacher and writer. Many of Professor James's examples are taken from MSS belonging to Professor Starbuck of Stamford University, who sent certain questions on the subject of personal religion to many and various individuals, and received many and various replies. It was to one of Dr. Starbuck's circulars that Dr. Hale replied and said: 'I observe, with profound regret, the religious struggles which come into many biographies, as if almost essential to the formation of the hero. I ought to speak of these, to say that any man has an advantage, not to be estimated, who is born, as I was, into a family where the religion is simple and rational; who is trained in the theory of such a religion, so that he never knows, for one hour, what these religious or irreligious struggles are. I always knew God loved me, and I was always grateful to him for the world he placed me in. I always liked to tell him so, and was always glad to receive his suggestions to me. I can remember perfectly that, when I was coming to manhood, the half-philosophical novels of the time had a deal to say about the young men and maidens who were facing "the problem of life." I had no idea whatever what the problem of life was. To live with all my might seemed to me easy; to learn where there was so much to learn seemed pleasant and almost of course; to lend a hand, if one had a chance, natural; and if one did this, why, he enjoyed life because he could not help it, and without proving to himself that he ought to enjoy it. A child who is early taught that he is God's child, that he may live and move and have his being in God, and that he has therefore infinite strength at hand for the conquering of any difficulty, will take life more easily, and probably will make more of it, than one who is told that he is born the child of wrath and wholly incapable of good.'

Those men are religious. More than that, they have at least a nominal connexion with Christianity. But there are others. For 'in that theory of evolution which, gathering momentum for a century, has within the past twenty-five years swept so rapidly over Europe and America, we see the ground laid for a new sort of religion of Nature, which has entirely displaced Christianity from the thought of a large part of our genera-

tion.' Professor James, as usual, gives an example. He takes it from Dr. Starbuck's collection. In this case he gives the questions as well as the answers.

First question—*What does Religion mean to you?* Answer—'It means nothing; and it seems, so far as I can observe, useless to others. I am sixty-seven years of age, and have resided in X. fifty years, and have been in business forty-five, consequently I have some little experience of life and men, and some women too, and I find that the most religious and pious people are, as a rule, those most lacking in uprightness and morality. The men who do not go to church or have any religious convictions are the best. Praying, singing of hymns, and sermonizing are pernicious—they teach us to rely on some supernatural power, when we ought to rely on ourselves. I *tee*totally disbelieve in a God. . . . As a timepiece stops, we die—there being no immortality in either case.'

The second question was—*What comes before your mind corresponding to the words, God, Heaven, Angels, etc.?* The answer is—'Nothing whatever. I am a man without a religion. These words mean so much mythic bosh.' Question three—*Have you had any experiences which appeared providential?* Answer—'None whatever. There is no agency of the superintending kind. A little judicious observation as well as knowledge of scientific law will convince any one of this fact.' Two questions follow, and then comes—*What is your temperament?* To which the answer is—'Nervous, active, wide-awake, mentally and physically; sorry that Nature compels us to sleep at all.'

'If we are in search of a broken and contrite heart,' says Professor James, 'clearly we need not look to this brother.' No. But is he religious? Professor James apparently thinks he is. He says that his 'state of mind may by courtesy be called a religion, for it is his reaction upon the whole nature of things, it is systematic and reflective, and it loyally binds him to certain inner ideals.' Professor James seems driven to acknowledge his religion. For if his own word may be taken for it, he manifests the fruits of religion in his life. So the question arises—Is this person one of 'the healthy-minded' in religion? Is he one of the once-born? And are all the once-born, including such an one as this, who expects the same immortality as a timepiece, really heirs of eternal life?

This question is the question of questions for us to-day. Other difficulties will wait, this one must be settled. The 'sick souls' are not too well received among us at present. It is the 'healthy-minded' we encourage. Our God is 'the happy God.' And we seem to have settled it in our minds, though we have not yet inserted it in our creeds, that in Adam all do *not* die, and that there is *less* joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth than over one happy and healthy person who sees no occasion for repentance.

We have settled it so in our practice. Sooner or later it was bound to come into our theology. This very month it seems to have come.

Mr. F. R. Tennant, M.A. (Camb.), B.Sc. (Lond.), was appointed Hulsean lecturer before the University of Cambridge in the session 1901–1902. He lectured on *The Origin and Propagation of Sin*. After the lectures were listened to, they were published at the Cambridge University Press. No one took exception to the lectures, no one has banned the book. And yet Mr. Tennant rejects the doctrine of the Fall, and calls Original Sin a figment.

Does Mr. Tennant deny that the doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin are contained in Scripture? No, he does not deny that. He holds, however, that they occupy a much less prominent place in Scripture than they do in historical theology. 'The fictitious importance,' he says, 'assigned by Theology, in its most scholastic and artificial periods,

to the doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin is an accident of history, not the outcome of the necessary development of the Faith.' And he believes that though they are found in Scripture they have no business to be there, and may be dropped out with advantage.

The doctrine of the Fall, on which hangs the doctrine of Original Sin, is found in Scripture twice. It is found in the third chapter of Genesis and in the fifth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

It is found first in the third chapter of Genesis. To understand its place there, we must remember that God's way with the human race is according to evolution. Revelation is by gradual development. And it does not matter whether we say that God gradually made Himself known to man, or that man gradually became sensible, by the use of his God-given faculties, of God. Now, the Book of Genesis strikes into this gradual process at a certain point. The mind of man has emancipated itself from mere Nature religion, but it has scarcely yet passed into Ethical Monotheism. The book, therefore, contains echoes of remoter thought, elements of prehistoric speculation, when religion was a kind of nature-poetry and the deities were natural phenomena. It has been purified and adapted to the spiritual and ethical standpoint of a writer or collector of oral traditions (the critics call him J or E), who lived somewhere near the threshold of the prophetic age. But the prehistoric unethical elements have not been purified out of existence; and we see one glaring example of them in the third chapter: it is the story of the Fall.

St. Paul accepted this story. He believed that Adam was a historic person, and that this sad experience of his was historic also. For St. Paul had been trained in the Jewish schools, and in such a matter as this simply accepted the current Rabbinical teaching. But it is doubtful to Mr. Tennant's mind if St. Paul does more than use this prehistoric survival as an illustration. At any rate, Mr. Tennant counts it none of his business to get entangled in Talmudic methods of interpretation. He takes the words 'in Adam all died' as 'a useful mode of speech for practical exhortation, without troubling' himself 'about its incompatibility with the results of accurate psychological or ethical analysis.'

Cæsarea.

AN EXPOSITORY STUDY OF ACTS X.

By the Rev. T. D. Bernard, M.A., Canon of Wells.

There were two stages in the delivery of the gospel to mankind, divided—or we should rather say, conjoined—by an act of God, which expanded the Judaic into the Catholic Church. It takes place at the fitting moment and on the appropriate spot. The narrative leads us from Jerusalem, the centre of Judaism, to Cæsarea, its point of contact with the empire and the world.

For that purpose Cæsarea was built by Herod, a seaport and a citadel. A spacious harbour was formed by a solid breakwater, and the lines of a great city laid out. 'It speedily became the virtual capital of Palestine. *Cæsarea Judææ caput est*, says Tacitus; he means the Roman province of that name. Judæan, Cæsarea never was. The gateway to Rome, the place was already a piece of Latin soil. The procurator had his seat in it; there was an Italian garrison; and on the great white temple that shone out over the harbour, stood statues—of Augustus and of Rome. It was heathendom in all its glory at the very door of the true religion. Yes, but the contrast might be reversed. It was justice and freedom in the most fanatical and turbulent province in the world' (G. A. Smith, *Geography of Holy Land*, p. 140). In this place, and in the very heart of

its military life, it pleased God by His own immediate act to 'open the door of faith unto the Gentiles.'

Up to that moment all 'disciples' had been Jews, Hebrew or Hellenist, of Palestine or of the Dispersion, or at least such as by proselytism or mixed nationality were included in the Circumcision. When this Judaic Christianity has been presented in its central features and critical events, the writer of the Acts (with all his graceful ease, a most systematic historian) takes up the lines of advance on the borders of the Church, following the work of Philip, and that of Saul after the supreme event of his conversion. If Philip in Samaria and Saul in Syria are on the outskirts of the circle, they are still within it. The invisible wall of separation, on the one side of which lay the chosen people, and on the other the multitudes of mankind, remains inviolate. Both preachers are brought to the predestined spot. Philip, coming from the south 'preached in all the cities till he came to Cæsarea.' Saul, to save his life, is sent down by the brethren to Cæsarea. Here is a great field of action; but not for them. Neither of them has yet a commission to the Gentiles; but one who will have that commission is on his way.

Peter, 'passing through all quarters,' comes into sight. His path is laid out for him and is marked by signs. One sign at Lydda is felt through the plain of Sharon, and men turn to the Lord. A sad appeal calls him to Joppa; and a sister laid out for burial is brought back to life. With what a sympathetic touch is it all depicted,—the natural pathos, the sorrow, the joy, the homely charities and neighbourly affections. It is a precious cabinet picture in the gallery of sacred scenes. There were many disciples there, and 'Peter abode many days in Joppa with one Simon a tanner, whose house was by the seaside.' That was the only Jewish seaport, through which the narrow stream of traffic flowed; where ships of Tarshish touched of old; where visitors to the Holy Land disembark to-day. The 'many days at Joppa' was probably to St. Peter a time of unwonted thoughts, prelusive to what was to follow. Resting on the roof of the house, he looked out on the great sea westward. He looked towards the isles of the Gentiles and the regions whence came the powers that possessed and changed the world,—arms and arts, conquest and culture, and all knowledge but the knowledge of God. Some day those regions will have that knowledge in the fulness of the gospel of Christ; and the revelation of this divine purpose begins in the trance of Peter on the housetop. What means that vision thrice repeated with the words that followed? They seem to involve a change from the traditional ideas of sanctity and uncleanness. Are the customs which have been the defence of the holy people to be set aside? Is the wall of separation breaking down? Peter is represented as exercised with doubtful anxious thought (ἐν ἑαυτῷ διηπόρει), and he is still revolving the question in his mind (διενθυμουμένου περὶ τοῦ ὁράματος), when 'the Spirit said, Behold, three men seek thee. Arise and go with them, nothing doubting: for I have sent them.' In fact they are at the door. They give their message. 'Cornelius the centurion, a just man, one that feareth God, with all his house, and of good report with all the nation of the Jews, has been warned of God by an holy angel to send for thee into his house, and to hear words of thee.' The proposal is a shock to settled principles and habits. But the will of God is made plain. He must go. It is a serious matter; and he asks the support and witness of six brethren of Joppa. The next day the little company is on the great northward road, and the morrow after they enter into Cæsarea.

All was ready there. A lively picture is given us of the reception. We see Cornelius anxiously expectant at the calculated hour, with all his preparations made. He meets the heaven-sent teacher with an act of prostration, quickly arrested by 'Stand up; I also am a man.' Talking together, they pass in. There is a company assembled, kinsmen and near friends of the centurion, some probably his comrades in the Italian cohort, men of like mind with himself, seekers after God, and now expectant of His word. There is a straightforward soldierly tone in the proceedings. St. Peter, having explained that he is there contrary to the law and custom of his people, but by direction of God, puts the question, 'I ask therefore with what intent I was sent for.' Cornelius in reply tells how, four days before, he was keeping the ninth hour of prayer ('*fasting to this hour*,' A.V., cannot stand in the text), when a man in bright clothing stood before him, saying, 'Thy prayer is heard, and thine alms are had in remembrance before God,' and bidding him send for the

person who is now come. 'Now therefore,' says he, 'we are all here present in the sight of God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of the Lord.' What words could better express the positions of the hearers and the speaker? and what words could better place in their right relations congregations and preachers at this day?

Then Peter opened his mouth (the usual formula for deliberate address) in response to this appeal. With what warmth of heart does he first welcome the fresh conviction now brought home to him! 'Of a truth I perceive (καταλαμβάνομαι, 'I apprehend,' 'take it in') that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to Him.' In the abstract of the discourse which follows, the ideas are distinct throughout, but in the opening the expression is confused, which is more remarkable in this smoothly flowing narrative. Commentators try in vain to bring the broken sentences and irregular construction into shape. Is it faulty reporting? Is it not rather the best reporting? since it gives a lively sense of contending thoughts under which the speaker began his message. 'The word which God sent unto the sons of Israel, preaching good tidings of peace by Jesus Christ—He is Lord of all (of Gentiles as well as Jews).'—That is a grand introduction worthy of the subject and proper to the man who speaks. But in relation to his hearers did it not assume too much? and to continue 'that word I deliver to you' might be going beyond his commission. He stops; and says only—'ye know,' (ὑμεῖς οἴδατε)—and then proceeds to describe what they knew in an altered strain. *The word* ὁ λόγος, the comprehensive word of revelation, is exchanged for ῥῆμα, the word spoken; the divine mission to Israel for—τὸ γενόμενον ῥῆμα—its actual publication through Judæa; *Jesus Christ*, the composite title used in the Church, for *Jesus who was from Nazareth* (τὸν ἀπὸ Νάζαρετ); and the good tidings of peace for the visible beneficent works. Thus he passes from doctrinal assumptions of the Word, the Christ and the gospel, to the facts which had taken place within the knowledge of his hearers, observant men interested in the religious movements in their neighbourhood. How clearly he told the story we can judge from the abstract given, relating how the great movement began from Galilee in succession to the baptism of John; how 'God anointed Jesus with the Holy Spirit and power, who went about doing good (διῆλθεν εὐεργετῶν), and healing men oppressed by the devil; for God was with him'—(words which might well stand as a characteristic summary of the Second Gospel, associated in our minds with St. Peter and with Romans). That manifestation of holiness, love, and power was not left to common observation and varying reports. We, says the speaker, were witnesses of all which He did, up to the dark hour, here so briefly and impersonally mentioned, as if not to dwell upon his people's crime; 'whom they slew, hanging Him on a tree.' Then began the higher manifestation, 'Him God raised up the third day'; and those who followed His walk amongst men then became the witnesses of His risen life. It was their part to give the testimony to the world. He had charged them to preach (κηρῦξαι), make proclamation as heralds, setting forth the relations which He now bears to mankind. The first announcement of these relations is startling. We are to testify, says St. Peter, that 'this is He who is ordained of God to be the Judge of the living and the dead.' This Jesus from Nazareth, whose brief career came soon and suddenly to a tragic end, who, if seen after death, yet had wholly vanished from the scene, is to be held as the ruler and judge of the moral life of men here and hereafter. What a claim was this for those Roman soldiers to admit! one that must change all their thoughts on life and death! But it is advanced by the Lord's own command, and with no uncertain sound. He is ὁ ὡρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, the Judge designated by divine determination and decree. [The same verb is used by St. Paul on the same subject (chap 17 [31]) and on the Divine Sonship (Ro 1[4]). The Resurrection is τὸ ὁρίζον, that which draws the line of defined certainty in the manifestation of Christ.] Those few words gave to human life a living authority, a perfect standard, and a final result. The mists which covered it were cleared away in the consciousness of a present and future relation to the 'most worthy Judge eternal.'

This clearer light makes grave discoveries, and sin appears more distinct in its nature and more fearful in its issues.

> The voice of conscience sounded nearer,
> It stirred my inmost breast:
> But though its tones were firmer, clearer,
> 'Twas not the voice of rest.

. . . And I said—
Oh that I knew if He forgiveth,
My soul is faint within;
Because in grievous fear it liveth
Of wages due to sin.

The answer was ready from the beginning, as the foretold purpose of God. 'The Judge was to be and is the Saviour.' 'To Him give all the prophets witness, that through His name every one that believeth on Him shall receive remission of sins.' Here is the whole doctrine of forgiveness—the author of it, the living Lord,—the power for it, 'through His name,' the revelation of what He is and does,—the one condition of it, faith in Him. The name does not work as a charm; it takes effect on the believer—*everyone* that believeth in Him. There are subjects for reflexion, truths to sink down into the heart.

But here the first apprehension was enough. Faith in the risen Lord, submission to His rule and judgment, a sense of sin forgiven, even while the word is spoken, have risen like the light of morning on these sincere expectant souls; and 'God who knoweth the hearts bare them witness' by an instantaneous baptism of the Spirit. At the word 'remission of sins' there is a sudden rush of certainty and joy. A power not of nature is upon them, a spirit not their own possesses them. Adoration and praise burst from their lips in strange voices as under irresistible impulses. St. Peter's companions knew the signs. Men of the circumcision, they stood amazed, because that on Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost. What is to follow? It was clear to the apostle. As he said afterwards (11[16]), 'I remembered the word of the Lord, how He said, John baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.' God has shown that He receives them—the Church must receive them. 'Can any man forbid the water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ.' His companions were the ministers of the sacrament—to be the witnesses afterwards of all these things, when the Church at Jerusalem calls the deed in question and reaches the conclusion, 'Then to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life.'

The special inspiration has passed; the decisive act of adhesion is accomplished; and these first-fruits of the Gentiles are translated into the kingdom of Christ. It has been very rapid. How much there is to be learned! how much to be added that St. Peter would have said. 'As I *began* to speak,' he says, the Holy Ghost fell on them that heard the word. He might well remain for instruction and converse. 'Then prayed they him to tarry certain days.'

We hear no more of Cornelius and his companions. Were any of them in Cæsarea twenty years later, when St. Paul pleaded before Festus and Agrippa, and made his 'Apologia pro vita sua,' an appeal to his hearers' hearts? Were any of these soldiers from Cæsarea among the unknown founders of the Church in Rome, where the Gentile element was strong in the Prætorium? We know not. Cornelius and his friends had done their part in the history, as the chosen persons in whom 'God opened the door of faith to the Gentiles.' For the rest their 'judgment is with the Lord, and their work with their God.' Such is the manner of the Holy Scriptures. They are not biographies, but records of the Kingdom.

(*To be continued.*)

The Decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions.

By Professor A. H. Sayce, LL.D., Oxford.

The decipherment of the Hittite texts is a problem which I have kept constantly in view for more than twenty years. But the attempts made by myself and others to solve it have ended in failure: they have satisfied only their authors, and not always even their authors. Before a system of decipherment could be accepted it was necessary that it should fulfil three conditions: (1) the phonetic values assigned to the characters must be such as to yield not only names similar to those met with in the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, but also the geographical names belonging

to the several localities in which the inscriptions on which they occur have been found; (2) they must also be such as to give a coherent series of grammatical suffixes consistent with what we know of Asianic grammar, as well as with the terminations of the Hittite names recorded by the Egyptian and Assyrian scribes; (3) and, finally, they must support and verify one another, the same phonetic values appearing in forms and names which we know on other grounds had a similar pronunciation.

The two main difficulties in the way of decipherment have been on the one hand the paucity and imperfection of the texts, and on the other the untrustworthiness of the eye-copies we possessed of them. These difficulties have now been in great measure removed. More texts have been discovered, and we now have photographs, squeezes, and casts of those the originals of which are not in the museums of London or Berlin. One of the results of being able at last to consult accurate copies of the inscriptions was the discovery that the ideographs of 'king' and 'district,' which have hitherto been confounded together, are always carefully distinguished in them. The confusion was due to myself in the early days of Hittite research, and I have been followed in the error by subsequent investigators. The consequences have been fatal, and the primary key to the decipherment of the hieroglyphs has thus been hidden from sight. The discovery once made, I knew where to look for the groups of characters denoting geographical names.

For more than twenty years it has been known that the nominative singular in *-s* was represented by a yoke, and that another character which I believe to represent a sacred stone wrapped in cloths was the determinative of Deity, while the bilingual 'boss' of Tarkondemos had given us four ideographs, two of them being the ideographs of 'king' and 'country,' as well as the phonetic character *me*. From the inscription on a Bowl it had further been inferred that a particular character, which is frequently used as a suffix after a noun, denoted the suffix of the accusative, and another character the suffix of the first person of the verb. A 'word-divider' had also been detected, so that it was possible to break up a passage into its separate words. Recently I had pointed out that the phonetic characters accompanying the picture of the head and tiara of a high priest (an ideograph which is attached to the figure of the high priest at Fraktin) must correspond to the word *abaklês*, stated by Strabo to be the title of the 'high priest' at Komana, or *bakêlos*, as it is written by Hesychius, who interprets it as 'gallos priest' and 'magnate.' In this way we obtain *ka* or *ga* as the value of a character which Mr. Rylands identifies with a rabbit's head.

Many years ago M. Six, the eminent numismatist, suggested to me that a particular group of characters which is found in the inscriptions of Carchemish and nowhere else represents the name of that city. The first character is not met with elsewhere, and therefore would probably express a closed syllable, the second is the rabbit's head, the third *me*, and the last a goat's head. But, misled by the bilingual 'boss,' where the goat's head is used ideographically to denote *tarku*, 'a goat,' as well as by my false conception of the character which is really the determinative of 'district,' I rejected the suggestion at the time. Since then, however, inscriptions have been found in which the goat's head interchanges with the ordinary representative of the nominative suffix *-s*, while the discovery I made last winter that the determinative always attached to the group of characters is not the ideograph of 'king,' as I had supposed, but of 'district,' made it suddenly clear that M. Six was right after all, and that the name actually reads *Kar-ka-me-is*, or, adopting the Assyrian pronunciation, *Gar-ga-me-is*.

Now the cuneiform tablets discovered by M. Chantre at Boghaz Keui, the Hittite northern capital, have proved to be in the same language as the two letters from Arzawa in the Tel el-Amarna collection, or at all events in a closely related dialect, and thanks to ideographs and the stereotyped formulæ of the Tel el-Amarna letters, some of the Arzawa grammatical forms can be made out. Thus the nominative singular of the noun ends in *-s*, the accusative in *-n*, and the first person of the verb in *-i* and *-ya*, while gentilic adjectives are formed by the suffixes *-nas* and *-yas*. The Hittite names found in the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions also give us the gentilic suffixes *-nas*, *-yas*, and *-sis*. Applying this to the Hittite texts we get the value of *n* for the sleeve which in the Bowl inscription marks the accusative. Along with two other characters which interchange with it, it also represents the first letter or syllable of a gentilic suffix which can on other grounds be shown to be *-nas*.

The gentilic adjective, however, formed from the name of Carchemish does not terminate in *-nas*. For reasons too detailed to be given here, the suffix can be shown to be *-yas*. This gives us the value of three more characters, *si* (which takes the place of *is*), *ya*, and *yas*, which last interchanges with *ya-s*. The second *-ya* is also the character which in the Bowl inscription represents the suffix of the first person of the verb.

There are two characters which, from their frequency and the fact that they are omitted or inserted at will after syllables like *na* and *me* or *mi*, must be vowels, and since one of them follows syllables ending in *a* and the other syllables ending in *e* and *i*, I assign to the first the value of *a* and to the second the value of *i*. M. Halévy has already long ago pointed out that this latter must represent a vowel.

With the phonetic values thus obtained we can now proceed to read some more of the geographical names to which the determinative of 'district' is attached. The name, for instance, of the prince who is commemorated on the stela of Tyana is followed by a word which ends with the determinative. This word reads: **-a-n-a-n-a-s*. Here it is obvious that we must give the first character the value of *tu*, and so get the geographical name that will alone suit the inscription, *Tuana-nas*, 'the Tyanian.'

The suffixes are invariably written phonetically. The stems of the noun and verb, on the other hand, are usually expressed by ideographs, and the pictorial character of Hittite writing gives us, not unfrequently, a clue to their signification. Determinatives are numerous, especially in the inscriptions of Carchemish.

In Syria the geographical names are for the most part written phonetically, an indication that they were not of Hittite origin. As we advance northward, however, ideographs take the place of phonetic characters, thus confirming the view of Professor Ramsay that the primitive home of the Hittites and the script they invented or adapted was in Cappadocia. On the other hand, my decipherment of the texts has brought to light a fact which I did not at all expect. The name of 'Hittite'—Khatta-nas and Khatta-is—is found in the inscriptions eastward of the passes of the Taurus, but not in Cilicia and Cappadocia. We meet with it in the inscriptions of Hamath and Carchemish, of Mer'ash and Izgin, but not farther west. It thus occupies exactly the region in which the Hittites of the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Vannic monuments are placed. Westward of the Taurus it seems to have been either unknown or disused.[1]

[1] The above is a synopsis of the lecture I delivered before the Society of Biblical Archæology on Wednesday, 11th June 1902. My Memoir dealing with the subject in detail and accompanied by a list of Hittite characters will be published in the course of the year in the *Proceedings* of the Society.

The Great Text Commentary.

THE GREAT TEXTS OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

ACTS IV. 11, 12.

'He is the stone which was set at nought of you the builders, which was made the head of the corner. And in none other is there salvation: for neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, wherein we must be saved' (R.V.).

EXPOSITION.

He is the stone.—All English versions before the Revised translate it 'this,' referring the pronoun to 'stone,' but in the next verse a *person* is directly spoken of, not under the metaphor of a stone.—KNOWLING.

The stone which was set at nought.—This very passage from Ps 118 was quoted by Jesus Himself, in response to the challenge of His right to teach in the temple made by certain of 'the chief priests and the scribes, with the elders' (Lk $20^{1.17}$); and it was probably read in a Messianic sense by the Jewish teachers of that day. It recurs in 1 P 2^{7}.—BARTLET.

Set at nought.—St Peter, quoting apparently from memory, used a different word (ὁ ἐξουθενηθείς) from that which is used in the LXX and in the Gospels, a word expressing still greater contempt.—KNOWLING.

FOR the English phrase, 'set at nought,' see Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, under NAUGHT (vol. iii. p. 496a) and SET (vol. iv. p. 470a).

Of you builders.—There is more severity here than in the speech to the people (3^{17}).—JACOBSON.

Which was made the head of the corner.—Both (*a*) foundation-stone and (*b*) corner-stone of God's temple.

The Jews were familiar with the idea of Israel as 'the house of God'; they called themselves 'the temple of the Lord.' The rulers of their polity would be *the builders*, but the chief *stone* was the Messiah or Christ. The stone had been laid (*a*) for a foundation in Zion by God, but the rulers had *set it at nought*, and cast it out. God, however, had lifted it up from the rubbish-heap where it had been cast, that is, from the grave, and made it (*b*) *the head of the corner*.—RACKHAM.

See article CORNER-STONE in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 499b.

And in none other is there salvation.—Absolutely, 'the salvation' (ἡ σωτηρία), that is, the promised salvation which Messiah is to bring (cf. Mal 4^2).—PAGE.

For neither is there any other name.—The word used for 'other' (ἕτερος) makes a contrast (ἄλλος implies addition, 'one more'). 'Salvation is not to be found *in any besides*, for indeed there does not exist *a second* name.'—PAGE.

That is given among men.—Our Lord is frequently marked out as *given* as the source of this greater and universal salvation (Jn 3^{16}, 1 Co 3^5, 1 Ti 2^6).—MACEVILLY.

Wherein we must be saved.—The position of 'we,' as the last word in the Greek, is too emphatic for it to mean simply 'we men,' mankind at large. The salvation is the Messianic deliverance of Israel from all her foes outward and inward, and so Jesus is the personality or 'name' of authority 'whereby we (Jews) must be saved.'—BARTLET.

Must.—According to God's unalterable destination.—MEYER.

THE SERMON.

The One Salvation.

By the late Canon H. P. Liddon, D.C.L.

For the first time the young Church of Christ stood fairly face to face with the hostile power of the world. A miracle of healing had been wrought by Peter and John. The Sanhedrin was convoked to try the apostles, the question being, according to the law of Deuteronomy (13^{1-5}), whether the apostles were true prophets, or seducers to idolatry; for the cripple had been healed, not in the name of Jehovah but in the name of Jesus. The court does not enter upon the general question of the apostles' teaching, but simply asks, Who had been invoked to work the miracle. Peter answers, 'Jesus of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead,' and then makes the claim for Jesus of our text.

1. JESUS CAN SAVE.—Jesus is the Messiah who brings the salvation. What is this salvation? (1) Was it bodily healing? Was it simply that He could heal others, as He had healed the cripple? Now, bodily pain may by patience and resignation be transfigured into a consummate blessing, but it is a disorder and anomaly in nature; and as then by the apostles, so now by generous hearts and kind hands, God relieves and cures it where it may. (2) But the great word 'salvation' does not make itself easily at home in this association. Salvation was a consecrated word to Israel; it meant the deliverance of Israel from all her foes, a national salvation. Such is the reference in Ps 118 which Peter quotes. This salvation the Messiah was to bring. But the apostles knew, having been taught by the Lord Himself, that no political salvation would save Israel now. The political must give way to the spiritual, the outward to the inward. And that which is spiritual must be universal. (3) So here is a third and deeper sense in the word. Salvation really means here the rescuing from moral ruin *the separate souls of men*. This is the salvation which Jesus brought. He who gave Himself a ransom for all, died for each, with the same deliberate concentration of purpose as if He had to die only for one (Gal 2^{20}).

2. JESUS IS THE ONLY SAVIOUR.—'In none other,' says Peter, 'is there salvation.' If he had been living now, would he not have avoided this appearance of rivalry between the gospel and other religious systems? He deliberately makes his exclusive claim, because he knew (the Resurrection had made the matter conclusive) that no philosopher or prophet can share the power to save with *God*. The gospel has always made this exclusive claim. 'No man,' said Jesus, 'cometh unto the Father but by Me.' 'There is one Mediator,' says Paul, 'between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus.' 'God,' says John, 'hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in His Son.' Peter does not deny that other religions contain elements of truth, or that other agencies may improve mankind. The question was with him, and is with us now, not some truth but *the Truth*, not improvement but salvation.

No Other Name.

By the Rev. R. F. Horton, D.D.

1. *God the Father is known only through the Son.*—Apart from Christ, all men, even good men, are fatherless. Plato recognizes but does not know God; Marcus Aurelius is resigned but not comforted. And the Father is not only unknown but unknowable without Christ. Sonship was first seen in Christ, and until the Son was seen the Father could not be known.

2. *Only through Christ do men understand the will of God to do it.*—Virgil's *Æneid* was written just before the birth of Christ. It is a profoundly religious poem. It expresses men's best thoughts of the will of God. But the gods are themselves at cross-purposes; oracles are ambiguous. And to-day there is the same blindness of purpose wherever men are living without God in Christ. Christ is the way: as the Chart of life and Passport to heaven, Christ in His gospel saves us.

3. *Only by Christ are we delivered from sin.*—What is that? Think of it, if you will, only as the reconciliation of the soul with itself, the conflict within stilled—is that found elsewhere or only in Christ? Does Krishna, the favourite god of India, the incarnation of abandoned immorality, deliver from sin? Swani Vivekananda, the hero of the 'Parliament of Religions,' in the presence of Krishna denies that men are sinners. He might as well deny the existence of the plague in Bombay. But 'being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

4. *Only in Christ have we assurance of pardon, communion with God, certainty of immortality.*—Communion with God is different from the absorption and apathy of Eastern mystics. It is quickened personal consciousness, it is activity of service to the world. It comes from sitting with Christ in heavenly places. The assurance of pardon is sealed by the Spirit of Jesus, and the love of God is shed abroad in the heart. And, finally, Christ in us is the hope of glory.

Far and wide, though all unknowing,
Pants for Him each human breast.

Illustrations.

The Head of the Corner.

The corner is the critical part of a building—(1) structurally, because here the side walls meet; and (2) in warfare, because it is the vantage point of defence, and here the battlements often rise into a tower. Strength then should be the mark of the corner; and this is typified most of all in *the head of the corner*, or the stone or tower which crowns the battlements. We can understand then the metaphorical use of *corner* for 'prince' in the Old Testament (Nu 24^{17}, Jg 20^{2}, Is 19^{13}). And now Jesus is made head of the corner—(1) As the foundation-stone His Messiahship had been lying hid in God's foreknowledge, but now it had been made manifest to the world; it was raised from the lowest layer to the top. (2) As corner-stone He binds the two walls of Jews and Gentiles into the one building of the Christian Church (*cf.* Eph 2^{14-22}). (3) As corner-tower or battlement He is our defence, and this building is the house of salvation.—R. B. Rackham.

No Other Name.

While the old Hindu Scriptures have given us some beautiful precepts of living, the New Dispensation of Christ has given us grace to carry these precepts into practice, and that makes all the difference in the world. The precepts are like a steam engine on the track, beautiful and with great possibilities; Christ and His gospel are the steam, the motive power that can make the engine move.—Pundita Ramabai.

Some able women, says Archdeacon Wilson, at a women's college, gave themselves to help the poor men in a neglected suburb. In pure and noble zeal they taught them to read and to write, they delivered lectures, they sang to them, they entertained them. The men were greatly attracted. At length they asked the men to say if there was anything in particular they wished to hear about. There was silence, and then a low inaudible voice—'Yes,' said the lady; 'what is it you wish to hear about?' 'Could you tell us,' was the bashful reply, 'something about the Lord Jesus Christ?'—R. F. Horton.

There is a story told of two Alpine climbers who were caught in a terrible snowstorm, and as they descended wearily came upon another traveller completely overcome and lying in the snow. They knew that if he was left to lie it meant death. One of them said, 'We cannot save him, let us look after ourselves,' and went on. The other remained, rubbed his hands and feet, and revived him. The exercise sent an electric thrill of warmth through his own body, restoring his circulation. Together they reached home in safety, while the man who hastened on to save his own life perished in the snow.—T. L. Williams.

This famous passage occupies a prominent position in the Smalcald Articles drawn up by Luther, and adopted in the year 1537. It has been said, with some truth, that the adoption of these Articles completed the Reformation, and was the definite declaration of the separation of the signatories from Rome.—J. S. Howson.

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Magic and Religion.

By the Rev. William Marwick, Old Calabar.

In a previous article the subject of Sympathetic Magic as based on the association of ideas by virtue of resemblance or contiguity was dealt with. It was attempted to be shown that sympathetic magic involved no belief in the supernatural, and was related to science rather than to religion. In this view the question of the priority of magic to religion or of religion to magic need not be raised. Sympathetic magic is simply the applied science of the savage. Sympathetic magic is not rooted out by religions, high or low, but survives alongside of even the highest, and may therefore have coexisted with religion from the beginning.

We shall now discuss Magic in its various aspects as set forth by Mr. Frazer[1] in relation to Religion as defined by him.

Premising that it is impossible to frame a definition that will satisfy everyone, and that all that a writer can do is to say clearly what he means, and to employ the word consistently in that sense and throughout his work, Mr. Frazer says: 'By religion I understand a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life. In this sense it will be perceived that religion is opposed in principle both to magic and to science. For all conciliation implies that the Being conciliated is a conscious or personal agent, that his conduct is in some measure uncertain, and that he can be prevailed upon to vary it in the desired direction by a judicious appeal to his interests, his appetites, or his emotions. Conciliation is never employed towards things which are regarded as inanimate, nor towards persons whose behaviour in the particular circumstances is known to be determined with absolute certainty. Thus in so far as religion assumes the world to be directed by conscious agents who may be turned from their purpose by persuasion, it stands in fundamental antagonism to magic as well as to science, both of which take for granted that the course of nature is determined, not by the passions or caprice of personal beings, but by the operation of mechanical laws operating mechanically. In magic, indeed, the assumption is only implicit, but in science it is explicit. It is true that magic often deals with spirits, which are personal agents of the kind assumed by religion; but whenever it does so in its proper form, it treats them exactly in the same fashion as it treats inanimate agents—that is, it constrains or coerces instead of conciliating or propitiating them as religion would do' (*G.B.*[2] i. 63, 64).[2]

Mr. Frazer appears to define magic in several ways, or to look at it from different stages in the evolution of the race, and the terms witchcraft and sorcery seem to be used by him as synonymous with magic.

1. *Sympathetic* (*including Mimetic*) *Magic prior to Religion.*—He defines it as 'nothing but a mistaken application of the very simplest and most elementary processes of the mind, namely, the association of ideas by virtue of resemblance or contiguity' (i. 70). The germ of the idea of the world as a system of impersonal forces acting in accordance with fixed and invariable laws, the savage, whether European or otherwise, 'certainly has,' says Mr. Frazer, 'and acts upon it not only in magic, but in much of the business of daily life' (*G.B.*[1] i. 31, [2] i. 129). But this 'mistaken application of the very simplest processes of the mind' is not characteristic of primitive man and the lowest contemporary savages alone. Educated people make similar mistakes, and probably four-fifths of mankind believe in sympathetic magic in the sense of this minimum definition, while at the same time they have always believed in 'religion.' The higher processes of thought which result in the conception of religion (if it be a purely intellectual conception) may be at work in the mind of the savage along with the most elementary. 'If magic be deduced immediately from elementary processes of reasoning, and be, in fact, an error into which the mind

[1] *The Golden Bough.* A Study in Magic and Religion. By J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., LL.D.; Litt.D. Second edition. Macmillan. 3 vols. 36s. net.—*Magic and Religion.* By Andrew Lang. Longmans. 10s. 6d. net.

[2] With this view of religion cf. Tiele's *Elements of the Science of Religion*, vol. ii. 135, and W. R. Smith's *Religion of the Semites* (ed. 1894), pp. 54, 55.

falls almost spontaneously, while religion rests on conceptions which the merely animal intelligence can hardly be supposed to have yet attained to, it becomes probable that magic arose before religion in the evolution of our race' (*G.B.*[2] i. 70). This *à priori* conclusion is supposed by Mr. Frazer to be confirmed inductively by what we know of the lowest existing race of mankind, the aborigines of Australia. 'Without metals, without houses, without agriculture, the Australian savages represent the stage of material culture which was reached by our remote ancestors in the Stone Age; and the rudimentary state of the arts of life among them reflects faithfully the stunted condition of their minds' (i. 71). This argument for the priority of magic (sympathetic and mimetic) is based on the assumption that 'just as on the material side of human culture there has everywhere been an Age of Stone, so on the intellectual side there has everywhere been an Age of Magic' prior to the dawning of an Age of Religion (i. 73 *et seq.*).

The correlation of material and intellectual evolution in certain aspects is no doubt verifiable, but Sir Arthur Mitchell points out in his Rhind Lectures in Archæology, *The Past in the Present: What is Civilization?* (1880): 'that a classification of antiquities into those belonging to the stone, bronze, and iron ages *fails to indicate stages of culture and capacity, necessarily consecutive*, and universally applicable to all the races of the human family' (p. 117). Similarly, a classification of the phenomena of intellectual culture into successive ages of magic, religion, and science, though it may have a certain 'practical utility,' as in the case of material culture, 'may lead to error when its nature is imperfectly understood' (*op. cit.* p. 109).

2. *Magical Spells.*—Sympathetic magic, in both forms, especially in the simpler or mimetic form, seems to involve nothing of that constraining or coercing which Mr. Frazer regards as the distinguishing mark of magic as opposed to that conciliation or propitiation which he considers to be the distinguishing mark of religion. It is when man essays 'to bend nature to his wishes *by the sheer force of spells and enchantments*' (i. 70) that magic is something more than mere 'sympathetic magic,' which rests 'on the belief in a certain *secret sympathy which unites indissolubly* things that have once been connected with each other,' or than even 'mimetic,' the efficacy of which 'must be supposed to depend on a certain *physical influence or sympathy* linking the imaginary cause or subject to the imaginary effect or object' (i. 10). The spells or enchantments may or may not involve a belief in spirits or in personal powers superior to man, but they are something or other used to supplement, accelerate, control, or, it may be, to counteract the action of the secret sympathy or physical influence. A careful study of the instances of so-called mimetic and sympathetic magic given by Mr. Frazer will supply illustrations of what I mean.

The very first examples of magical images cited by him (*G.B.* i. 10, 11) do this. When the Ojebway Indian intends to kill his enemy outright, he burns or buries the puppet, *uttering certain magical words as he does so.* In the first form of the Malay charm given on p. 11, in order to kill the intended victim, you 'scorch the figure slowly by holding it over a lamp every night for seven nights, and say—

> It is not wax that I am scorching,
> It is the liver, heart, and spleen of So-and-so that I scorch.'

And so, as Mr. Tylor points out in his interesting chapter on 'Images and Names' in his *Early History of Mankind*, a man may be cursed or bewitched through his name as well as through his image (p. 124). But in numerous instances of this variety of magic there is more involved than the mere mimetic principle, there is belief in the virtue of the use of set words and phrases accompanying mimetic action.

3. *Demonology.*—A third aspect of magic is that in which it is supposed to deal with spirits (good or bad). 'Whenever it does so in its proper form' (*i.e.* as magic unalloyed with religion), 'it treats them exactly in the same fashion as it treats inanimate agents—that is, it constrains or coerces' them.

The definition of magic in this aspect given by Principal Whitehouse in his article on 'Magic, Magician' (Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii. p. 207a), may appropriately be quoted at this point: 'Magic may, in its historic sense, be best described as the special and abnormal agency whereby certain superhuman personal powers are constrained either to create evil (or good) or to avert baneful effects. Accordingly, magic falls into two parts,' viz.: (1) *sacred magic*—

the art 'whereby the superior deities or good demons are influenced to exercise their good offices to avert the evil,' *i.e.*, whereby counter-spells or charms are worked; and (2) *sorcery*, or *the black art*, 'whereby evils are wrought on the human victim through the power of the evil eye, etc., by the male sorcerer, or more frequently through the female witch, who is able to summon supernatural powers of darkness to his or her aid.' Here magic is regarded as 'the necessary accompaniment of a belief in demons.' 'These spirits,' says Blau (quoted in *D.B.*[3] 207a), 'the magician endeavours by his occult methods to bring under his power, or to compel them to carry out his will. The conceptions respecting the nature and power of these spirits, whom man can make serviceable to himself, differ with the different races.' Demonology, however, says Principal Whitehouse, 'does not wholly explain magic in all its varied forms and ramifications.'

These three aspects of magic are included in what Mr. A. E. Waite calls 'the popular significance attached to the term magic.' Put briefly, in the popular significance 'there is generally implied one of two things—either that it is the art of producing effects by the operation of causes, which are apparently inadequate to their production, and are therefore in apparent defiance of the known order of nature; or that it is the art of evoking "spirits," and of forcing them to perform the bidding of the operator.'[1]

Mr. Waite, after quoting the definitions of magic given by the historians of magic—Christian, Ennemoser, and Lévi—says: 'By these definitions it is plain that magic is not merely the art of evoking spirits, and that it is not merely concerned with establishing a communication with other forms of intelligent subsistence in the innumerable spheres of the transcendental. If such communication can be truly established, it is evidently by *the intervention of certain occult forces resident in the communicating individual, man.* Now it is reasonable to suppose that the same forces can be applied in other directions, and the synthesis of the methods and processes by which these forces are utilized in the several fields of experiment, combined with a further synthesis of methods and processes by which the latent potentialities of a variety of physical substances are developed into manifold activity, constitute magic in the full, perfect, and comprehensive sense of that much abused term.'[2] I have quoted this definition in full, italicizing what seems to be the essence in all forms of the *art* of magic.

Mr. Lang has devoted the first part of his work, *The Making of Religion*, to an examination of 'the X-region of our nature,' the phenomena of which may 'indicate the existence of a transcendental region of human faculty.' 'Anthropologists,' he says, 'have gone on discussing the trances and visions, and so-called "demoniacal possession" of savages, as if no new researches into similar facts in the psychology of civilized mankind existed; or, if they existed, threw any glimmer of light on the abnormal psychology of savages. I have, on the other hand, thought it desirable to sketch out a study of savage psychology in the light of recent research' (Pref. 2nd ed. p. viii.). The importance of such examination is still hardly realized by students of early religion or by anthropologists generally. Mr. Frazer does not appear to realize it, though his work is full of illustrations of abnormal psychological phenomena. The history of the 'Occult Sciences' also throws light on the subject. See Waite's *Occult Sciences, passim.*

Between magic, in the full sense of the term, or, as it may otherwise be described, occult or transcendental science, and religion in general, 'as a frame of mind, an emotion, and at the same time as the inspiration of a higher spirit,'[3] there is no necessary antagonism. Religion, as Professor Tiele points out,[4] is not truly hostile to science, philosophy, poetry, etc.; and in so far as magic is the science of occult or transcendental phenomena, the existence of which has been vouched for in all ages among all races, and studied in all the so-called occult sciences, religion is not necessarily hostile to it.

4. *Fusion of Magic with Religion.*—Mr. Frazer adduces evidence to show that in the earlier stages of the history of religion there is 'fusion or confusion of magic with religion' (*G.B.*[4] i. 65) and that 'the functions of priest and sorcerer were often combined, or, to speak perhaps more correctly, were not yet differentiated from each other' (p. 64). He cites Dr. Codrington

[1] *The Occult Sciences* (1891), pt. i. Magical Practices: Definitions, p. 10.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 12.

[3] Professor C. P. Tiele, *Elements of the Science of Religion* (Gifford Lectures), vol. ii. p. 257.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 257 *et seq.*

with reference to the Melanesians. With them the belief in an invisible supernatural power (*mana*) residing in spiritual beings, whether in the spiritual part of man or in the ghosts of the dead, and in the efficacy of the various means by which spirits and ghosts can be induced to exercise it for the benefit of men, is the foundation of religious rites and practices, and from it everything which may be called magic and witchcraft draws its origin (p. 65). Here apparently is no opposition of *principle* between magic and religion. Mr. Frazer himself adds that 'the same confusion of magic and religion has survived among peoples that have risen to higher levels of culture. It was rife in ancient India and ancient Egypt; it is by no means extinct among European peasantry at the present day' (p. 66). Professor Wiedemann is quoted as saying that Egyptian religion was compacted of the most heterogeneous elements, which seemed to the Egyptian to be all equally justified. He did not care whether a doctrine or a myth belonged to what we would call faith or superstition, whether we would rank it as religion or magic, as worship or sorcery (p. 67).

The evidence adduced by Mr. Frazer, which, it seems to me, may bear another interpretation than that given by him, and other evidence that might be produced, rather support Mr. Lang's contention that 'religion and magic may have been concurrent from the first,' but that 'we have no historical evidence on this point of relative priority.'[1] This hypothesis seems a more reasonable one than the hypotheses (1) that magic is prior to religion (Frazer); or (2) that religion is prior to magic, and that 'magic, wherever it sprang up, was a degradation or relapse in the evolution of religion' (Jevons, *I.H.R.* pp. 25 and 177). That is true of magic in its third aspect, in what may be called its fourth aspect, where there is fusion or confusion of magic with religion, and in a fifth aspect, where the belief in and practice of magic survives, in a debased form, in civilized or semi-civilized countries among the aborigines or isolated races, survivors of which are to be found coexisting with the higher, perhaps conquering, race that has dispossessed their ancestors, or even in civilized countries among backward or uneducated members of a community. At this stage the opposition between religion and magic has become acute, and reputed wizards and witches are persecuted, perhaps even put to death at the instance of the religious and civil authorities. (Tylor's *Primitive Culture*[3], c. iv.)

But if the practice of magic be based on the action of certain occult forces resident in individuals in all races, savage and civilized alike, and religion be a 'psychological necessity' of human nature, which the possession even of *mana*, or occult powers, cannot satisfy, which the belief in religious or magical man-gods only accentuates, each has its function in the evolution of humanity, and as a creed, a science, or a philosophy, call it what you like, each has its justification, in its own successive developments, as a working hypothesis for its devotees. The history of magic and religion, on this view, is something more than a 'melancholy record of human error and folly,' as Mr. Frazer deems the illustrations of it unfolded in his volumes. It is surely the effort of the human spirit, aided by the divine, to free itself from illusion in thought and wrong in conduct by means of a synthesis that harmonizes, without confusing, the divine and the human, that weds thought and action in a union fruitful of good to humanity through the action and reaction on each other of a creed that is 'the highest science or wisdom, based upon knowledge and practical experience,' and of conduct that is true service of God and of man in his physical, mental, moral, and spiritual needs, no element being ignored or neglected. If this synthesis be the Christian religion, purified of the accretions and corruptions that have gathered around it and at times hindered its growth into, and influence over, the life of the races of men it has reached, the faith of the future, as of the past, will be religious, not magical nor scientific, but religious in a sense that includes all that is true in the imperfect syntheses of magic and science.

Mr. Frazer asks whether there is not 'some more general conclusion, some lesson, if possible, of hope and encouragement, to be drawn from the melancholy record of human error and folly which has engaged our attention in these volumes. If then we consider, on the one hand, the essential similarity of man's chief wants everywhere and at all times, and, on the other hand, the wide difference between the means he has adopted

[1] 'Mr. Frazer's Theory of Totemism,' by A. Lang, *Fortnightly Review*, June 1899, p. 1012; see also Lang's *Magic and Religion*, and Tiele's Gifford Lectures (1899), Index, under 'Magic.'

to satisfy them in different ages, we shall perhaps be disposed to conclude that the movement of the higher thought, so far as we can trace it, has on the whole been from magic through religion to science' (*G.B.*[2] iii. 458). But science—though 'the hope of progress, moral and intellectual, as well as material, in the future is bound up with the fortunes of science'—is not necessarily a complete and final synthesis. 'In the last analysis magic, religion, and science are nothing but theories of thought; and as science has supplanted its predecessors, so it may hereafter be itself superseded by some more perfect hypothesis, perhaps by some totally different way of looking at the phenomena,—of registering the shadows on the screen,—of which we in this generation can form no idea. The advance of knowledge is an infinite progression towards a goal that for ever recedes. . . . The dreams of magic may one day be the waking realities of science. But a dark shadow lies athwart the far end of this fair prospect. . . . In the ages to come man may be able to predict, perhaps even to control, the wayward courses of the winds and clouds, but hardly will his puny hands have strength to speed afresh our slackening planet in its orbit or rekindle the dying fire of the sun. Yet the philosopher who trembles at the idea of such distant catastrophes may console himself by reflecting that these gloomy apprehensions, like the earth and the sun themselves, are only parts of that unsubstantial world which thought has conjured up out of the void, and that the phantoms which the subtle enchantress has evoked to-day she may ban to-morrow. They too, like so much that to common eyes seems solid, may melt into air, into thin air' (*Ibid.* 460–461).

It is impossible to do other than feel respectful sympathy with this eloquent but sombre conclusion, however little one may be disposed to agree with Mr. Frazer's complex argument throughout his learned and fascinating volumes and the more general conclusion to which his own studies and the state of modern thought seem to point him.

Over against Mr. Frazer's agnostic summing up I would fain set the closing pages of the second volume of Professor Tiele's Gifford Lectures, but of these I have room for only a few extracts:—

Discussing the theory that science may perhaps take the place of religion, he says: 'Science has indeed worked marvels during the present century in every department, and has thus earned a rich harvest for our social life, and earned our gratitude. We who love it, and devote our lives to it, can but rejoice that its light shines around us more brightly than at any previous period in the world's history. That light is essential to our very lives; but light is not the only essential—we also require warmth for our souls, and science has no warmth to offer. . . . Among other things, our science has demonstrated by historical and psychological research that the religious need is a general human need. . . . Our science cannot call forth a new manifestation of religious life, but *it may pave the way for it* by tracing the evolution of religion, explaining its essentials and showing where its origin is to be sought for. Let it do its own duty in throwing light upon the part that religion has ever played in the history of mankind, and still plays in every human soul. And then, without preaching, or special pleading, or apologetic argument, but solely by means of the actual facts it reveals, our beloved science will help to bring home to the restless spirits of our time the truth that there is no rest for them unless "they arise and go to their Father."'[1]

May these noble words of a master of the science of religion reassure those who may be led by Mr. Frazer and others to fear that the science of religion, with its 'battery of the comparative method,' must necessarily 'strike at the foundations of beliefs in which, as in a strong tower, the hopes and aspirations of humanity through long ages have sought a refuge from the storm and stress of life.' *Where it does its own duty*, it but demonstrates the *eternal* foundation of religion. May Mr. Frazer's general treatise on religion, which all students eagerly await, breathe the more hopeful spirit of Professor Tiele's Gifford Lectures.

[1] Professor Tiele's *Elements of the Science of Religion* (Gifford Lectures), vol. ii. pp. 259–263.

The Songs of the Ascents.

By the Rev. David Smith, M.A., Tulliallan.

V.

Mount Zion in Sight.

Psalm cxxi.

FIRST PILGRIM.

1. I will lift up mine eyes unto the mountains:
   Whence shall come my help?
2. My help cometh from Jehovah,
   Maker of heaven and earth.

SECOND PILGRIM.

3. May He not suffer thy foot to waver,
   May He not slumber,
   even thy Keeper!

FIRST PILGRIM.

4. Behold, He can neither slumber nor sleep,
   the Keeper of Israel.

CHORUS OF PILGRIMS.

5. Jehovah is thy Keeper;
   Jehovah is thy shade upon thy right hand.
6. By day the sun shall not smite thee,
   Nor the moon by night.
7. Jehovah shall keep thee from all evil;
   He shall keep thy soul.
8. Jehovah shall keep thy going out and thy coming in,
   From henceforth and for ever.

When last we had a glimpse of the returning exiles, they were in a distressful plight. They were in the desert, not far indeed from their own land, but harassed and hunted by the fierce and treacherous Arabs. It is a brighter scene that we are now to look upon. The exiles have eluded their tormentors, crossed the mountain-ridges that fence in Palestine from the desert, forded the river Jordan, and sighted the hills which stand like patient sentinels around Jerusalem.

What emotion would flood the hearts of the exiles when after long years of servitude they trod once more their sacred mother-soil and looked upon those grand hills! On the vast plain of Babylonia, with its stagnant pools and sluggish canals, and never a hillock to break the monotonous level, how they must have longed for the wide horizon of that 'land of far distances' (Is 33^{17}) and the free breath of its mountain air!

Oh for freedom, for freedom in worshipping God,
For the mountain-top feeling of generous souls,
For the health, for the air, of the hearts deep and broad,
Where grace not in rills but in cataracts rolls!

They have now attained their desire, and one of them reverently salutes those dear and sacred mountains:

I will lift up mine eyes unto the mountains.

Then suddenly he checks himself. Strong and beautiful as these mountains may be, there is One who is more worthy than they of trust and adoration—Jehovah, who made the mountains and all things else. '*Whence shall my help come?*' From the mountains? No! '*My help cometh from Jehovah, Maker of heaven and earth.*' It is Jehovah that has delivered the exiles from their captivity, and, now that they are back in their own land, it is in Him that they must still hope.

Here another of the exile-band chimes in. Addressing his comrade who has just spoken, he says:

May He not suffer thy foot to waver,
May He not slumber,
even thy Keeper!

There is a touch of querulousness in this, and more than a touch of faithlessness. The speaker is one who has grown morose and bitter. The hard experiences of those years of bondage have crushed the hope and the courage out of him. And, now that deliverance has come, he cannot believe that it will last. His comrade's courageous hopefulness irritates him; and, after the manner of his sort, instead of keeping his gloom and cowardice to himself, he must needs let them out on those about him.

May He not suffer thy foot to waver,
May He not slumber,
even thy Keeper!

It is as though he had said, 'Be not over confident. Jehovah has been asleep all those years; and, though He has awakened for our deliverance, it is more than likely He will fall asleep again and leave us to our fate. I trust not, but I fear there may be troubles in store for us yet.'

It is a thousand pities that there should be people of this stamp in the world, and a thousand pities more that they should be so numerous. The world has no need of pessimists. It is full enough of sorrow and distress, visible to the dullest eye; and what it sorely needs is men with the keen vision that discovers the blue sky behind the clouds, and the brave heart that persistently hopes for the best and encourages the fainting and dispirited to believe that the hardest lot is rich in undreamed-of possibilities for such as trust and obey God. If we have no hope and no faith, it is our duty to be silent, lest by our despairing and cowardly complaints we make life darker and sadder for our fellows. It is shallow and undisciplined souls that are distrustful and querulous. Did they but look deeper and more earnestly into their lives, they would discover in their hardest experiences a divine significance and a precious use. These lives of ours would wear an altogether different aspect if only we learned to regard them as the wonderful and mysterious workmanship of our Heavenly Father—unfinished as yet and therefore unintelligible, but with foreshadowings upon them of the perfect beauty that will crown them when God has 'wrought in us all the good pleasure of His goodness.'

There is an accent of indignation in the answer which the first speaker returns to this prophet of sorrow. To the half-sneering wish that Jehovah his Keeper may not fall asleep again, he replies:

> Behold, He can neither slumber nor sleep,
> the Keeper of Israel.

The sneer had been, 'May *thy* Keeper not slumber'! and the answer is, 'The Keeper *of Israel* cannot slumber.' Here lies the man's argument: 'Not my Keeper merely, but the Keeper of Israel.' His view of life is as broad and deep as his sneering critic's is narrow and shallow. He rises above his own individual experience, so troublous and seemingly purposeless, and reposes on the grand Purpose of God disclosed so plainly in the national life to all who have eyes to discern it and hearts to understand it. Instead of regarding only the calamitous present, he surveys the long process of Israel's history and recognizes it as having been from first to last a wise, though often painful, education by which the nation has learned to know God better and trust Him more. To one who lives in the midst of a troublous period it may appear as though God, in the sneering phrase of this Hebrew cynic, had fallen asleep; but one who traces the unerring purpose of events and considers how all the fortunes of humanity, dark and bright alike, have kept working towards beautiful and beneficent ends, must needs recognize in all the ever-wakeful and ever-watchful presence of the Living God.

These words of hope and confidence command the assent and approbation of the listeners. Scarcely have they been spoken when from the rest of the pilgrims who have been witnesses of the encounter between the two, there breaks a chorus of acclamation:

> Jehovah is thy Keeper:
> Jehovah is thy shade upon thy right hand;

and so on. The man's indomitable trust in God despite the sneers of his neighbour strikes a responsive chord in the breasts of the bystanders, and they confess, spontaneously and enthusiastically, that he is in the right.

The metaphors in the closing verses are most natural and appropriate on the lips of men who have been wandering in the wilderness.

'Jehovah is *thy shade*; . . . the sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night.' Such language abounds in the Old Testament, and the beauty of it would be very apparent to dwellers in a sultry land. 'He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High, shall abide *under the shadow of the Almighty*.' 'Thou hast been *a shadow from the heat*,' '*as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land*.' The precise meaning of the phrase 'upon thy right hand' is uncertain. It may be that Jehovah is the Champion of them that trust Him, standing on their right and sheltering them with His left hand, while with His right hand He sweeps back their assailants. Thus we read in Ps 110:

> Jehovah at thy right hand
> Shall strike through kings in the day of His wrath.

Again, since the Hebrews in fixing the points of the compass faced towards the sunrise, 'on the right' may mean *southward*; and then the sense would be, 'Jehovah is thy shade on thy southward side,' *i.e.* against the fierce glare of noonday.

Not only at noonday, however, is Jehovah a shelter to them that trust Him.

> By day the sun shall not smite thee,
> Nor the moon by night.

The peril here is twofold—sunstroke and the hurtful influences of the moonlight. It was an ancient belief, embalmed in the word *lunatic* (*luna*, the moon), that exposure to the moonlight produced madness and even death—a notion which was not wholly a superstition, since in the cool of night noxious vapours and mists exhale from the heated sands.

From these and all other perils of this wilderness-journey Jehovah protects the man who takes refuge under His shadow: 'Jehovah shall keep thee from all evil.' Jehovah's protection of them that trust Him is complete. Their *persons* are safe: 'Jehovah shall keep *thee*.' Their *spiritual and eternal welfare* is assured: 'He shall keep thy *soul*.' Then, 'their going out and their coming in'—their daily pursuits and their nightly restings, the labours they go forth to in the morning, and the homes they return to at nightfall; and (shall we not add?) that final 'going out' and that 'coming in' which has no 'going out,' their exit from the wilderness of mortal life and their entrance into the Eternal Homeland—these are ordered in all things and sure.

> Jehovah shall keep thy going out and thy coming in,
> From henceforth and for ever.

Perhaps the most impressive thing in this psalm, when thus interpreted, is the quick and eager response of the band of pilgrims to the first speaker's courageous and trustful hope in God. We ought not to blame the second speaker too severely for his faint-heartedness. He had behind him a painful and bitter experience; and the prospect appeared dismal enough. The exiles were indeed back again in their own land, but that land was either lying desolate or occupied by strangers. Jerusalem, their sacred capital, had been a heap of ruins ever since its capture more than half a century before. The little band of exiles had before them toilsome years of reconstruction and restoration, and that not only without assistance but in the teeth of opposition. The wonder is, not that one of them was so faint-hearted, but rather that they were not all alike despondent and despairing. It was the indomitable courage of this one true hero, who spoke out so confidently the faith which was in him, that nerved the others and rescued them from despair.

Deep down in every human heart there is an indestructible conviction, that, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, God is worthy to be trusted. Brave men who have learned by stern discipline that most precious of all lessons—to hope in God and believe unshakably in the great goodness which He has laid up for them that fear Him, and the unimagined glory which He has prepared for them that love Him—are supremely needed and ever welcomed by a suffering and despondent world. By their mere presence—so strong, so calm, so reassuring—they play the noble and beneficent part so touchingly portrayed by the ancient prophet, 'preaching good tidings unto the meek, binding up the broken-hearted, proclaiming liberty to the captives and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, comforting all that mourn.'

> Languor is not in their heart,
> Weakness is not in their word,
> Weariness not on their brow.
> They alight in our van! at their voice,
> Panic, despair, flee away.
> They move through the ranks, recall
> The stragglers, refresh the outworn,
> Praise, re-inspire the brave!
> Order, courage, return.
> Eyes rekindling, and prayers,
> Follow their steps as they go.
> They fill up the gaps in our files,
> Strengthen the wavering line,
> Stablish, continue our march,
> On, to the bound of the waste,
> On, to the City of God.

And this part every one of us may play by simply believing utterly the lovingkindness of our Heavenly Father and, in the confidence of this great faith, encountering courageously and lovingly whatever of sorrow and hardship He may appoint.

The key-note of the psalm is the word '*keep*'; and it is unfortunate that this should have been obscured in the Authorized Version by the infelicity of rendering the Hebrew word now by 'keep' and anon by 'preserve.' 'Jehovah, *thy Keeper*, *the Keeper of Israel*, shall *keep* thee, shall *keep* thy soul, shall *keep* thy going out and thy coming in.' Of course this does not mean that those who trust in God are kept from all trouble and misfortune and live, as it were, a charmed life. The Psalmist could not have cherished such a delusion in view of the troubles which beset himself and his comrades. It is in a far deeper and grander sense that God 'keeps' His people. He does not keep them out of trouble, but He keeps them when they are

in trouble—keeps them from the evil, that it may not grieve them; keeps them from discontent, bitterness, and rebellion; keeps them sweet and brave and gentle-hearted, making it all a sacred discipline. Outward circumstances are commonly much the same for those who love God and those who do not; but they work very differently on the two classes, just as the rain and sunshine which refresh and nourish a living plant rot one that is dead. Look at these two men in our psalm. They had passed through the self-same trials, had toiled side by side as slaves, and had marched together over the burning sands. Their experiences had been precisely alike; but to the one, just because he had trusted God and accepted his lot as ordained by Eternal Love and Wisdom, those common trials had served as a discipline and an education; while to the other, inasmuch as he gave way to feeble repining and faithless despair, they brought nothing but weakness and paralysis. The issue of a man's life-battle depends very little, if at all, on the enemies he has to encounter and the difficulties he has to surmount. It depends mainly, if not entirely, on the spirit he brings to the struggle and the use he makes of the help which cometh from Jehovah.

Recent Foreign Theology.

The Problem of the Lord's Supper.

THE author of this work,[1] who is a pupil of Dr. Holtzmann, traces its origin to studies begun four years ago, when he was required to write an essay on 'The Relation of Schleiermacher's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper to the Teaching of the New Testament and to the Creeds.' The reading of Schleiermacher had the same effect upon Dr. Schweitzer as the reading of Hume had upon Kant, and for the same reason: the failure to solve the fundamental problem of causation roused him from his dogmatic slumbers. Neither the theologians who set forth the ecclesiastical view, nor the critics who expounded the scientific view, furnished him with any satisfactory proof of a causal connexion between the Supper of the Lord as described in the Gospels and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as celebrated in the Christian Church.

It will be granted on all hands that Dr. Schweitzer has stated the problem clearly when he says that two questions must be answered: 'What motives led the first Christians to celebrate the Lord's Supper?' and 'Do these motives appeal as powerfully to us?' The first part[2] of his book considers the problem as it is affected by nineteenth century criticism of the Gospels. With great force it is shown that explanations which assume that our Lord never intended the Supper to be repeated, altogether fail to account for the fact of its repetition from the earliest times to the present day. 'If the Lord's Supper has been celebrated in the Christian Church from the beginning, then that fact, considered only from the objective point of view, is far more decisive than the absence of the words, "Do this in remembrance of Me," from two ancient narratives.'

Dr. Schweitzer has read widely and gives in detail acute criticisms of modern discussions of the problem, confining his attention, however, to German authors. In his judgment, Spitta and Eichhorn make use of 'modern' ideas to cast an artificial light upon the mystery. Probably it is impossible to obtain in any other work so clear and fair a statement of the trend of thought during the last century; but the investigation leads by various paths to the same final dilemma: Theories which are based upon the thought of feeding upon Christ account for the sacrament of the early Christians, but do not explain the historic Supper as described in the Gospels. On the other hand, theories which are based upon the symbolic nature of our Lord's actions account for the historic Supper, but do not explain its repetition from the earliest ages to the present time. Keys which open one door do not fit the lock of the other door.

[1] *Das Abendmahl im Zusammenhang mit dem Leben Jesu und der Geschichte des Urchristentums.* Von Lic. Dr. Albert Schweitzer. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr.

[2] Erstes Heft. *Das Abendmahlsproblem auf Grund der wissenschaftlichen Forschung des* 19 *Jahrhunderts und der historischen Berichte.* M. 1.60.

It is essential, in Dr. Schweitzer's judgment, that the explanation of the symbolic words, 'this is My body' and 'this is My blood,' should be sought in the narrative of the Supper, and not *vice versâ*. He would have us lay aside the 'prejudice' that Jesus required His disciples to eat the bread and to drink the wine *because* He had spoken of them as His body and blood. There must, however, be something wrong in any exposition of the Gospel history which explains away the symbolic words which are not omitted by any of our four authorities. Fully recognizing the author's learning and ingenuity, we are compelled to say at the close of a careful reading of his book, what he himself grants it would be quite natural for his readers to say at the beginning: 'It is a despairing rattling of the locked door.' Moreover, we hesitate to accept his statement that the door is locked, knowing that in the opening of a door something depends upon the way in which the key is inserted in the lock and upon the direction in which it is turned.

Mark's narrative, it is contended, must be the starting-point of every scientific investigation, inasmuch as its authenticity is established by its freedom from all attempts to assimilate the procedure at the Supper of the Lord to the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Early Church. From Mark we learn that 'Jesus did not require His disciples to eat His body and to drink His blood; the symbolic words were not spoken before they partook of the bread and of the wine, but *during the supper*. The words, "This is My blood," etc., were not uttered until all had drank of the cup.' Mark also gives prominence to the solemn words, 'Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.' Hence it was 'not of His death, but of His death and speedy reunion with them at the feast in the new kingdom,' that Jesus spoke with His disciples at the Last Supper. These important words are not sufficiently regarded, it is said, in modern discussions of the problem; and the reason why our conceptions of the Lord's Supper are faulty is, that we misunderstand the Messiahship of Jesus, and do not connect His words about His sufferings with His sayings about the kingdom that is yet to come.

It is beyond dispute that our conceptions of the life of Jesus will determine our view of the Lord's Supper; and in part ii.[1] Dr. Schweitzer sets about the formidable task of writing such a Life of Jesus as will explain his view of the events of the night of the betrayal. Here it must suffice to state His main conclusions: Jesus became conscious of His Messiahship at His baptism; He revealed the secret first to His three most intimate disciples at the Transfiguration; a few weeks later the secret was made known to all His disciples in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi; there was no public confession of the Messiahship of Jesus until He distinctly avowed it in reply to the high priest. (Dr. Schweitzer thinks that the Gospels place what is known as the Transfiguration later than it really took place.) Underlying Jesus' preaching of the kingdom was this consciousness of Messiahship, but He never presupposed this knowledge in His hearers; the faith which He required was not trust in Himself, but belief of His message that the kingdom was at hand. Such passages as Mt $9^{27ff.}$ 12^{23} 14^{36} 15^{22} are relegated to 'a secondary source,'—they show 'how in a later age descriptions of His life started from the presupposition that, not only was He conscious of His Messiahship, but that His hearers also had formed this estimate of Him.' Commentators have erred in supposing that the triumphal entry into Jerusalem was a popular welcome of the Messiah. When Mark says that the people greeted Jesus as 'the coming one' (ὁ ἐρχόμενος), it is clear that they welcomed Him as the Forerunner of the Messiah, and although Matthew says that the multitudes cried, 'Hosanna to *the Son of David*,' his narrative 'represents the point of view of those who mistakenly supposed that the contemporaries of Jesus regarded Him as the Messiah.' Even the disciples of Jesus, after they had learnt His secret, did not understand Him to mean anything more than that He would appear as the Messiah *after* He had suffered and risen from the dead, His rising would coincide with His coming on the clouds, and on the great day of resurrection He would reveal His Messianic glory. When Jesus forewarns His disciples of tribulation, He refers not to their experiences after His death, but to those sufferings with Him which were the condition of their sharing His future joy. It was after the conversation near Cæsarea Philippi that Jesus began to speak of sufferings which His disciples

[1] Zweites Heft. *Das Messianitäts und Leidensgeheimnis. Eine Skizze des Lebens Jesu.* M.2.40.

would be spared, because He would endure them on their behalf; how He came to the consciousness that His Messianic office required the giving of His life is not explained, but from the Deutero-Isaiah He seems to have learnt that the kingdom would be established without universal tribulation, because He, as God's elect Servant, would be treated as a transgressor. Afterwards, in the day of His exaltation, those who had esteemed Him smitten by the punishments of God, would perceive that in innocence He had suffered for them; Jesus did 'really die for the sins of men, though not in the sense required by the theory of Anselm.'

Such is the conception of the life of Jesus which Dr. Schweitzer has elaborated, to enable us to understand the significance of the Last Supper. Our Lord, he thinks, wished His disciples to regard that Supper as a foretaste of the Messianic feast which they were to enjoy with Him. 'At the close of their last meal on earth, Jesus rises and distributes to His disciples bread and wine; after the cup has been handed back to Him, He reminds them that it is their last supper on earth, because shortly they will be reunited at the feast in His Father's kingdom. . . . After the resurrection He will gather them around Him and go before them in Messianic glory to Galilee, along the road upon which they had followed Him as He journeyed to His death.'

Dr. Schweitzer's arguments are stimulative to thought, and instructive, even when they fail to convince. In the early part of his treatise he speaks of critics who deal arbitrarily with the Gospels, and in so speaking he holds out the hope that his own discussion of the problem will be conducted on strictly scientific lines; it is a disappointment to find that on purely subjective grounds—in consistency with the writer's theory—some sections of the narrative are condemned as untrustworthy primary sources. The book deserves the attention of students, for it indicates clearly the lines on which the coming assault upon the Gospels will be made; but it fails to solve the problem of the Lord's Supper, as all attempts must fail that reject the only key to the 'closed door'—Christ died for our sins. On Dr. Schweitzer's principles, it is impossible to defend the historicity of the interview between Jesus and the high priest, on the genuineness of which his theory depends. To other narratives, which he relegates to secondary sources, on the sole ground that they are inconsistent with his theory, his own words apply: 'It is a pure *tour de force* to explain these scenes as unhistorical. If such encroachments are permitted, what remains intact of the historic tradition recorded in the Gospels?'

The third part[1] of Dr. Schweitzer's work will be published in 1902, and will be entitled, 'The History of the Lord's Supper from the Historic Feast to the Time of Irenæus.'

J. G. Tasker.

Handsworth College.

Holtzmann's 'Life of Jesus.'[2]

A new *Life of Christ*, which would appear from the preface to have been a comfort to the author during a somewhat shadowed academic career, comes to us from the pen of Professor O. Holtzmann of Giessen, already favourably known to scholars by his work on the Fourth Gospel and a *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*. Thoroughly representative of the moderately advanced school of German scholarship, the book is a most valuable and attractive specimen of its class. Though in no sense inordinately long, it is probably the most comprehensive attempt made in recent years to utilize the results of the modern study of the Gospels in recasting the general narrative of Christ's life. If for no other reason, it demands the careful perusal and attention of all serious students of the N.T. Needless to say, it raises at least as many questions as it solves, and is neither to be accepted nor rejected as a whole. But the life of Christ is the spot where most theological threads cross, and accordingly a work like this compels us once more to view all things from the centre, and estimate the real bearing of many subsidiary problems.

Nothing particularly striking or novel is to be found in Holtzmann's preliminary discussion of the sources. The vast majority of critics to-day adhere to one or other variety of the two-document hypothesis, and Holtzmann is no exception. We

[1] Drittes Heft. *Geschichte des Abendmahls von der historischen Feier bis auf Irenæus.*

[2] *Leben Jesu.* Von. Dr. Oscar Holtzmann, Professor der Theologie an der Universität, Giessen. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. Price, 7s. 9d. net.

have his conclusions put concisely in the following passage:—'First of all, Matthew collected the words of Jesus in Aramaic; this collection was soon translated into Greek. But clearly such a work did not meet the necessities of the Church at large; they wanted to know, not merely what Jesus had said, but also what He had done and suffered. Obviously even Mark could not pass over Christ's sayings altogether; he took them, when required, from Matthew's collection. Later the desire was felt to have Christ's words combined with His deeds and sufferings, and in this way there arose, along with others, the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, the latter having made use of the former.' A good many readers will feel some astonishment that Holtzmann should set so high a historical value upon the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, which he speaks of as equal in worth to our Gospels, and from which he draws certain dubious items in his narrative of the early life of Christ. The Gospel of John, we are told, had better not be included in our list of trustworthy sources. We may note as curious features in the account given of the Fourth Gospel the assertion (p. 32) that the washing of the disciples' feet in chap. 13 represents the institution of baptism, and the unqualified statement (p. 180, note) that the author regards the Pharisees as a class of officials. At the same time Holtzmann has words of warm praise for the historicity of Mark, and accepts his chronology practically without reserve.

There is an excellent chapter dealing with the opening years of Jesus' manhood, and discussing such topics as our Lord's study of Scripture, the educative influences amid which He grew in wisdom and stature, and the love of the natural world which comes out in His parables. Here, however, the tendency first shows itself to regard Christ too much as the product of His environment, and obliterate those traces of His originality and spiritual supremacy which the most cursory reader of the Gospels may observe. Had Jesus been so like a mere pious Jew as He is depicted here, fewer attempts would have been made to write His life. That He used the language and ideal currency of His time did not prevent Him from treating Jewish beliefs in a spirit of serenely confident and sovereign freedom.

In a brief notice like the present it is impossible to do more than allude to a few of the innumerable points of controversy raised by this book. Holtzmann contends that after Peter's confession, Jesus' self-designation as the 'Son of Man' gradually assumed a new significance in the disciples' minds. Formerly they had viewed it merely as equivalent to the general phrase, 'one of the children of men,' in other words as expressive of Christ's unostentatious humility, which led Him to denote Himself thus by a title which would have suited any individual member of the human race; later, subsequently to this recognition of Him as the Messiah, it became connected in their minds with the picture of future glory in Dn 7^{13}. Our author is perhaps less lucid than is his wont in dealing with this whole subject. Again, we should hardly have expected to find the explanation of Jesus' works of healing helped out by comparison with the marvels wrought by the Holy Coat of Trèves! Jesus is throughout represented as having expected the end of all things within the lifetime of His own generation, His resurrection being merely the indispensable preliminary to His return. He never meant the Supper to be repeated as a religious service of His Church, but as a domestic celebration attached to the ordinary meal. We err in attributing too much intention to Christ in the matter; it may quite well, *e.g.*, have been the accidental breaking of the bread in His hand which led to the words, 'This is My body.' Here we have an instance—and others might be given—of *bizarre* conjectures which it is difficult to entertain seriously or discuss patiently. Another is the suggestion that the body of Jesus—which Holtzmann thinks we cannot prove to have revived—was quietly removed by Joseph of Arimathea when the Sabbath was over, from a feeling of disinclination to allow the corpse of a crucified person to remain in his family tomb. The whole discussion of the Resurrection in works of this class, indeed, leaves upon the mind the feeling that a great problem has been evaded in a fashion curiously lacking in intellectual thoroughness and consistency. We cannot run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Christianity is not a religion of ideas merely, but of creative facts, and we must, in the interests of mental sincerity, beware of speaking as though it mattered nothing to the ideas to have their roots in history cut. When we find, as we do in this book, protestations that without faith in Jesus' resurrection the Church could never have sprung into life, combined with the dogmatic assertion

that no more can be *known* than that on Easter morning the grave was empty and the disciples had visions, we feel that faith is being sacrificed, not to knowledge, but to confused and imperfect theory. One misses in German theology at the present day that deep and commanding sense of the Incarnation which alone can unlock the deepest mysteries of the life and truth depicted in the N.T.; and without that no biography of Christ can be written which has more than a partial right to our confidence and approbation.

Nevertheless, there is much in this book which deserves the warmest possible commendation. There is learning, there is candour, there is a fresh presentation of old facts, and moderation in the statement of theories not so old; there is much admirable exposition by the way, and there is no controversial refutation of other scholars. We may not regard its conclusions as satisfactory, but in the class to which it belongs this *Leben Jesu* cannot be denied an extremely distinguished place.

Christian Faith and Modern Thought.[1]

THE author of this interesting and suggestive volume frankly faces a fact which is too commonly overlooked, and bravely discharges a duty which is being most inadequately recognized in Britain. He admits the indifference, if not hostility, to the Christian Church of many who have become accustomed to modern modes of thought, both because they have been led to believe that *the modern world-view* contradicts the Christian faith, and because they find Christian teachers still presenting its contents in intellectual forms which belong to ancient thought. He attempts to restate Christian doctrines in such terms as will make them intelligible and credible to men who live and move in the modern mental environment.

He distinguishes between a *world-view* and a *world-valuation* or *interpretation*; and insists that there is only *one modern world-view*, the *Copernican*, in which the earth has ceased to be, as in the ancient or *Ptolemaic*, the centre of the universe. Much Christian theology he blames for assuming this old view, and urges that the Christian faith to be made acceptable to men of our own time must be released from these antiquated modes of representation. Accepting the *Apostles' Creed* as on the whole a faithful expression of the contents of the Christian faith, on the ground that it contains little which may not be found implicitly in Peter's discourse in the house of Cornelius, he sets himself the task of examining each article and each clause of this ancient symbol, and explaining it so as to be consistent with the modern world-view. He rejects as later additions the clauses affirming *the virgin birth*, *the descent into hell*, *and the resurrection of the flesh*.

He affirms the personality of God in the form in which Lotze has stated the doctrine; but asserts the infinity, the eternity, and the unity of the world, which is the manifestation of God. Immanence in his view excludes transcendence, and the natural the supernatural. God and the world are two organically related and mutually conditioned realities. Evolution is the mode of the divine operation in the world. The doctrine of an essential Trinity is rejected as non-apostolic, and even the conception of an economic Trinity is avoided as misleading. All that it is safe to affirm is that God reveals Himself in the world, Christ, and the Spirit in the Christian community. Taking the term *only-begotten* as equivalent to *only* or *unique*, he sets aside the doctrine of pre-existence, and conceives Christ as the highest product of human development, and yet as a new beginning of divine action in human history. The personality of Christ has its roots in God more immediately and completely than any other. He is sinless, absolutely righteous, and life-giving. He has wrought a change in human history which the external features of His ministry cannot account for. The Christian community recognizes Him as Lord because He is Saviour, having brought to men in His person, work, and suffering the redemption from sin and death, which completes the personal development of man. His death is not a ransom paid to the devil, or a propitiation of God by sacrifice, but is a self-sacrifice in which He breaks the power of sin on our behalf, and in the struggle with sin suffers in our stead. His Resurrection as victory over the power of death, and as continuance of His life with and for us, is a fact essential to Christian faith; but the

[1] *Die moderne Weltanschauung und das apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss.* Von August Truempelmann. Berlin: C. A. Schwetscke und Sohn, 1901. M.7.

Ascension into heaven and the Sitting on God's right hand are to be taken as simply symbolic expressions of the belief in His Lordship over His Church, which it is an exaggeration to represent as a cosmical dominion. The personality of the Holy Spirit is denied. It is the Spirit of God which is present and operative in the Christian community, in more determinate form as the continuation of the revelation in Christ, than in conscience or reason. The Spirit in the community evokes and educates and develops the Spirit in the individual. The Church is not an institution administering and controlling means of grace, it is simply the community of saints, in which the Word of God is the sole means of grace. Baptism and the Lord's Supper have no mysterious virtue, they have only symbolic value, and their efficacy depends wholly on the accompanying Word of God. Prayer, of which our Lord's is a model, is a moral deed of communion with, and submission to, God. It is no magical spell which gives us power to bend God to our will. The Word of God is not the Bible, for there is much in the Bible which it would be profane to ascribe to God, and the Word of God may be found outside of the Bible. The Word of God is in the Old Testament the hope of salvation, in the New Testament the certainty of salvation, and outside the Scriptures the aspiration for salvation. The doctrine of verbal inspiration, along with its necessary accompaniment, the allegorical method of interpretation, must be absolutely rejected. The means of revelation are nature, conscience, history, and Christ. For *the modern world-view*, in which God and world are correlative terms, the old distinction between a natural and supernatural revelation has become meaningless, as the human development is the divine revelation.

The great good which Christianity offers is the forgiveness of sin. The story of the Fall is not historical, but is a parable of an inner experience. Sin is due neither to Satan nor to God, but it has its source in the survival in man of animal instincts, and in its nature is a relapse to these. In sin the impulse of self-maintenance and self-development is perverted into a self-assertion, which diverts the human personality from the path of progress. The sense of shame is due to man's consciousness of dishonouring himself in sinning, and his sense of guilt to his recognition of his sin as disobedience to God, whose purpose is thwarted in the perversion of man's development. In this reaction of shame and guilt against sin lies the opportunity for the entrance into human personality of new life. In forgiveness the power of holy love in Christ grasps man, and faith yields to the grasp. By this new power the personal development is restored to its normal course. While the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh had only a temporary significance, the Christian hope of eternal life is as necessary and as possible as ever. Evolution is the ruling idea of the modern view, and the Christian hope is consistent with this idea. The Christian life now makes the demand for, and bears the assurance of, a continued and completed development. This hope extends to those who desired and strove for the salvation which Christ offers, although they never knew Him. For those who never sought the higher life, there can be anticipated only extinction. Eternal life is assured only to those who by desire and effort have shown themselves worthy of the gift.

This brief sketch of the writer's theology will suffice to show how many and great are the changes which he finds it needful to make, not only in the form, but even in the substance of the Christian faith as expressed in the *Apostles' Creed*, in order to commend it to men who hold *the modern world-view*. The motto of his book is: 'Truth my goal, truthfulness my way.' Without entering at all into any detailed criticism, which the limits of space forbid, the reviewer must affirm that the goal has not been reached, but he can heartily bear witness that the way has been kept. If not always a successful, this is altogether a sincere book. The spirit of the whole discussion is refreshing and bracing, if the arguments are not always convincing and the conclusions acceptable. A summary cannot do justice to the contents, as there are many significant critical suggestions and valuable exegetical considerations. The Holy Scriptures are treated with freedom, but with reverence. There may appear undue severity in the censure meted out freely to theologians for their attempts at compromises between the old and the new modes of thought. There is, however, a genuine desire to be loyal to all that is essential to Christian faith, and also to be helpful to those who cannot accept that faith as it is commonly presented. To all who recognize the urgent necessity for the attempt to restate the gospel for the modern mind, the book may be

cordially commended. It is well written, and may be more easily and pleasantly read than many German theological works. Its outward form, however, forces on one the question: Why do so many German writers do nothing to help their readers in the study of their works? This volume has no chapter headings, no table of contents, no index, no list of the texts of Scripture discussed.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

Four Remarkable Sinai Manuscripts.

BY MARGARET D. GIBSON, LL.D., CAMBRIDGE.

DURING my visit to the Convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai this year with my sister, Mrs. Lewis, I examined four manuscripts, each of which has its peculiar value.

I. ANOTHER SYRIAC GOSPEL PALIMPSEST.

The one I shall describe first is that which came into my hands last. When, in 1893, I was making the catalogue of the Arabic books in the Convent (*Studia Sinaitica*, No. iii.), I found that they had all been numbered at some previous period, but that some numbers had no books forthcoming to represent them. This was the case with Nos. 514 and 515, and to them, as to several others, I had to put in the catalogue the unpleasant word Ἀφῃρημένα. One day in March last I went up to the library, with Mrs. Lewis and a deacon, to examine some Arabic MSS, and was helping my sister to find what she wanted, when I noticed a vellum book lying on one of the shelves. It had a stout binding, much broken at the back, and on taking it up I got a double surprise. It had the number of one of these missing volumes, 514; it was made of good fine vellum; its leaves measuring about 23 centimetres by 15, the writing being Arabic, in a fine hand of the early tenth century, very much like the upper writing of a MS. which Mrs. Lewis possesses, and whose under script she is about to publish as *Studia Sinaitica*, No. xi.

But what was more interesting still: it was a palimpsest throughout the whole of its 175 leaves, the under writing being Estrangelo-Syriac, in a large bold hand, sometimes running the same way as the Arabic, oftener across the page, but always in two columns. I can dismiss the fine upper Arabic writing in a few words. There are four sermons of Jacob, Bishop of Serug. The first one, with which the book in its present defective condition, begins, is, by the irony of fate, on the subject that no man may alter the least value of anything which our Lord has said in the holy Gospel. We will acquit the good bishop of any inconsistency between his preaching and his practice, for we have no proof that this record of his sermon was written by his own hand; yet we cannot help wondering that an Arab scribe, even if unacquainted with Syriac, should have thought proper to efface a Gospel text in order to obtain vellum on which to write a sermon on its value. The greater part of the Arabic text consists, however, not of sermons, but of martyrology. The names of the martyrs are not very easy to identify, but there are Philemon, Euthalius, Cyricus and Julitta, Eustratius and Arsenius.

I could decipher little of the under script without using the re-agent (hydro-sulphuret of ammonia), but, whenever I painted a page with it, the Syriac lines came up clearly, and were very easy to read. I consider this handwriting to be not later than the sixth century, but I am not an expert, and it seems to me probable that, being a palimpsest, it may be the oldest Peshitta in existence. Its appearance tells at once that it is not quite so ancient as the Old Syriac palimpsest discovered by Mrs. Lewis in 1892. I had ample opportunity to place the two together, and there can be no question about their relative antiquity.

The first page I tried was f. 162b, which began at Jn 7^{10}, col. 1, ending at 'others' in v.^{12}. Col. b began at v.^{16} and ended in v.^{18}. This shows that the leaves of the original Syriac MS. had been folded in two, to meet the wants of the Arabic martyrologist in the tenth century.

I compared these passages with the American Bible Society's version (New York, 1886), and in col. a found three small variants. V.^{10} the

word ܕܐܡܪ between ܐܡ and ܠܗ; v.[12] ܐܡ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ instead of ܐܡ ܐܡ ܠܗ; and after ܕܐܡܪܝܢ, ܐܡ is added. In col. b there were no variants.

I next tried f. 41b, the writing of which is in the same direction as the upper script, and found that it began at Mt 16[4] and went on continuously to the end of v.[12], the only variant being in col. b, where ܕ is repeated before ܒܢܝ ܐܒܗ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ. Another page I tried was f. 86a, which begins near the end of Jn 19[34], col. 1, stopping at the end of v.[37]; col. b commencing near the end of v.[38] and finishing at the end of v.[40]. These columns have three small variants: in v.[34] ܕܡ for ܕܡ; in v.[40] ܠܟܝܢ for ܠܟܝܢ; and in v.[40] the mistake of ܕܢܚܒܘ for ܕܢܚܒܘ.

I tried col. b. on f. 89b, and read from the middle of Jn 19[24] to the middle of v.[25], with the two insignificant variants that ܡܓܕܠܝܐ is spelt without its initial *Alif*, and that in v.[25] it is ܐܡ instead of ܡܐ.

Every page I had tried thus far had therefore been Peshitta Gospel, but as the word ܡܠܐ had caught my eye, and that could not possibly belong to a Gospel, I painted up the page on which it occurred (f. 173b) with the chemical, and found it was part of the *Transitus Mariæ* in Mrs. Lewis' forthcoming edition, from p. ܟܐ, col. b, l. 4, to p. ܟܒ, col. b, l. 16, with a few variants.

I do not believe there is much of this, but that by far the greater part of the volume contains Peshitta Gospels of a very early period.

In the binding is a fragment of a Syriac hymn in honour of the Virgin.

II.–III. Sinai Syriac Antilegomena.

The next two MSS to which I shall draw attention are the Syriac volumes, Nos. 5 and 15. They have both been adequately described in Mrs. Lewis' catalogue (*Studia Sinaitica*, No. i.). They consist of St. Paul's Epistles, the Acts, and the Catholic Epistles, the one arranged differently from the other, but their most distinctive feature is that they both contain the so-called Antilegomena (2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude) in the Philoxenian version, in their regular positions, 2 Peter coming after the First Epistle, and 1 John following before 2 John. These are all marked for lectionary purposes, so that they must have been read in the church services, contrary to the usage of the Syrians. The subject of these Syriac Epistles has been fully treated by Dr. Gwynn in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxvii. On the Nestorian monument of Hsî-an-Fû, in Shan-hsi, China, it is said of our Lord that He 'left behind Him the twenty-seven standard books.' This shows that in the eighth century, when the inscription on this stone was written, the Syrian Church received all the books of our present New Testament. There can be no doubt as to the date of the monument being 781 A.D., for it is thus inscribed in Syriac characters, and the name of Hanem Yesha is given as that of the reigning Patriarch (see Legge, *Christianity in China*, p. 7). The silent testimony of these two codices strangely corroborates that of the stone in far-off China. I hope to give a collation of the Antilegomena as contained in them in some future publication.

Meanwhile I record a variant which seems to me of the highest importance. It occurs in Jude v.[25], where, by the omission of the Syriac word equivalent to the Greek διὰ, we get an assertion of our Lord's divinity from the pen of one of His brethren according to the flesh. The passage would be translated thus: 'To the only God our Saviour, Jesus the Christ our Lord,' etc.

IV. Syriac Maccabees.

The fourth codex of which I have to tell may be inferior to the other three as touching its canonicity, but its adventures in modern times are worthy of record. It contains in Estrangelo-Syriac the greater part of the First, the whole of the Second, and a portion of the Third Book of the Maccabees. It is defective at both ends, beginning at bk. i. chap. 3, v.[43], and finishing at bk. iii. chap. 5, v.[21]. It is on vellum, 24 × 15 centimetres, in one column throughout of 26 lines.

Though the leaves are now all broken away from one another at the back, the binding being also completely gone, it is evident that the quires were quinions, for on f. 9a the mark ܐ may be seen at the foot of the page; on f. 19a there is a trace of a quire-mark; on f. 29a there is ܒ; on f. 39a ܓ, indistinct; on f. 49a ܕ; on f. 59a ܗ; on f.

69a ; on f. 79a ; on f. 89a traces of ; on f. 99a no trace. Perhaps goat-skins are referred to.

This book was seen at the Convent by Dr. Rendel Harris in 1889, when he photographed some pages of it. When he returned with us on our second visit in 1893, and Mrs. Lewis was making her catalogue of the Syriac books, it could not be found. As Dr. Harris was convinced that it had been stolen since he had seen it in 1889, Mrs. Lewis asked him to give her one of the photographs he had taken from it on his former visit, that she might make from it the frontispiece to her catalogue (*Studia Sinaitica*, No. i.). This was accordingly done, with a view to discovering the whereabouts of the MS. and, if possible, its thief.

One Sunday in January 1895, a Cairo dealer brought some MSS to Mrs. Lewis and me for sale at our hotel. While I was examining an Arabic codex, Mrs. Lewis said to me in a mysterious whisper, 'It is stolen,' and I saw her go to a sofa where she had laid this identical volume open, with her catalogue in her hand. A glance from the frontispiece to the MS. was sufficient to assure her of its identity, and she asked the dealer to allow her to keep the latter for twenty-four hours. When he was gone, we consulted as to what we should do. There were two plans open to us. One was to buy the MS. and say nothing, which would have been the one more to our advantage in future transactions with dealers; the other being to denounce the theft. The second course recommended itself to our conscience, besides which it would have seemed a shady transaction for my sister to buy the very volume she had professed to take the means to protect for the Sinai Library. To do so might even have led the monks to suspect that we had stolen it ourselves. We therefore wrote to the agent of the Branch Convent in Cairo, and he came to consult with us. On Monday morning we took it to the British consul, Mr. Borg, along with the catalogue, and a glance at the frontispiece of the latter beside its corresponding page in the book was sufficient to convince him that we were not mistaken. The book was accordingly seized in our rooms that afternoon by an agent of the Mixed Tribunal. When the dealer came in the evening, there was a scene in the manager's room; happily the agent of the Convent happened to call about the same time, and the two men fought out the matter between them. A suit was brought by Archbishop Porphyrios against the dealer; it was decided during our absence at the Convent; and we saw no account of it; but we understood that it could not be proved that the volume had actually been stolen, and therefore the Court kept possession of it. This unsatisfactory state of things lasted till last year, 1901, when the MS. was released on payment of £25 by the archbishop and monks. It was shown us with much satisfaction by Father Polycarp, the librarian, and we have the consciousness at least that we have acted in a straightforward way with regard to it. I have now photographed the whole of it, and copied all its weak places with the help of the re-agent. It is a very fine manuscript. I have compared its text on some dozen pages with those published by Lagarde and Ceriani from the ancient MSS at Milan and in the British Museum. It is not exactly identical with either of these, but it does not yield to them in the purity of its text. Until I can develop all my 208 photographs of it, its exact value can hardly be determined.

The South-Galatian Theory.

By the Rev. Dawson Walker, M.A., Durham.

Those of us who have been converted to Professor Ramsay's view on the locality of the Galatian churches have to reckon with the fact that certain English scholars, of acknowledged eminence in this field of study, still decline to come over to his side. Two notable examples are Professor Findlay and Professor Chase. The latter gave emphatic expression to his dissent in the *Expositor* soon after the publication of the *Church in the Roman Empire*, and we expect with keenest interest a further statement of his views in his *Commentary on the Acts* in the 'International

Critical Commentary.' Professor Findlay has in two places indicated the reasons why he cannot accept the South-Galatian theory: in a postscript to the third edition of his invaluable book on *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle*, and in his article on 'Paul' in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. The position is substantially the same in both places, but the postscript gives it in a form that most easily lends itself to discussion.

The first objection is based on the language of Ac 16[6].[1] Professor Findlay denies that v.[6] is recapitulatory of vv.[4] and [5]; he also agrees with the Revisers in treating the participle κωλυθέντες as *causal*. 'They went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia "*because* they were" forbidden to preach the word in Asia.' (This is the point on which Professor Chase laid such great emphasis in the *Expositor*, 1893, vol. viii. pp. 409–411.) He thinks the 'Phrygian and Galatian country' means the country lying north and north-east of Antioch, and says, 'Under the Roman government *surely* (the italics are mine) some passable road existed from Antioch, "the governing and military centre of the southern half of the vast province of Galatia," to Ancyra, its capital city.'

Now are not the words introduced by this 'surely' a little too vague for the purposes of a definite argument? The supposition may turn out to be true; but a simple '*must have been*' is too *à priori* to be very effective as a controversial argument.

Professor Findlay's second point is that Professor Ramsay is compelled by his theory to place Galatians 'in the first group of Epistles with 1 and 2 Thessalonians, instead of the second,' whereas 'Lightfoot's conclusion that Galatians comes between 2 Corinthians and Romans will not easily be set aside.' To this last remark I assent entirely. Lightfoot's argument for the position of the Epistle among the Pauline writings seems to me to be unanswerable. Mr. Askwith, however, has shown that if τὸ πρότερον (Gal 4[13]) be translated simply *formerly* instead of *on the former visit* (of two), those who hold the South-Galatian theory are not necessarily compelled to agree with Professor Ramsay's dating of the Epistle: as he says 'the words τὸ πρότερον seem to me to be absolutely neutral.'

Professor Findlay's second point, therefore, may call for an answer from Professor Ramsay; but it does not affect those holders of the South-Galatian theory who are still able to accept Lightfoot's dating of the Epistle.

In the third place, Professor Findlay holds that the references to Barnabas in the Epistle to the Galatians are hard to reconcile with the South-Galatian theory. The Churches of the First Missionary Journey owed allegiance to Barnabas as well as to Paul. Yet Paul only refers thrice to Barnabas—once in terms of condemnation—and thus seems to ignore 'the paternal rights and interest' of Barnabas in these churches, and so seems to have 'elbowed him out of the partnership.' Professor Findlay thinks that all this is quite inconsistent with Paul's habit of refraining from interference with another man's sphere of work.

May we not, however, account for Paul's action on other grounds? Since the First Missionary Journey he had had 'a sharp contention' with Barnabas. They had agreed to part, and had gone to different spheres of work. Possibly the breach between them was still so wide that Paul did not care to associate Barnabas with himself in his reproachful Epistle to the Galatian converts. Or, again, may not Paul have felt that the quarrel was solely between *himself* and the Galatian converts, and that the debate must lie solely between them and *himself*? If so, he would naturally leave Barnabas out of the question, and speak in his own name only. Indeed, it is not impossible that the sympathies of Barnabas may have been so much on the side of the Judaizers as to make it out of the question for Paul to claim him as an ally.

The fourth point does not count for very much either way. Professor Ramsay has argued that South Galatia was a district of greater importance than North Galatia in the first century, and that its churches played a larger part in the propagation of the gospel than those of the northern district. Professor Findlay quite rightly argues that Paul need not necessarily have 'written his letters only to churches of the first rank,' and instances the case of Colossæ. He suggests that North Galatia was not so unimportant as Professor Ramsay would have us think. These considerations are interesting, but inconclusive either way. There is one suggestion, however, made by Professor Findlay in this connexion which is open to criticism. He thinks the fact that the gospel had reached Pontus

[1] According to the reading adopted by the Revisers.

so soon as is indicated in 1 Peter 1[1] shows that it 'must have travelled to North Galatia early in the apostolic age.' But need the gospel have reached Pontus by way of Galatia at all? Could it not have equally well been taken there by voyagers landing at some of the busy and populous ports on the Pontus coast of the Euxine?[1]

Professor Findlay thinks, finally, that if Paul had not evangelized the district 'north of the Syrian high road and put the gospel in the way of reaching the whole of Asia Minor,' he boasts too much in Ro 15[19]. Is not this, however, we may ask, to lay too much stress on a statement couched in very general terms? He also thinks it not improbable that the Galatian churches were lost ultimately to the Pauline mission, and that this may explain Luke's brief mention of them in Ac 16[6]. Some such hypothesis becomes almost necessary if the North-Galatian theory be true. If, on other grounds, the South-Galatian theory be accepted, the hypothesis is unnecessary, as the Galatian churches play a very large part in Luke's narrative.

It would seem, then, that Professor Findlay's arguments do not seriously affect the position of those who, while accepting Professor Ramsay's view of the locality of the Galatian churches, prefer to keep Lightfoot's dating of the Epistle to the Galatians. One point, however, calls for a little further attention.

I have always had feelings of suspicion about the rendering of κωλυθέντες in Ac 16[6] given by some prominent upholders of the South-Galatian theory—notably Professor Ramsay himself, Mr. Askwith, and lately Mr. Rackham (*Acts*, p. 274). They all agree to make the participle part of the predicate and = καὶ ἐκωλύθησαν. Now one cannot help feeling that, if we retain the reading agreed on by the Revisers and Westcott and Hort, the Revisers are right in taking the participle causally. And what is more, if it had simply been a matter of translating the Greek as it stands, and no other considerations had claimed a place in the field, no one would have ever dreamed of translating the words in any other way.

Is it possible to translate κωλυθέντες causally, with the Revisers, and still retain the South-Galatian theory? I think it is.

Examining the passage in detail we see that the last places definitely mentioned are Lystra and Iconium in v.[2]. From there, 'as they went on their way through the cities they delivered them the decrees,' etc. (v.[4]). Now it is not at all improbable that Paul's intention was to go straight forward to Ephesus—but his plans were divinely thwarted. 'Having been forbidden of the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia, they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia (v.[6]), *i.e.* on an itinerant preaching tour. Being excluded from *work* in Asia, Paul and his companions then turned their faces to Bithynia and attempted to reach the province by a route 'over against Mysia' (v.[7]), *i.e.* by the high road leading up to Dorylæum, and again were divinely thwarted, this time by 'the Spirit of Jesus.' One naturally speculates as to how these divine monitions were conveyed, and I am not at all sure—at the risk of seeming excessively fanciful—that this part of Luke's narrative does not find its interpretation in 2 Co 12[7-9].

Let me in the briefest outline recall the circumstances. Paul had had one successful missionary journey. His action there, in admitting Gentiles freely to Christian fellowship, had been challenged by a section of the Church at Jerusalem, and from the resulting conference he had emerged triumphantly. Paul would no doubt realize more vividly than most men the importance of the interests at stake and the greatness of the victory which had been won. It must have been a time of intense spiritual strain and high spiritual exaltation. He went up to Jerusalem for the momentous conference 'by revelation.' 2 Co 12[1] speaks of 'visions and revelations of the Lord.' Soon after the victory was won he proceeded to revisit his converts of the First Missionary Journey — the converts on whose behalf he had won so great a victory. He would then feel eager to press on to a grander sphere of work in Ephesus. Was it not natural that he should feel something of the greatness of the part he had played and so be 'exalted.' But (as he afterwards said) that he 'should not be exalted over much,' there was given to him a thorn in the flesh.'

Is it too fanciful to think that the intervention of the Holy Spirit, preventing him and his companions from working in Asia, came in the form of a distressing illness—a thorn in the flesh which made him for the time being incapable of work? And that when they essayed to find in Bithynia a

[1] Hort (following Ewald) supposes that Silvanus, the bearer of *1 Peter*, landed at a seaport of Pontus.

worthy sphere for their efforts, 'the Spirit of Jesus' again, by the intervention of the distressful malady, checked the designs of Paul? If Professor Ramsay be right in supposing that Paul's weakness was malarial fever contracted in Pamphylia, which caused him to alter his plans on that occasion too, we have a curious coincidence with 2 Co 12^8, 'Concerning this thing I besought the Lord THRICE, that it might depart from me.' *Once* in Pamphylia, *once* in Phrygo-Galatia, when he was aiming at Ephesus, and *once* again when Bithynia was his goal, did this trouble come upon him to hinder his work. On each of the three occasions did he pray for release. But the Master said, 'My power is made perfect in weakness.' Looking back upon these times Paul saw himself, and taught his loving biographer to see that it was the Spirit of Jesus that thus brought him low that he 'should not be exalted over much.'

Whatever be the truth of this supposition—and I do not think it is an utterly impossible one—I feel strongly convinced that the Greek text of Ac 16^6 compels us to believe that it was *because* Paul and his companions were prevented by the Holy Spirit from preaching in Asia that they went through the Phrygo-Galatian region.

At the Literary Table.

THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

THE WORDS OF JESUS.[1]

No German book has been more quoted by English scholars for many a day than Dalman's *Die Worte Jesu*. But an English book is always better than a German one to an Englishman, and, besides that, Dalman has worked over his book for this translation, and says it is practically a second edition. The translation is a work of art. Most patient has Professor Kay been to discover the exact shade of the author's meaning, most skilful has he been in finding the exact English to express it. Dr. Dalman himself is no mean English scholar, and co-operated heartily with the translator. Professor Kennedy also lent his aid. It is as satisfactory as one can desire. It does not fall behind Professor Paterson's translation of Schultz's *Old Testament Theology*, the standard and model for the translator of German in our day.

Of the book itself nothing has now to be said. He who does not know that Dalman is necessary, does not know much yet about the study of the New Testament in Greek. There are two recent books, both translated admirably—Deissmann's *Bible Studies*, and Dalman's *Words of Jesus*—on which the ripest scholar and the rawest student can meet. They are not final—they would be little worth if they were. They may be superseded soon. But no book will supersede them that does not absorb them. And for the present they are the avenues that lead to the freshest and most fruitful fields of New Testament interpretation.

The volume deals with what Dalman calls FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS. Its subjects are: The Sovereignty of God—the Future Age—Eternal Life—the World—'the Lord' as a designation for God—the Father in Heaven—Other Divine Names—Evasive or Precautionary Modes of referring to God—the Son of Man—the Son of God—Christ—the Son of David—'The Lord' as a designation of Jesus—'Master' as a designation of Jesus. And the whole is made accessible at any moment by excellent indexes at the end.

[1] *The Words of Jesus.* By Gustaf Dalman. Authorized English Version by D. M. Kay, B.D., B.Sc. T. & T. Clark.

IMMANUEL KANT.[2]

'But how now is it possible to bring together in a unitary view of the world these two independent ways of regarding things,—the scientific explanation and the religious interpretation? Kant's answer is, by means of the distinction between a sensible and a supersensible world. The world which constitutes the object of mathe-

[2] *Immanuel Kant: His Life and Doctrine.* By Friedrich Paulsen. Translated from the Revised German Edition by J. E. Creighton and Albert Lefevre. John C. Nimmo.

matico-scientific knowledge is not reality as such, but only the appearance of reality to our sensibility. The world of religious conviction, on the contrary, is the supersenuous reality itself. This can never become the object of scientific knowledge, on account of the nature of human cognition, which presupposes perception. Regarding it we can know only that it exists; that is the ultimate point to which knowledge attains. In reflecting critically on its own nature and limits, the understanding recognizes that there is an absolute reality beyond the world of sense. And now the spirit (which is something more than understanding) claims, as a moral being, to be a member of this absolute reality, and defines the nature of this reality through its own essence. This is Kant's doctrine of the primacy of the practical reason over the theoretical.'

Better than any words of our own, that early but central paragraph will give the reader an idea of the intelligibility of Professor Paulsen's great book, and at the same time will reveal the ease and fidelity of the translation. It will be seen at once that Professor Paulsen has clear conceptions of Kant's place and work, and that he expresses them clearly, though he makes no heroic effort to write for the absolutely uninitiated. He uses the technical word whenever he finds it the right word. But he has a masterly way of leading up to its use, so that even the uninitiated will rarely call for a glossary. And then his thoughts are clear in themselves, and they are set down in the right order. The book may be read without halt or hesitation, and all the while the reader (unless he is a specially well-versed Kantian) will find himself adding rapidly to his knowledge and rapidly enlarging the horizon of his mind. Even the best informed student of Kant will acknowledge steady benefit. Professor Paulsen cannot write without giving forth some of his unique wealth of insight.

The study of Kant stands next in importance at present, in our judgment, to the study of Lotze; and this is the book which should be recommended as the easiest and most satisfactory introduction to the study of Kant.

ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS.

The method of publishing books in series, which is now so common, was begun, we believe, by Messrs. Macmillan and with the 'English Men of Letters.' Being first, they deserved success and got it. No series since has reached so great a popularity. It has appeared in several forms—first the half-crown red cloth, next the white buckram with label (the book-lover's edition), then the flexible cheaper volumes. And now the whole series is to be reissued in two-shilling volumes with square backs.

But more than that. The series is to be enlarged. Ten additional volumes are promised; and the first is out. It is *George Eliot* by Sir Leslie Stephen.

A worse beginning with the additional volumes could not have been made. When Sir Leslie Stephen is at his best he is very good—style and temper and taste; when he is at his worst he is execrable. He is at his worst in this volume. He is utterly unconscious of it. He admires *George Eliot*, and approves of her work. But he does both detestably. If one would be cured of George Eliot worship, one will find the cure speedy and complete in this book. It is impossible to say whether it is incompetency or perversity or bad luck, but almost every judgment is wrong. And worse than that, the simplest statements of fact are taken off with some ugly phrase, which scrapes the surface and exposes raw flesh quivering horribly. The George Gilfillan style of writing literary biography may have few admirers now. This is the other style. We wish with all our heart that George Gilfillan were back again.

THE SEMITIC SERIES.

Two volumes of this series, which is edited by Professor Craig of the University of Michigan, and published in this country by Mr. John C. Nimmo, were issued last year. Other two volumes have just appeared. They are *The Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews* by Professor Archibald Duff of Bradford, and *The Early History of Palestine* by Dr. Lewis Bayles Paton. Professor Duff has a way of wholly dissatisfying some of his readers, he never succeeds in wholly satisfying any of them. But this is his least offensive volume. Once or twice a touch of sureness where no one else is sure makes one start and tremble for him: 'The Deity whom they worshipped they called Yahweh. The pronunciation of the word is made certain to us by the usage of early Greek Christians who were

free from the Jewish superstition that the name was ineffable, or dangerous if pronounced. This pronunciation is preserved also in many early Hebrew names compounded of the name Yahu, or Yahw, and the added predicate, as for example the name Isaiah, which is *Yesha-Yahw*. The word Yahweh is a causative incipient, 3rd sing., from the stem *Hawah*. This plain bit of Hebrew grammar remains sure in spite of many obstinate objectors. *Hawah* means "fell"; this is also certain. Thus the name of the Deity was very naturally explained in the prophets' days as *He who is going to cause falling rain and so cause life and all things*.'

Dr. Paton's book is wholly satisfactory, delightfully fresh and informing. Who would have believed that the early history of Syria and Palestine was so independent of the Bible? Who could have dreamed a few years ago that the Bible would be so wonderfully and delightfully framed in it? Dr. Paton is most competent and most agreeable.

FROM PARKER TO MAURICE.

For the Church Historical Society the S.P.C.K. has published a handsome volume of lectures on *Typical English Churchmen*. The lectures were delivered last year in St. Margaret's, Westminster, and at St. Albans. Purposely and avowedly the lectures differ with all the difference of the lecturers. Some are long and some are short, some are general and some are particular, some have notes and some have none. One thing only is insisted on in all—the politician and ecclesiastic is forgotten in the historian.

Well, that is all good, admirable. Now who are the lecturers? Dr. Henry Gee begins. His subject is Matthew Parker (1504 to 1575). He fills twenty pages with it. He has a few notes which are worth much. He never wastes a word. He keeps clear of petty detail and leaves an unmistakable impression. — The next is Professor A. J. Mason. His subject is Richard Hooker. It is easier and more difficult to write on Hooker within twenty pages. That is his length also. It is easier from the absence of interfering facts, it is more difficult from the greatness of intellectual achievement. Few men can say what they want to say so memorably as Professor Mason.—The third is Dr. Hastings Rashdall. Master of forcible language and of a resolute will, he sees his way to judgments from which more emotional men shrink, he sees and he utters them: 'It can hardly be said that Chillingworth had reached the idea of salvation as a purely moral state of which there may be degrees, or the belief that accuracy of religious belief is only valuable so far as it helps towards holiness of life'—that is one of them.—The remaining lecturers are Mr. E. W. Watson (Usher), Professor W. E. Collins (Bramhall), Dr. Hensley Henson (Jeremy Taylor), Mr. H. W. C. Davis (Burnet), Dr. Wace (Butler), Mr. J. N. Figgis (Warburton), Mr. C. H. Simpkinson (Simeon), Dr. E. C. S. Gibson (Phillpotts), and again Professor Collins (Maurice).

CONSTRUCTIVE CONGREGATIONAL IDEALS. By D. Macfadyen, M.A. (*Allenson*).—Are the Congregational Churches a Church? The question is honestly asked by some, however scoffingly by others. This is the simplest and most sufficient answer we can point to. The book consists of two distinct parts. The first part contains extracts from the writings of great Congregational writers — Fairbairn, Miall, Dale, and others — touching on the idea of Congregationalism. The second gives Mr. Macfadyen's own interpretation. The two parts are distinct, yet they are united—as the Congregational Churches are united; making one homogeneous book, as they and the rest make one homogeneous Church. Here, then, you find in modest brevity and much persuasive earnestness what Congregationalism has done, is now doing, and by God's help means to do in the future. See it, sympathize with it. Your Methodism, Presbyterianism, what not, will be the better to you that you find Congregationalism is better than you knew. God fulfils Himself in many ways.

Apart from Mr. Macfadyen's own writing, the chapter that has impressed us most is Dr. Dale's on 'The Evangelizing Power of a Spiritual Fellowship.' That chapter is new to literature. It deserves the greatest possible publicity.

Messrs. Banks have published *Dangers and Conflicts of the British Empire* by Col. Garnier, and *The Kingdom of Heaven*, a Supplement to 'What is Truth?' by the Rev. Robert Waters, A.K.C.L.

Messrs. Bemrose have published a small volume of essays on *Church and Reform*. They are

written by the Bishop of Hereford, the Dean of Norwich, Canon Hay Aitken, and others. They deserve careful reading; they may lead to some reforming.

REVISED CATECHISMS. By the Rev. Duff Macdonald, M.A., B.D. (*Black*).—It is doubtful if a man ever becomes a theologian who has not been brought up on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism—or some satisfactory equivalent. The controversy about Catechisms and Creeds with many people is, Mend them or end them? There is a preliminary recommendation, Understand them. The menders and enders have not always been taught them in youth, and do not know that it is with the Catechism as with the food we live by—some of it makes blood and bone and some is rejected. It is a natural process to the healthily nurtured, and it is just as absurd to insist on mending a Catechism so that every proposition shall go to make blood and bone for us, as to insist so with our food; while to end it is to die of starvation.

Professor Flint, who writes a Preface to Mr. Macdonald's own *Revised Catechism*, has no sympathy with revised Catechisms. 'The time even for revision will not, I think, come in the near future. Nor does the question of revision itself seem to be an urgent one. Far more important, I think, is the question as to how to get a thoroughly good teaching of the Catechism which we have, and to that end this work may well be expected to contribute.' We heartily agree—to both statements. That is the use of this work. It is for the teacher, the teacher who has been brought up on the Catechism. It may help him to use it well for himself; it will help him greatly to make it useful to others.

The feature of Mr. Macdonald's book is the modern scientific light in which the Catechism is placed. For a moment it looks unhealthy in that light; the next moment you see that half the unhealthy look is due to the light. If the wall-paper were 'mended' to suit your new gas-fittings, how would it appear in the light of the sun? The next tenant, too, may introduce a new style of artificial lighting with a hue that is wholly different. It is quite true that the makers of the Catechism made it to suit their own artificial lighting, and we see that glaringly in statements about 'the corruption of his whole nature, whereby he is utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite unto all that is spiritually good, and wholly inclined to all evil, and that continually.' The prevailing light at present is the very opposite of that. But we fall back on our simile of food. In any case, it is the business of the teacher to point out wherein both lights differ from the light of the sun. And we may add in a word that this is the book that at present will help him most.

STUDIES IN THE GREEK AND LATIN VERSIONS OF THE BOOK OF AMOS. By the Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, B.D. (Cambridge: *At the University Press*).—Mr. Oesterley has made certain original investigations in the Septuagint, the later Greek versions, the Complutensian and Aldine Texts, and the Latin versions, and he has presented the results of his investigations first to the examiners for the degree of B.D. in Cambridge, and now for the student of the Book of Amos in this volume. The volume is most welcome. Such first-hand work is always welcome. It is in this way that knowledge grows from more to more.

The first four volumes of the Oxford *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* were issued in cloth. The fifth is coming out in paper parts. This is the second part of it. It contains some account of a journey which Mr. Kirsopp Lake made to Mount Athos, and of the MSS he studied and catalogued there. Its contents are: (1) Description of Codex ψ; (2) Text of that Codex in St. Mark; (3) A Collation of it in Lk, Jn, and Col; (4) A Collation of Codex 1071; (5) Some Chapters of a Codex of the Acta Pilati; (6) A Fragment of the Acta Thomæ; (7) A Catalogue and Description of all the MSS examined. The volume is published at the Clarendon Press.

The 'Bible Class Primers' which Principal Salmond edits now fill a long red shelf. They suit the present taste for theological pemmican perfectly. They are more uniform in their scholarship than any similar series we know. And yet some of their authors are the foremost scholars among us. The latest 'Primer' has been written by the Rev. John Adams, B.D. Its subject is the *Minor Prophets*. Many Bible-class teachers make the Minor Prophets the subject of study, and need much help to make it useful. This will do. It

will do better than almost anything. It is competent, it is clear, and it is enough.

What a vitality Ullmann's *Sinlessness of Jesus* has. One would have said that after the discussions of the last few years on the human nature of our Lord, this book of all books was sure to go out of date. But Ullmann seems to have anticipated these discussions and what would come out of them, and his sixth edition, which Messrs. T. & T. Clark have published, is as fresh and pertinent as the first.

THE PENTATEUCH IN THE LIGHT OF TO-DAY. By Alfred Holborn, M.A. (*T. & T. Clark*).—The further title is 'A Simple Introduction to the Pentateuch on the Lines of the Higher Criticism.' This is just the book (and it is quite inexpensive) which will give the unlearned an idea of what the Higher Criticism is. Mr. Holborn has succeeded in writing at once accurately and attractively. He is not an advocate, he is an expositor, but he has been able to understand how this Higher Criticism is got to range itself along the lines of the progress of knowledge, and if he does not plead for it, he makes it the more credible. With all its simplicity the book is full of matter, and will not waste the time of any man who reads it. In an Appendix will be found the most accessible Table of Sources, taken from Driver's *Introduction*.

HEBREW IDEALS. By the Rev. James Strachan, M.A. (*T. & T. Clark*).—At sundry times and in divers manners has the story of God's dealings with the Patriarchs been told. But new times bring new manners. Never before has it been done so *religiously* with so wholehearted a desire to see *God's* way with the Patriarchs, and to show the character in all its variety which God's hand on sensitive souls brings forth. The life of the Patriarchs is not divided into chapters of external but into chapters of internal history. One chapter is Ideals, another Separation, another Blessedness, another Worship, and so on. Then each chapter has its sections. Thus Decision, which is chapter vi., is divided into Wealth, Restoration, Friendship, Destiny, Renunciation, Decision, Paradise, Recompense. Each section is a little sermon, clean-cut in language, close-packed with thought.

The book is one of the 'Handbooks for Bible Classes' which Professor Dods and Dr. Whyte edit. It will be one of the most useful of all the series.

THE WORLDS OF THE EARTH. By Captain John Spencer Hall, A.O.D. (*Digby*).—This book should have been published two generations ago. Our grandfathers loved to measure the dimensions of the ark and count the animals that entered it, bidding Christ wait till their arithmetic came out right. We look at these things in another way now. And interesting as it would be even to us to be told what *was* the length of a cubit, we must in the meantime encourage men to do justly.

GOD'S THEATRE. By the Rev. D. L. Thomson (*Gardner*).—Mr. Thomson is not in his best humour. He invites reprisals, and they may arise from unexpected quarters. Huxley was always ready, but Huxley is out of it now, and it is not fair to recall the 'pluralities' and 'L.S.D.' Who is to be won by this? Who is to smile at it? Mr. Thomson has lost the very chastity of his language: 'He (Darwin's father) was a man of Falstaffian proportions, and stories bordering on the marvellous are told of the food that he could tuck in at a single sitting. A turkey is represented as affording him a solitary repast, with which under his ribs he was quite as comfortable as another man would be who had dined on a pigeon.'

THE GOD OF THE FRAIL. By Thomas G. Selby (*Hodder & Stoughton*). — Another volume of sermons from Mr. Selby. Another series of vivid, sometimes startling, aspects of the ways of God and men, illuminated with new flashes of illustration, and all sent home to the modern conscience with unmistakable earnestness of purpose. One cannot call them expository sermons, and yet the text is sometimes better understood after they are read than after all the commentaries at command are studied. For they seek to catch the heart and soul of the passage and reveal that, leaving the language to follow and fall into its proper place—great principles are sometimes thus pressed out of a simple familiar passage, and the world that now is is linked closely with the world of Scripture.

Professor Banks of Headingley College has the distinction of having written a *Manual of Christian Doctrine* which has run a race in popular favour with Dr. Clarke's *Outlines*. Its seventh edition having been sold out, he has revised and largely rewritten the work for an eighth edition, which is now issued. Its simplicity and its sanity are its commendation. The publisher is Mr. Kelly.

HUMAN NATURE A REVELATION OF THE DIVINE. By C. H. Robinson, M.A. (*Longmans*).—The title of this interesting and instructive volume is comprehensive. It is comprehensive enough to cover the miscellaneous contents of the volume, which is made up of three parts. The first part consists of Studies in the Character of Christ; the second part seeks to show that the critical view of the Old Testament does not destroy its inspiration; the third part contains Studies in Worship, and consists of addresses which were given at certain 'Quiet Days' for clergy.

It is an interesting and instructive book, we say. Its miscellaneousness makes for both interest and instruction. There is no attempt to stretch an indiarubber band round the three subjects. They may be taken apart, begun and ended and relished. But the same sweet reasonable mind runs through them all. There is that much binding at least. Very valuable to our thinking is the part dealing with the Old Testament. Take this for sample: There are four doctrines, says Mr. Robinson, which serve to differentiate the teaching of the Old Testament from that of other old religions, and more especially from that of those religions with which the Hebrews were likely to have come in contact. These are: (1) the Unity of God; (2) Morality as a necessary characteristic of God; (3) the divinity of human nature, with its correlative, the potential equality of all men; (4) the recognition of a continuous purpose in history.

This square little red-bound volume is the work of an 'Ancient Bramin.' It was found in MS., translated by somebody unknown, and published in 1751. It ran through fifty editions and then was forgotten. Its republication by Messrs. Luzac lets us see how noble a worldly man can be, and how worldly a man must remain who has not known the truth as it is in Jesus.

The Macmillan edition of Thackeray has reached its sixth volume, which contains *Barry Lyndon* and *Catherine*. No inexpensive edition of Thackeray can touch it.

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT. By B. W. Bacon, D.D. (*Macmillan*).—The volume contains a lecture on the literary structure and didactic purpose of the Sermon on the Mount, and three critical or analytical appendixes. The subject is handled with great acuteness and great freedom. Thus the 'Parable of the Rich Man and the Beggar,' as Dr. Bacon calls it, is divided into two sizes of type in Appendix C. The first part of it (Lk 16^{19-25}) is in large type, the last (16^{26-31}) in small. And then there is a footnote: 'The addition, vv.$^{26-31}$, introduces a theme alien to the parable. Moreover, it is borrowed from current apocalyptic expectation, which taught that Moses and Elias (sometimes Enoch and Elias, or Elias alone, Rev 11^{3-12}, Mk 9^{11-13}) would rise from the dead to witness for Messiah and turn Israel to Him in repentance.' This is therefore not exactly a handbook for Sabbath schools. But it is extremely suggestive to those who have made some progress in the criticism of the Gospels.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By James Gairdner, C.B., LL.D. (*Macmillan*).—The fourth volume of Messrs. Macmillan's 'History of the English Church' covers the period from Henry VIII. to Mary. That period tests the historian more than any other in the whole range of the Church's history. There are three possible positions: Make the best you can of Henry and idolize Elizabeth; prove Catherine a saint and Mary a martyr; or leave the acts and facts to speak for themselves. Dr. Gairdner's way is the third way. It is the least interesting of the three ways. It is the most provoking. For we all have taken a side, and to have no chance of defending our side from unjust attack, to have no joy even in hearing our side bepraised, is quite disappointing. But it is the historical way, and no doubt the best way in the end. It is a merciless picture Dr. Gairdner draws. He *has* no mercy. He feels no sympathy with Cranmer's shrinking from the fire; he has no pity for Mary's hunger of heart. He is a historian, recording the facts, describing the acts, letting history tell its own tale; and just as a surprise, once or

twice in all, showing the hand called God or Nemesis in it.

Dr. Gairdner's period is the period of personality. The human will has its way. The men and women may not have been greater than those who surrounded the Georges, but they are better seen; they did more and suffered better. When the Sheriff of Hampshire stayed the execution of a heretic named Bembridge, because, when the poor man felt the flame, he cried out 'I recant,' Mary through her Council wrote sharply to him, and told him to see the execution carried out even yet: 'if the poor penitent continued steadfast, the Bishop of Winchester would appoint a priest to attend him and help him "to die God's servant."' So men were made great against their will at times. Cranmer himself was in no hurry to come home and be anointed archbishop. They were visible and had to play their part, and if some played it miserably ill, some are still ensamples to those that would follow after and inherit the crown.

Messrs. Marshall Brothers have published *An Awakening* by H. N., and *Crowns for Christians* by Jesse Page, F.R.G.S.

The new edition of Mr. Meyer's works has reached Jeremiah. Its full title (after Mr. Meyer's manner) is *Jeremiah: Priest and Prophet* (Morgan & Scott). Now Jeremiah offers himself to Mr. Meyer's treatment with wonderful readiness. How full of incident was the prophet's life, how moving the incident. The 'weeping prophet,' foolish men have called him. The greatest personal hero among all the prophets rather, made of stuff for battle and endurance as no other, with all his sensitiveness and modesty. And so he comes so close to Christ—which is his great charm for Mr. Meyer. Surely he too hath borne our griefs.

Messrs. Newnes have enriched their library of thin paper and green leather editions with an edition of *Bacon's Works*. The volume is quite thin and portable, and yet it contains the Essays, the Colours of Good and Evil, the New Atlantis, the Advancement of Learning, the History of Henry VII., the Wisdom of the Ancients, and fifty pages more of Miscellaneous. The spelling is modernized.

MOSAICS FROM INDIA. By Margaret B. Denning (*Oliphant*).—So rich has Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier's Library of Mission Literature now become that they have to be most exacting in admitting newcomers. But this volume could not be refused. The whole field of Mission interest in India is ransacked, and its tit-bits gathered. There is no exhaustion either of any subject or of any reader. And yet there is just as little sense of distraction. For India is not as any other country. What is Indian is never confounded with what is Chinese. There is in all the variety unity enough to make the book hold well together. This is the book, then, for those who cannot master a whole library of mission literature. This is the book for those who would like to know what Christ has done for India unmistakably, and what unmistakably He has yet to do. Chapters could be read alone moreover, so that it would serve girls' clubs and mothers' meetings and such like gatherings well.

THE BIBLE IN MODERN ENGLISH. By Ferrar Fenton (*Partridge*).—Previous parts of this brave enterprise pleased us greatly. This volume contains the Books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings. It is not the most difficult part of the Bible to render into everyday speech, but Mr. Fenton has not let it send him to sleep. In the case of the Song of Deborah he has been bold enough to introduce responsive singing, Deborah, Barak, and the troops taking up their parts in turn.

Mr. Elliot Stock has published *Baptism and Regeneration* by W. H. K. Soames, M.A.

VITAL RELIGION. By G. H. S. Walpole, D.D. (*Stock*).—This book will have to overcome its own unattractiveness. The very title is unattractive. The subtitle would have been better: 'The Personal Knowledge of Christ.' That is Vital Religion in Dr. Walpole's judgment, and in ours. For the book belongs to the 'Church's Outlook' Series, and is in the most intimate touch with our present ways of thinking.

THE CREED OF AN EVANGELICAL CHURCHMAN. By the Rev. H. Lawrence Phillips (*Stock*).—If every man would bestow as much care on the formation of his Creed as Mr. Phillips has done, the Church of England would loose the reproach of theological ignorance it now

so commonly carries. If every man would distinguish between essence and accident as Mr. Phillips does, controversy would become less barren and less bitter. It is a manual of theology, the more certainly workable that in one case it has been found to work. Its intelligibility is much to the author's credit. Here is an Oxford Don taking pains to understand ordinary men's wants and giving of his best and ripest to satisfy them.

SEEING THE KING IN HIS BEAUTY. By the Rev. W. Griffiths, M.A. (*Stock*).—Where should a writer go to find a more attractive theme than this? Where should a reader go to find it more attractively described? After all that has been said about Him, against Him, for Him; after all that has been said about others, like Him, unlike Him, we return to Himself. He is still the chiefest among ten thousand, and altogether lovely. It was the grace that flows from the lips of Jesus Himself that gave this subject to Mr. Griffiths, it is with that grace overflowing that he handles it. Nor is there the least taste of over-sweetness. Here beauty is truth, truth beauty. We have but to see Him as He is here described to be changed into the same image. Choose the unpretentious but loyal little book out of many others for quiet meditation.

The new volume of the 'Baptist Pulpit' (*Stockwell*) is *My Gospel* by Thomas Spurgeon. There are no misunderstandings in it. What 'my gospel' is, he who reads may see, and he finds nothing in contradiction or hesitancy. Moreover, 'my gospel' ought to be yours—as assuredly as St. Paul would have said so. And therein—in the gospel and in its assurance—lies the power of this preaching.

AFTER THIS MANNER. By Hugh C. Wallace (*Stockwell*).—A book of direct practical good advice regarding the use of the Lord's Prayer. Use it, says Mr. Wallace, and you will understand it. Without praying the whole Prayer no one will understand a single petition. He is surely right and apposite. We speak so much about the Lord's Prayer and use it in sincerity so very very little.

THE EPIC OF GOD. By A. H. Moncur Sime (*Stockwell*).—This is merely another volume of sermons. It contains only seven sermons. Yet it has given us more uplifting of heart, it has brought us closer to the mind of Christ, than any of the great volumes of theological speculation we have ever read. No man can be so sincere with himself, his message, and us, without having passed through 'gloomy valley and sultry hill.' We accept these hopes as wholly beyond the range of natural optimism, as 'found in Christ'; we share them, perceiving that they express the truth of God's overmastering love for us also, won though it is as yet by another man's experience.

THE DIARY OF A SOUL IN THE YEAR 1901. (*Stockwell.*)—Take one day's entry, all are alike in length, but some refer to incidents that are easily identified, some do not: 'Sat. Sept. 7—He went out in the morning to his lowly-high task in the flush of manhood's strength. With a love-embrace he parted from those who were dearer to him than life itself—for did not he risk life itself daily and hourly on their dear behalf? They looked for him in the evening, but he came not, and Something—an awful Something—whispered, He will not come! Anon they brought him, noble in death—dead for bread! Ah, and something far better, dead for love! They wept bitter tears for him. As they wept the angels gathered round—unseen! And a beautiful Something whispered, He has come to stay! He will go no more out.'

Mr. Fisher Unwin has published the story of the life of Booker T. Washington, under the title of *From Slave to College President.* It is written by Mr. G. Holden Pike.

CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN. By John Newton (*Fisher Unwin*).—The stirring and heroic career of John Brown of Harper's Ferry cannot be related too often, cannot be known too well. This is a popular, vivid, sympathetic narrative. It will serve the purpose of a book for the library, a gift for the boys, or a good hour's reading for oneself—any of these purposes admirably.

MEDIÆVAL ROME. By William Miller, M.A. (*Fisher Unwin*).—So the 'Story of the Nations' is not at an end as we thought it was. Fifty-six volumes, and then Mr. Fisher Unwin issued a 'Subscription Edition,' and the series

seemed complete. But here is volume the fifty-seventh. Its topic is rather a Church than a Nation, but who would restrict the use of the name when the books are so acceptable? It is the Church of Rome from 1073 to 1600, for that was the nation of Rome so far as poor, harassed, priest-ridden Rome had a nationality at all. The story is told with straightforward impartiality, and so it is a sordid story enough. What did these capable ambitious, unscrupulous men live for? This world? It was a poor living they got out of this world, most of them. The next? They deliberately and sometimes ostentatiously 'jumped the life to come.' But these things also are written for our admonition. Mr. Miller's book deserves its place in a long honourable roll of volumes.

CHRISTIAN TEACHING IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. By G. A. Barton, A.M., Ph. D. (Philadelphia: *John C. Winston Co.*).—The title suggests an antiquated method of interpretation, but the book is wholly modern. It is a contribution to the spiritual understanding of the Old Testament, not only in the light of Christ, but also in the light of the most modern conceptions, both of Christ and of the Old Testament. The most modern conception of Christ lays stress on His growth, the most modern conception of the Old Testament lays stress on its growth also. Professor Barton recognizes that through these views we understand better than our fathers did how Christ came not to destroy the Law or the Prophets, but to fulfil. In brief, pregnant, sometimes most pithy, chapters, he shows how easily at one point or another of life or doctrine, the Old Testament leads up to Christ. We wonder how we are to teach the Old Testament now. This is the way to teach it. And our fathers, if they knew, would envy us the ethical and spiritual wealth at our command.

Contributions and Comments.

New Garments and Old Patches.

No light, however narrow the ray, on Christ's difficult parabolic sayings in answer to the Pharisees' question about fasting (Mt 9^{14-17}, Lk 5^{33-39}) can be other than welcome. Perhaps the following rays have not hitherto been focussed.

It seems to me that Jesus is making a double defence (1) of John the Baptist, (2) of His own practice, and that, as in other cases, the two evangelists have each caught one of the two impressions. Christ's sword is here double-edged.

1. The defence of John clearly appears in Lk 5^{36-39} as brought out by Hort (after Weiss) in his *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 23, 24 (*q.v.*).

2. It is of Christ's defence of Himself that I wish to say just this: It is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the Pharisaic expectation that he would graft on to His religion the customs of Judaism. Only, it being one of His earlier encounters with His critics, He is fencing with a buttoned foil, and the keenness of the point is hidden by a change of figure in Mt 9^{17}. He has announced a new method of life (v.^{15}). He acknowledges that this new method cannot be taken as a patch and put upon the garment of Judaism. He is past His opponent's guard—'neither can I patch my *new* garment with *old* patches from yours.' But it is really too absurd to speak thus in plain words: who ever put an old patch on a new garment for the sake of the patch? So He changes the figure to gain verisimilitude of language. Only the point is not seen until we observe that it is translation, and revert to the original. Hence the strange title at the head of this note.

Interpreters have erred in not adhering to the rule of interpretation that the essential thing is to find the gist of a parable, and not to seek for point-by-point identification. The gist of Christ's argument is: patches are nothing, are not needed; but an entirely new garment—a new life. Hence Paul says that Christianity cannot be patched with circumcision or with uncircumcision—they are not anything; what is wanted is a new creature (Gal 6^{15}).

F. Warburton Lewis.

Bowdon.

'Son' in the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus.

It will, I suppose, be very generally admitted, as a sound principle of interpretation, that in every document the meaning of each word, not merely may, but must, be ascertained by reference to the context in which it occurs. A word occurring in two different contexts may, and very often does, possess two entirely different meanings; and to insist that any given word shall always receive the same rendering, no matter how various may be the contexts in which it is placed, involves a principle of interpretation to which few scholars would be willing to subscribe allegiance.

For instance, when Christ says that 'a certain man had two sons' (*τέκνα δύο*) (Mt 21^{28}), He is evidently using the term 'son' in the physical sense of the word. But when Paul calls Timothy 'my beloved son' (*μου τέκνον ἀγαπητόν*), (1 Co 4^{17}), it is equally evident that he is using the word 'son,' not in the physical sense, but in that spiritual sense in which he applies it to the Corinthians, when he calls them 'my beloved children' (*τέκνα μου ἀγαπητά*), and proceeds expressly to explain that he is using the term in the spiritual sense by adding, 'for in Christ Jesus I begat you through the gospel' (*ibid.* $^{14.\,15}$).

These passages make it sufficiently clear that the word *τέκνον* is used in the New Testament in two very different senses, referring, in the one case, to *physical generation*, and, in the other, to *spiritual regeneration*.

Now, in which of these two senses is the term employed in the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus? It will be observed that the Rich Man addresses Abraham three times, and each time he calls him 'Father.' Abraham replies three times; but only once—in his first answer—does he use the word 'son' (*τέκνον*). Now, if we turn to Mt 3^{9}, we shall find that the Jews were in the habit of indulging in the expectation that their physical descent from their 'Father Abraham' would secure to them the enjoyment of future felicity, irrespectively of all other considerations. This comfortable doctrine, which is clearly expounded in Justin Martyr's well-known dialogue with Trypho the Jew, is absolutely discountenanced by Christ: 'Do not fancy that you may say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father'—*i.e.* Do not place a vain reliance upon your physical descent from Abraham, for it will not avail you. And in the Parable of the Rich Man, the vanity of this expectation is being exposed. Thus the Rich Man instantly and persistently claims the benefits which he expected would result from his relationship, by addressing Abraham on each occasion as 'Father.' Abraham, on the other hand, with a touch of 'sublime irony,' admits the relationship, by addressing the Rich Man as 'son' (*τέκνον*); but he thereupon proceeds to explain that the relationship was valueless; and in doing so he, with perfect propriety, drops the appellation to which the suppliant, in his desperation, persistently clings.

From the foregoing considerations it appears clear to me that in the parable before us the term *τέκνον* is employed in the physical sense, in which it is certainly used in Mt 21^{28}. While, in the Miracle of the Healing of the Paralytic Man, it is for the reasons discussed in the twenty-seventh chapter of my work, *The Conflict of Truth*, equally clear to me that in that passage the term is employed in the spiritual sense, in which it is most certainly used in 1 Co 4^{14} and ^{17}.

F. Hugh Capron.

London.

Δεισιδαίμων.

With reference to the meaning which Dr. Chase assigns to *δεισιδαίμων* in Ac 17^{22}, allow me to state that in classical writings the word is not always used with reprobation. In *Cyrop.* iii. 3. 26 Xenophon has the noble expression, *οἱ δεισιδαίμονες ἧττον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φοβοῦνται.*

R. M. Spence.

Manse of Arbuthnott.

The Jewish Mission Problem.

I doubt whether your correspondents, or even Dr. Blyth, have gone deep enough in their studies of the Hebrews and their relation to Christianity. We Christians admit that Hebraism contained a way of salvation, and produced saints whom we honour, and all this before the historical Christ and Christianity appeared on the horizon; but few attempt to give a precise answer to the question, 'How was the average Hebrew saved prior to the incarnation of Christ?' Unless we

have an answer to this question, I do not see how it is possible adequately to present Christianity to the Hebrews. If there was an old Hebrew way to the city of God, who shall say that it has been closed? Men may gain harvests though they use rude instruments of agriculture, and though for soul-culture the New Faith may be better, is the use of the older and ruder aids of Hebraism on this account precluded? We go to London now by railway and motor car, yet men, if they choose, can go by footpath and ancient highway, walking on foot.

How the missionary Societies engaged in work among the Hebrews answer the above question I do not know. That the exact relation of Christianity to the truth and goodness within the non-Christian missionary area, which is a problem for our scholars and specialists, should still be left to be settled or shelved by every young man and every young woman who goes to the foreign mission field, is not to the credit of Christendom. Christianity should have an intelligent and adequate representation.

G. Mackenzie Cobban.

Preston.

Mark iv. 12.

Asking myself how Mark comes to say καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς, while Mt 13^{15}, Jn 12^{40}, and Ac 28^{27} have, in agreement with both the Hebrew and the Greek text of Is 6^{10}, καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς = וְרָפָא לוֹ, it occurred to me that Mark might have taken רפא, 'to *heal*,' for רפה, 'to be *loose*.' Referring to the concordances I find that רפה is really translated three times by ἀφιέναι (2 K 9^{27}, Pr 9^{13}, Ca 3^{4}), and רפאים coming from רפה by ἰατροί, Ps $87(88)^{10}$; compare further, Pr 18^{9}. I had therefore no doubt that the explanation of this ἀφεθῇ had been found. But my conscience did not allow me to close this note, before I had referred also to the *Targum* and *Peshito* of Isaiah. And to my surprise both these versions offer *the very same reading as Mark*, the Targum וישקביק להון, the Peshito ונשתבק לו. None of the commentaries at my disposal—not even Swete or Menzies—quote this fact. Is there really no one who has noticed this before? Mark agreeing with the Targum and the Peshito, Matthew with the Massorah and the Septuagint, surely this is important enough for the Synoptic question to deserve to be mentioned.

Eb. Nestle.

Maulbronn.

P.S.—Neither do those who have lately made the O.T. quotations in the New the subject of special publications (Dittmar, Hühn) refer to the Targum.[1] And Mrs. Lewis writes for this journal in her paper, 'What have We gained by the Sinaitic Palimpsest' (xii. 419): 'From Jn 12^{14} to 12^{47} *no variant occurs worth mentioning.* This is very satisfactory, as it contains so many of the sayings of our Lord,' and omits to mention a gain, which we owe to her quite personally (not to be found in the first edition of Bensly-Burkitt-Harris, but in her supplement: *Some Pages*, etc.), namely, that the Sinai Palimpsest also reads (Jn 12^{40}) ואשבק להון, instead of καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς, *i.e.* and should *forgive* them, καὶ ἀφήσω αὐτοῖς. The same reading is given by the second hand in the Codex Bezæ in Mark (its first hand having there ἀφεθήσομαι), with some old Latin MSS, which have *dimittam* or *remittam*. In Mt the Sinai Palimpsest omits the whole clause after καρδίᾳ συνιοῦσιν. The Arabic *Tatian* gives the passage from Mt with the reading ἰάσομαι. With reference to D it must be noted that the impossible ἀφεθήσομαι may be due to a combination of ἀφη–σω and ἰά–σομαι, just as well as to the influence of the third person ἀφεθήσεται.

The consequences of this variant are great: it corroborates the surmise that the evangelists, in telling the words of Jesus, made use of the Bible MSS in their hands, either those of the Septuagint, as Mt 15^{9}, where μάτην is not found in the Hebrew text of Is 29^{13}, or of other versions, as here in Mk, or of the original.

Eb. N.

Matt. vi. 3.

A curious application of Christ's saying about the right and the left hand is made in the *Didascalia*, chap. 2. In Syriac, as in the Greek, the word '*hand*' is omitted, which ought, therefore, to be printed

[1] It is with great satisfaction that I found at last *one* reference to the Targum, in Henry Gough, *The N.T. Quotations* (London: Walton & Moberly, 1855). He writes, p. 320, on Mk: 'This agrees remarkably with the Targum of Jonathan on Is 6, especially if, with some MSS, we omit τὰ ἁμαρτήματα.'

in italics in the English version; it is originally only 'thy left' (one), 'thy right' (one). Now in the *Didascalia* the passage is quoted to warn Christians against going to law before unbelievers (1 Co 6^5). The passage runs—

It is the glory of the Christian to have no bad matter with any one; but when by means of the Enemy a temptation comes upon any and he has a suit, he ought to be careful to get free from it, even it be with some loss; and to the judgment of the heathen he must not go, nor must ye receive witness from heathen against one of ours. For through the heathen the Enemy is busy against the servants of God. Therefore, because the heathen will stand to the left (Mt 25^{33}), he called them the *left*. For our Saviour said so: *Nor shall know your left, what your right is doing:* nor shall know the *heathen* in your judgments, and ye shall not receive from them witness against yourselves, and ye shall not go to law before them. As He further said in the Gospel: Give to the Cesar what is Cesar's, and to God what is God's.

In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, that recast of the *Didascalia*, ii. 45, this passage is changed and replaced by a reference to 1 Co 6^5—

διὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν (i.e. τῶν ἐθνικῶν) ὁ διάβολος ἐπιτηδεύει τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ὄνειδος ἐπιγελρει ὡς μὴ ἐχόντων ἡμῶν ἕνα σοφὸν τὸν δυνάμενον μεταξὺ βραβεῦσαι τὸ δίκαιον ἢ τὰς ἀντιλογίας διαλῦσαι. μὴ οὖν γιγνωσκέτωσαν τὰ ἔθνη τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑμῶν διαφοράς, etc.

In Syriac the Devil is sometimes called directly 'the left one' (see *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 2662), and it is not impossible that *Sammael*, the well-known Jewish name for the chief of all Satans (סַמָּאֵל, *Targum Job*, 28^7), may be originally סְמָאל, *the left*, vocalized after Rafael and similar names.[1] A corresponding designation for the Devil in the *Constitutions* is ὁ Ἀλλότριος, 'the other one,' in Hebrew זָר; compare, for instance, *μὴ δῷ τόπον τῷ Ἀλλοτρίῳ κατ' αὐτῶν*, *Const.* 8^6 = Eph 4^{26}, *ῥύσηται τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἱκέτας ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀλλοτρίου καταδυναστείας*, *ibid.* chap. 7, *ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε . . . ὑπὲρ τῶν χειμαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλλοτριόυ*, *ibid.* chap. 12.

Eb. Nestle.

Maulbronn.

[1] It is also in Arabic that the left side is connected with the Devil. When ye eat and drink, says a word of Mohammed, eat and drink with your right hand, for, lo, the devil is eating and drinking with the left.

Does the Papyrus of Khamuas in the British Museum contain Early Christian Records?

By W. St. Chad Boscawen, F.R.H.S.

It may indeed be truly said that Egypt is the land of surprises. Year after year the explorer and the decipherer seem to bring more and more of the unexpected to light. But a few years ago the threshold of Egyptian history was bounded by the age of Senefru, the builder of the pyramid of Medum, at a period of some three thousand seven hundred years before the Christian era. The researches of De Morgan and Petrie at Abydos and Nagada have proved the age of Menes and the birth of dynastic rule to be historic events. Even here the limit was not reached, for the undaunted student of human origins has passed far beyond, into the dark and labyrinthine regions of the prehistoric, and still the spirit of inquiry remains unsatisfied, and would pass on and on. Still new problems arise demanding solution.

It is not with the early history of Egypt, or the dark hinterland which stretches like a primeval African forest beyond that age, that I have to deal in this article. It is with the later links in the chain of findings that I would concern myself. In recent years the sandy dunes of the Fayoum and the Roman cemeteries of Akhmin have yielded up an astonishing *trouvaille* of buried literature. Fragments of famous classical authors — Homer, Demosthenes, Aristophanes, many writers known to us by name but whose works were lost, such as Hysperides the poet—have been brought to light. The lost Politics of Aristotle and a poem of Sappho are all proof of the existence in Egypt of a literature, and a reading public. More important still has been the discovery of some few—as yet very few—fragments of Christian

literature. Chief among these are the portions of the Gospel and Apocalypse of St. Peter from Akhmin and the Logia of Jesus from the Fayoum. These fragments at least prove the existence of a Christian literature in Egypt; and when we add to these the numerous fragments of Gospels found at Oxyrhynchus, we may hope for yet more important discoveries. There have, however, been discovered other papyri which, while not of Christian origin, belong to a period contemporary with the advent of the gospel preaching in Alexandria, and which certainly seem to throw a side, if not a direct, light upon the earliest traditions of Christianity. According to the best received tradition, the gospel teaching was introduced into Egypt by St. Mark about the year A.D. 67. Of this we have no authentic evidence; but if it is not possible to fix this definitely, there is evidence that the new teaching had been promulgated in Egypt towards the end of the first century, and borne considerable fruit by the early part of the second. The writings of the Gnostics Bassilides and Valentinus contain references and quotations from the Gospels which imply that the pupils of these teachers must have known the books upon which the Christian faith was based.

The Gnostic papyri, written in demotic, contain, as De Groof has shown, charms in which the names of St. Peter and other apostles occur.[1] We may therefore assume that Christian teaching would be known to a considerable portion of the population of Egypt, at least in Alexandria, between A.D. 67 and A.D. 150. One other point I would venture to suggest has a considerable bearing on this subject. It is hardly to be supposed that the earliest Christian community was one derived from the Greco-Roman population, or from the Hellenized Egyptians, but rather from the poorer Jewish-Aramæan, and possibly a few of the lower Egyptians. The only convert we know of from the New Testament is Apollos, an Hellenistic Jew. It was therefore to this class the first teaching would be known. Now among this class the Egyptian patois would be the debased tongue which we find in use in the demotic papyri. Moreover, the demotic was the script of the trading community, as we know from the numerous contracts, wills, letters, etc., which have been found. To place the matter clearly, and it will be seen to be of importance, there was probably a small Christian community in Egypt to whom St. Mark went; indeed, De Groof deduces considerable evidence to ascribe the foundation of this nucleus to the preaching of Philip, and the Egyptian language of this community would be that which we find in the demotic papyri.

[1] *Bulletin de l'Institute Egyptienne.*

Egypt was *par excellence* the home of magic, indeed the Talmud styles it the land to which eleven portions of magic were given when only twelve had been created. It was also the home of the novel or popular tale, as shown by such tales as that of 'The Two Brothers' in Daubeney Papyrus, or the Magic Tales in the 'Westcarr Papyrus,' or the 'Story of Sinhuit,' etc. The magical tales were the literary pabulum of the common people. Such a literature took a firm hold upon the popular imagination, and, like the *Arabian Nights*, was handed down orally more than in written form. Like all folk-lore tales, these stories grew with centuries; all legend being fish for the net of the popular raconteurs of Thebes and Memphis, and in later times for those of Alexandria. The vitality of magic and wonder tales was great; and when religion and priestly tradition had lost their power, and popular faith grew dim, these stories survived. The decadence of the Egyptian faith after the fall of the Theban priesthood, followed by the overthrow of the Saite rule, obliterated much of the canonical literature of Egypt. The 'Book of the Dead,' a vast emporium of magic, gave place to shorter rituals, such as the 'Book of Breathings,' or the still shorter rituals of Greco-Roman times; but the magicians held their own. In Ptolemaic and Greco-Roman times there was a great revival of the love of these tales, of the tales 'of the things which men of olden time knew,' as the prince in the Westcarr Papyrus calls them, and several collections were made.

Chief among such cycles of stories was one grouped round a certain Kha-m-uas 'Manifestation in Thebes,' who was the son of the Pharaoh named Usamara, whom we may identify with the User-mat-Ra of the monuments, or Rameses II., the Pharaoh of Moses. The prince is known to us from several monuments as the 'High Priest of Memphis,' and there is a statue of him in the British Museum. In ancient times he had a great reputation for knowledge of esoteric learning and magic; and it is curious to note that the in-

scription on his statue seems to be partly written in some secret writing. Throughout these legends or tales we find him usually mentioned as Setne or Setme, a name really derived from his title as High Priest of Memphis; but in some cases his full name is given, so that there can be no doubt as to the identity.

Of these tales we possess two manuscripts; the first is in the Museum at Gizeh, and has been published by Brugsch, Hess, and recently by Mr. Griffith. The date is uncertain, but undoubtedly it belongs to the Ptolemaic age. The second, and in many respects more important manuscript, is now in the British Museum, where it is numbered Papyrus DCIV., and has recently been published in facsimile by the Oxford Clarendon Press, and translated and edited by Mr. F. M. Griffith, F.S.A., reader in Egyptology at Oxford. Of this valuable document we are able fortunately to fix the date with considerable accuracy. It consisted of two sheets of papyrus originally used for the writing of a series of accounts and land registers of the city of Crocodilopolis, and is dated in the seventh year of the Emperor Claudius, that is, A.D. 46–47. The reverse of the papyrus has been cleaned, and upon it has been transcribed in demotic of a very cursive character, a series of tales of Kha-m-uas. Judging from the re-usage of the Greek papyri in the Fayoum, the interval between the two writings may be fairly placed at about thirty years, which would give for the demotic transcript a date of A.D. 76–77, that is, from ten to twelve years after the reputed mission of St. Mark.

The contents of the papyrus may be divided into two portions: (1) the story of the birth and childhood of Se-Osiris (son of Osiris) the son of Kha-m-uas, and (2) the weaving in of an old story of a contest between rival magicians and Se-Osiris which contains matter closely resembling the episodes in the life of Moses at the court of Rameses II.; but with this portion I cannot now deal.

The tale commences with the story of the birth of Se-Osiris. Setme (Kha-m-uas) and his wife are anxious for a child, and are aged, as several references in the papyrus imply. The wife's name is *Meḥ-usekht* (1). The first complete portion of the story commences with the dream of Setme.

We read—

Setme laid him down one night and dreamt a dream, they speaking to him, saying, Meḥ-useχt thy wife hath taken conception in the night. The child that shall be born he shall be named Se-Osiris; for many are the marvels that he shall do in the land of Egypt (*Kemi*).

Here we are at once struck with a similarity to the Gospel narrative; but before dealing with this section one other quotation—

Her time of bearing came. She gave birth to a male child. They caused Setme to know it; (and) he named him Se-Osiris, according to what was said in the dream.

Here we have in both passages a most striking parallelism with the Gospel narrative. The passage may be quoted from Mt $1^{20-22.\ 24}$. I have placed in italics the parallels.

'But when he (Joseph) thought upon these things, behold, an angel of the Lord *appeared unto him in a dream*, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that *which is conceived in her* is of the Holy Ghost. And *she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call His name Jesus: for He shall save His people from their sins*.'

Here also we may quote v.^{24} 'And Joseph rose from his sleep and did as the angel of the Lord commanded him, and . . . unto him his wife: and knew her not till *she had brought forth a son: and he called His name Jesus*.'

It is also necessary to quote a passage from the Gospel of St. Luke, as it throws considerable light upon the comparisons we may institute.

In the Annunciation as described by St. Luke we have again the naming of the child, for we read, 'Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call His name Jesus.' Then follows (1^{35}), 'That which is to be born shall be called holy, the Son of God.' Incidentally, we have also a parallelism with the naming and birth of St. John the Baptist as described by St. Luke.[1]

Without pushing these comparisons too far, there are some points of interest to be noticed. From the few fragments of the commencement of the papyrus and also a passage near the end, we learn that the birth of Se-Osiris was of the nature of a miraculous conception. Se-Osiris, who was with his father Osiris in Amenti, saw the trouble that was being placed upon Egypt by wicked magicians who would 'bring shame upon the land of Kemi.' Now in Egyptian theology shame (*betes*)

[1] Very similar circumstances attend the birth of the Coptic Saint Shenadi, as described in his Life by M. E. Amélineau, *Les Moines Egyptiens Vie de Schnoudi*, p. 15 *et seq.*

is the equivalent of sin; as in the Book of the Dead, chap. 14 we read: 'Behold the god hath shame of me, but let my faults be washed away.' He then requests his father Osiris to allow him to go and deliver the land. To this end he is transformed into a plant, of the seed of which Meḥ-useχt eats and conceives of the child. A somewhat similar legend is current as to the birth of Zoroaster; and to trace this to Persian influence may be possible, but the doctrine of transmigration of souls through the medium of plants was a great power in Gnosticism. The end of the story may also be quoted after the contest with the magician, the Pharaoh and his court took for the wonder-working child, but *he was taken* out of their sight. It is not my intention to deal with any of the difficult theological problems which arise from these parallels, but I now pass to another striking passage describing the youth of Se-Osiris.

It came to pass that when the child Se-Osiris was one year people might have said he was two years, he being two years they might have said he was three years. He grew big, he grew strong, he was put to school, and he rivalled the scribe whom they caused to give him instruction. The child Se-Osiris began to speak magic (*Hek*) with the scribes in the House of Life in Memphis, and all the land wondered at him.

Behold the boy Se-Osiris was *twelve* years, and it came to pass that there was no good scribe or learned man in Memphis that rivalled him in reading or writing a spell.

Here again we seem to be almost in touch with Lk 2^{40} *et seq.*: '*And the child grew, and waxed strong, filled with wisdom*: and the power of God was upon Him. And *when He was twelve years of age* (2^{46}) they found Him sitting *in the temple in the midst of the doctors, both hearing and asking them questions. And all that heard Him were amazed at His understanding and His answers.*' Here the verbal correspondence is even more close than in the former passages, and even the differences are important. We have agreement in age, in growth, in wisdom and stature, and in the resort to the temple and consultation with the learned men. In the case of Se-Osiris it is magic that constitutes his great wisdom, at which all wondered. We must remember that this is the very source to which Talmudic writers attribute the miracles of Jesus, who say that Ben Stada, one of the Talmud names of Jesus, brought his magical spells from Egypt.

The superiority of learning of Se-Osiris agrees with that ascribed to Jesus in the 'Gospel of the Infancy.'

A word must be said as to the name of the hero, Se-Osiris. It means, as I have said, 'the son of Osiris'; but as I have shown, the legend points clearly to his being a miraculous birth, and an incarnation. Throughout the papyrus, Osiris is always called "the god" (*pa neter*), or "the great god" (*pa neter āa*), and is really the only god who appears prominently, both Anubis and Thoth, who appear in the judgment scene in Amenti, being inferior to him. So that Se-Osiris becomes a very close equivalent of 'the Son of God' or 'the son of the God.' We must remember, as Amélineau says, the Egyptian Christians never entirely abandoned their own creed. He says: 'Isis or Horus lost none of their popularity; Anubis remained always the one who conducted the souls of the dead to the supreme judge Osiris, and he Thoth was still the supreme recorder. The Christian Hell did not change in any way anything of the Egyptian Hell, it was always Amenti in the west of Heaven.' So that we have in this papyrus all that might have been gathered from an Egyptian Christian and utilized by the story-teller.

It is important to notice that all the matter affords parallels with the writings of St. Matthew and St. Luke, but there is no contact with St. Mark. The part which describes the visit of Se-Osiris and his father to Amenti contains a curious parable resembling that of the 'Rich man and Lazarus,' again in touch with St. Luke, and also teaching as to the judgment and future life quite different from the ordinary eschatology of the Egyptians. But to deal with this portion, which is of great value, would require the study of several important new inscriptions. In conclusion, we have here, within twenty years of the mission of St. Mark, folk tales which present most striking parallels to the Gospel writings, and which, so far as we know, occur nowhere previously in Egyptian literature. It is very tempting to see in them the first echoes of the preaching of the Christian faith in the land where it made its earliest and greatest conquests.

Printed by Morrison & Gibb Limited, Tanfield Works, and Published by T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, Edinburgh. It is requested that all literary communications be addressed to The Editor, St. Cyrus, Montrose.

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

In the *Expositor* for July the Rev. A. E. Garvie, B.D., makes an original attempt to meet an old difficulty in the harmony of the life of Christ. The difficulty has to do with the cleansing of the temple. It is a serious difficulty, but its seriousness does not lie in the fact that there are two cleansings reported, one by St. John at the beginning of the ministry and one by the Synoptists at the end. It lies in the fact that the cleansing recorded by St. John is an exercise, as it seems, of Messianic authority, whereas the Synoptists are careful beyond all things to show that Christ did not assert His Messianic claims throughout all the early ministry.

The difficulty is old, for it is obvious. We have all made our attempts to explain it. Mr. Garvie says he once made an attempt before this, but it does not satisfy him now. He thought that St. John had made a mistake. St. John's memory was at fault. Marvellously accurate as to times and places, he was inaccurate in his old age as to early impressions. The husband can scarcely think himself into the time when he did not know his wife, can scarcely recover the impression of his first chance meeting with her. So St. John. He had passed through many developing experiences since the early days of his following of Jesus, and he cannot put himself wholly back into them. He remembers where the impressions were made, he can say when, but the impressions themselves have passed away. Jesus did not assert His Messianic dignity at the outset by cleansing the temple. St. John is confused in his recollections.

That was once Mr. Garvie's explanation. It is not his explanation now. He does not say why he abandoned it. But we gather that further study gave him more respect for St. John's memory. This explanation would not do, because everywhere else St. John shows that his memory for impressions is as good as his memory for times and places.

So Mr. Garvie had to find another way of meeting the difficulty about the early claim of Messiahship. He now holds that Jesus did make it. St. John has made no mistake. Rather St. John is earlier in his recollections than even the Synoptists—we do not say clearer, we say earlier. He records an experience or set of experiences through which Jesus passed before the time at which the Synoptists take up the public ministry. They were humiliating experiences for Jesus. But Mr. Garvie thinks that He could not help passing through them.

Jesus began by announcing His Messiahship. It may not be in its fullest sense, it may not be in much deliberate language, but He began

naturally by showing what He found Himself to be. So He drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple. But He had to answer for it. To His surprise the priesthood did not believe in Him. They demanded a sign. They would not accept the only sign He could give them. He had accordingly to be more cautious. He did not cleanse the temple again till the ministry was near its end and the claim of Messiahship at once imperative and inevitable.

This early confiding period in the life of Jesus Mr. Garvie traces through other events. It is seen in the interview with Nicodemus. It was a time of testing. If Jesus was disappointed, it had to be. For it must first of all be seen whether the rulers and the people are ready to believe in Him. How can that be seen if they do not get a chance? Jesus gave them all a chance—John the Baptist, the priests, the Pharisees, His mother, His disciples. The few disciples stood the test. The rest failed, and Jesus sorrowfully withdrew into Himself, for now by this disappointing experience He 'knew what was in man.'

There is a quotation in Mr. Garvie's article, just noticed, which had better be looked at separately. It is the words of St. John (2^{24}), 'Jesus did not trust Himself unto them, for that He knew all men.' Mr. Garvie thinks that in these words we may find 'a hint of a change from confidence to caution.' That is to say, Jesus knew all men *now*, after He had gone through the bitter experience of trusting them and being disappointed. He did not know all men until He had tried what was in them. Now He had tried them, and *as the result of His experience* He knew them, and would commit Himself no longer to them.

Is that St. John's meaning? It is not the meaning that occurs to one. What reasons does Mr. Garvie give for his interpretation? He gives no reasons. But Mr. Garvie is not an interpreter at haphazard; nor is he simply desperate here, being driven into a corner. When we search for reasons ourselves, we notice at once that the verb which St. John uses (γινώσκειν), is the verb which signifies knowledge that has been acquired by observation and experience, not the verb which expresses intuitive and absolute knowledge (εἰδέναι). Mr. Garvie's exposition may not convince us yet; but if the distinction between the two Greek verbs to *know*, which is so persistently drawn out and defended by Westcott, is to be relied on, then we must at least consider why it is that St. John here says Christ's knowledge of men was acquired knowledge, and how and when He acquired it.

In the *Journal of Biblical Literature* for 1902, of which the first part has just been published, Professor Irving Wood of Northampton, Massachusetts, discusses the origin of the Magnificat.

There are at present four views respecting the nature and origin of the Magnificat fighting for supremacy among scholars. The oldest—we may still call it the orthodox view—is that the Song is Mary's own, an utterance inspired, as Professor Wood says, by the emotional situation, the content of which is determined by Mary's familiarity with the lyric religious poetry of her nation. The newest view—which of course is Harnack's—is that the Magnificat is a literary composition of the author or editor of the Third Gospel. Between these two views lie other two. One of them is that the Song is a Jewish-Christian hymn. The other is that it is entirely Jewish, with the exception of a single phrase.

Of these four views Professor Wood adopts the last and defends it. The Magnificat is simply a Jewish patriotic psalm, one phrase having been introduced to fit it for its place in the Gospel according to St. Luke. He gives two reasons for his opinion.

One reason is that the Magnificat makes no allusion to Mary's peculiar position. With the exception of a single phrase, it might have been

composed at any time by a Jewish Messianic poet. The other reason is that it is national and not personal. Cut out one phrase, and all that is left refers to the nation of Israel, none to any individual. The LORD is praised because He hath done 'great things.' But what are these 'great things'? They are scattering the proud, putting down princes, lifting the humble to exalted places, feeding the poor with good things while the rich are sent empty away, helping Israel His servant (or son, παῖς) according to the promises of old. These 'great things' are all the common stock of the national Messianic poetry.

The phrase that is so much in the way is found in the 48th verse. The whole verse is, 'For he hath looked upon the low estate of his handmaiden.' The phrase is made up of the words 'of his handmaiden' (τῆς δούλης). It is the gender that causes the trouble. If it were masculine (τοῦ δούλου), there would be no difficulty. For then it would apply to the 'Servant,' used of the nation of Israel. Such a use of 'Servant' is familiar. We find it in Isaiah (48^{20} $49^{3.5}$), in Ezekiel (37^{25}), and in the Psalms (136^{22}). And Professor Wood believes that the 'editor' of St. Luke changed the masculine to the feminine when he chose this national song and put it into the mouth of Mary. There was no sinister purpose in his act. He had no thought of having the Song regarded as Mary's composition. 'He used it only as a fitting literary expression for the Messianic hopes and patriotic aspirations which he assumed to have filled her mind during the period preceding the birth of Christ.'

The first place in the *American Journal of Theology* for July is given to Professor McGiffert of New York with an article on 'The Origin of High-Church Episcopacy.'

What does Professor McGiffert mean by 'High-Church Episcopacy'? He means 'the theory which maintains that Episcopacy is of divine appointment and is essential to the very being of the Christian Church; that only he is a true bishop who stands in the direct line of apostolic succession, and is consequently in possession of grace handed down from the apostles in unbroken sequence; that Episcopal ordination is not simply expedient, but necessary to the constitution of the clergy; and that the sacraments through which alone the grace of Christ ordinarily operates can be validly performed only by one episcopally ordained.'

It is no question, therefore, with Professor McGiffert of rival forms of Church government. It is not the origin of Episcopacy that he considers. It is the origin of Apostolic Succession. It is a special theory of Episcopacy. He accepts the definition of his subject which he finds in Haddan's *Apostolic Succession*, where the matter is put cumulatively and completely thus: 'Without bishops no presbyters; without bishops and presbyters no legitimate certainty of sacraments; without sacraments no certain union with the mystical body of Christ, namely, with His Church; without this no certain union with Christ, and without that union no salvation.'

That is the 'High-Church' theory of Episcopacy. Professor McGiffert asks, When and under what circumstances did it arise?

It did not arise in our Lord's day. There was a Christian Church if you choose, but there was no definition, no theory of it then. Nor afterwards, as long as the disciples reckoned themselves members of the Jewish covenant. The Jews constituted God's true Church. And the early Christians were Jews. They were distinguished from other Jews only in accepting Jesus as the Messiah. It was a considerable distinction. But they did not know yet that it made them a separate Church. So they continued to observe the customs delivered unto the fathers and to count themselves of the number of that elect people who formed the Church of God.

The first person to frame a theory of the Church was St. Paul. The limits of Judaism had been passed. Gentiles had been received into the Church, and they were Gentiles still. The Christian community could no longer persuade itself that it formed part of the old Jewish ecclesia. It was a new covenant people, the true Israel of God, a new Church. The idea is first explicitly stated in St. Paul. And it is stated so frequently there that the list of passages which Professor McGiffert gives need not be repeated.

But there is another and a wholly novel conception of the Church in St. Paul. The Church is the mystical Body of Christ. Where did the apostle find that idea? He found it in his own experience. He knew by experience that Christ dwelt in him. Christ dwelt similarly in every true believer. But believers formed the Church. Therefore Christ dwelt in the Church. And as believers were related to one another as are the members of the human body, the Church in which Christ dwells is the Body of Christ.

So there is in St. Paul first of all the simple thought of the Church as a collective name for Christians. He can salute the 'Church' in a particular place or the 'saints' in a particular place. It is immaterial which word he uses. He can even say, 'Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth, unto *them* that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints' (1 Co 1^{2}). And, in the second place, there is the thought that these saints make up a Body for Christ to dwell in, both because they fulfil the functions of the members of a body, and because Christ dwells in every one of them.

These are St. Paul's theories of the Church. It is to be noted regarding them that St. Paul never thinks of the Church as existing before its members or independently of them. In St. Paul and in every New Testament writer, the Church apart from its members is nothing.

That is Professor McGiffert's first step. The second is that as each member of the Church has his own peculiar gift—the gift which fits him for his place in the Body—he is to exercise it for the benefit of the Body. The possession of a special gift was regarded by the early Christians as a divine call to some specific form of service in the Church. Some were called to be apostles in the Church, some to be prophets and teachers, some to be workers of miracles, some healers of the sick, some interpreters of tongues, some helpers, some counsellors, some shepherds of the flock (1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 4^{11}). These gifts were the gifts of the Spirit. All Christians received of the Spirit. But some received more liberally than others. And especially did one Christian differ from another in the nature and purpose of his gift.

Now the greatest of all spiritual gifts was the gift of teaching. For to teach was to declare the will of God. There was no code of laws in the new Covenant as in the old. There was no tradition of the elders. When occasions rose and surprises came the Church turned to those who possessed the gift of teaching.

There were three classes of those who possessed this gift. They were called apostles, prophets, and teachers. The last had the gift in a special and narrower sense.

The apostle and the prophet were believed to receive more direct revelations than the teacher, who gained his knowledge of God's will more by study and reflexion than by immediate inspiration. Again the apostle was more of an evangelist or missionary than the prophet or teacher. He went from place to place preaching the Word. But all were teachers in the broadest sense. All revealed the will of God. And all exercised the authority that belonged to the superiority and value of their gift.

But now the important thing to observe is that they exercised authority only in so far as the

Church admitted their inspiration, their possession of the gift of the Spirit. It was not they that exercised the authority, it was the Spirit speaking by them. Practically they were the rulers of the Church, but their rule could be challenged by any community and simply set aside. St. Paul was an apostle, but he had to establish his position to the satisfaction of the Churches in Corinth and Galatia. And in the Apocalypse (2^2) reference is made to the fact that the Church of Ephesus had tried certain men who claimed to be apostles, and had found that they were not.

The Church had to test its teachers. It must have been difficult. But the Church of Christ has never been permitted to shirk a responsibility simply because it is difficult. It seems, however, to have been found expedient to frame some rules for the testing of professed teachers. They may be found to-day in that early manual of Christian practice called the *Didache*. They deserve attention: 'Concerning the apostles and prophets so do ye according to the ordinance of the gospel. Let every apostle when he cometh to you be received as the Lord; but he shall not abide more than a single night, or if there be need a second likewise; but if he abide three days he is a false prophet. And when the apostle departeth let him receive nothing but bread, until he findeth shelter; but if he asketh money he is a false prophet.'

Thus the apostles and prophets went everywhere preaching the Word, and thus they were received and tested. They had authority. They were the practical rulers of the Church. But they ruled it only in so far as the Church acknowledged the gift of the Spirit that was in them.

Now the High-Church theory of Episcopacy is that one of these classes of teachers, that is to say, the apostles, were themselves the Church. Or at least that they were the foundation of the Church in such a sense that the Church derives its powers from them, and exists only because of its permanent connexion with them. Is there any hint in the New Testament that the apostles were thus separate from the other teachers? Professor McGiffert says that the only shadow of a hint is found in the Epistle to the Ephesians ($2^{19f.}$).

The passage is: 'So then ye are no more strangers and sojourners, but ye are fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus Himself being the chief corner-stone.' If it is a hint, it is a very meagre one. For, in the first place, prophets as well as apostles are mentioned as the foundation of the Church. And, in the second place, the apostles and prophets are the foundation on which the Church is built *as preachers of the gospel*, not in any official capacity. That is made clear in the next chapter, where St. Paul speaks of the mystery which has been revealed to the apostles and prophets in the Spirit. Neither here nor elsewhere in the New Testament is there even a hint that the apostles are essential to the existence of the Church, or essential to the salvation of its members.

How did that idea arise, and when? It arose early in the history of the Church, but after the times of the New Testament, and it arose in three steps of evolution.

The first step was made when the ruler,—whether apostle, prophet, or teacher,—who ruled as occasion demanded by declaring the mind of the Spirit, and only in so far as the mind of the Spirit was recognized in him, became a settled regular officer of the Church. This step is already accomplished in Clement of Rome. How far Clement's instruction in the matter represents the practice of the Church we cannot say. Writing from Rome to the Church in Corinth, a generation later than St. Paul wrote to the same Church on the same subject, Clement did not give his own mind as St. Paul did, and appeal to the Corinthians to recognize therein the mind of the

Spirit; he laid down rules (for the most part out of the Old Testament) which were to be rigidly enforced and be referred to regular officers, who were to be implicitly obeyed.

These regular officers were already there. They had arisen out of the necessities of the time, aided by the weakened sense of the Spirit's presence. They were chosen for the most part, we need not doubt, from the wandering apostle or the prophet or teacher. For it was necessary that some one should be set apart to administer the charities of the Church. It was necessary that some one should possess authority to regulate the order of worship, some one who should be always present. And it was necessary that some one should be chosen to express the mind of the Church in the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. These duties were all spiritual. It was therefore natural that the Church should choose for their exercise the men whose gifts were spiritual above those of all other men, the apostles, prophets, and teachers. But as soon as the apostle, prophet, or teacher received permanent and absolute control of the activities of the Church, it was of less consequence to the majority that he spoke the mind of the Spirit, it was of more importance that he maintained good order. Clement's letter was probably called forth by the struggle between the regular official of the Church in Corinth and the visiting apostle or prophet. For the two must have existed together for a time and often have come in conflict. Clement decided in favour of the regular official, and the first step was taken.

The second step is seen in Ignatius of Antioch. It is still early in the second century.

In the early Church the conduct of the Lord's Supper demanded the presence of a regular official more than any other Christian exercise. It was recognized as the most important thing in worship. It was most difficult to observe it decently and in order. The alms of the Church, moreover, were usually distributed at its celebration. And, finally, it was in connexion with the Eucharist that discipline was most commonly administered. The celebration of the Supper was the occasion upon which the regular Church officer was most needed, and upon which he was most influential. The right to administer the Eucharist became the most coveted privilege. Clement seems to say that this right belonged to the regular officials of the Church. But Ignatius goes farther and says that unless administered by the regular officials of the Church it is no true Eucharist. It did not matter much what name the officials went by—overseer, bishop, deacon, leader,—it did not matter. For the most part one man was found best fitted for the office, and the name of bishop (ἐπίσκοπος) or overseer was usually given to him. But the name did not matter just at first. No official, no Eucharist—that is the attitude of Ignatius. The second step is taken.

These steps were made in the interest of good order. The third step was more theoretical, and it was longer in being taken. Before the end of the second century we find it accomplished. Again it has to do with the Eucharist. The Eucharist is recognized, not only as the great feature of the Church's worship, not only as its chief sacrament and means of grace, but also as a true and real sacrifice. Now the officiating bishop becomes a priest. He is separate from his brethren. He exercises powers they do not possess. Henceforth the Church is the Clergy. And they have the power, simply in virtue of their office, of admitting to the kingdom of heaven. For none can enter without the forgiveness of sins. And the forgiveness of sins is dependent on the sacrifice of the Eucharist, which none but the priest can make. The theory is in existence in the second century. By the middle of the third it is in full exercise. The High-Church doctrine of Episcopacy has begun its singular career.

The Epistle of Psenosiris was, by a slip of the pen, attributed in last month's issue (p. 481) to Professor Dalman instead of to Professor Deissmann.

Jerome: A Character Sketch from the Period of the Declining Roman Empire.

By Professor Georg Grützmacher, Ph.D., Heidelberg.

We have a picture by the German painter, Albrecht Dürer, entitled 'Jerome at Home.' The saint, withdrawn from the world, appears seated in a pleasant chamber. Everything wears a friendly aspect: the polished woodwork, the useful articles on the walls, the large pumpkin depending from the ceiling. In the foreground lies a lion, which can hardly keep his good-natured eyes open for sleep, and side by side with him the house dog lies sunning himself. The principal subject of the picture has placed his shoes under the window sill, hung the large cardinal's hat on the nail beside the sand-glass, and set himself to work. He is engaged on the translation of the Bible, the task which has immortalized his name. Seated at the beautifully wrought table, he is deeply engrossed with his work. The picture of a pious, quiet, contented scholar! Through the window panes the bright sun pours its mild and kindly rays. The same neatness and order that appear in the home seem to characterize the heart of this saint. Peace pervades the whole scene, and is diffused also over his lofty intellectual brow. Such is the picture which Albrecht Dürer, building upon legend, has painted of St. Jerome. What was the real character of this man who deserves to be better known than he is, the author of what is still accepted by the Roman Catholic Church as the authoritative Latin Version of the Bible, the so-called Vulgate?

When the emperor Theodosius died in 395 A.D., the mighty Roman Empire was divided between his two sons, Honorius and Arcadius. Honorius received the West, Arcadius the East. But scarcely had the powerful emperor, Theodosius, breathed his last when revolt, bloodshed, poverty, pestilence began within, while outside Huns, Germans, Parthians pressed upon the frontiers of the Empire. Men were seized with the idea that the world had grown old and that its course was run, and that life was not worth living. And, as a matter of fact, a great epoch in the history of mankind was coming to an end. The Roman Empire, the ancient world, was on the point of dying, and terrible was the death struggle. There was nothing now to oppose to the destroying forces: neither the strength of a State that could control itself nor the power of a harmonious well-tried ideal of culture. The Empire fell, the culture fell to pieces; it had become hollow and false; there was no longer such a thing as a good conscience, a frank natural disposition, or pure hands.

It was at this time, when the Roman Empire was decaying and there were signs of the dissolution of all existing relations, that Jerome was born. When he first saw the light, *c.* 340 (the exact year of his birth is not determined), the Empire was ruled by the sons of Constantine, and when he died, an old man of eighty, in 420, he had had to mourn the fall of Rome. This Rome, so full of vices, but at the same time marked by the noblest strivings, rich in genius and culture, with its unsurpassable works of art, with its wealth ennobled by the impress of genius, this city which had formed the starting-point of a marvellous period in the history of intellectual development, had become in 410 a prey to the barbarians.

Jerome was born at Stridon, in Dalmatia, a petty country town of the province which formed the dividing line between West and East. Thus by his very birth he was marked out and qualified, as no one else, to serve as intermediary betwixt the two halves of the Empire, and he devoted his life-work more than any of his contemporaries to effecting this interchange of ideas. Sprung from a good Catholic family, not unpossessed of means, he grew up under the charge of attendants and pedagogues. The times when Roman mothers themselves nursed and educated their children, were long gone by. Associating with the domestics, an onlooker at the marriages of slaves, Jerome early picked up many a foul word and received many objectionable impressions. It was no wonder if afterwards, when plunged into the turmoil of the great city, young men succumbed to the countless temptations to a dissolute life. In the parental home he received also the first elements of education. In the first place, letters of boxwood or of ivory were put into the hands of the child. He

was told the names of these, and had then to learn their order and to repeat the names like a poem. Then the letters were mixed up, and the child had to practise identifying them. When he was familiar with the letters, instruction in writing began. With trembling hand he copied the letters with the style on the wax tablet, or he had given to him a small wooden tablet with the letters cut into it, that he might copy the characters in the same grooves, without the possibility of deviating from the prescribed form. The next stage was the making of letters into syllables, syllables into words, words into sentences. Elementary instruction had even then been completely reduced to a system, and had many points of contact with the methods of to-day. The children's zeal for learning was stimulated by small rewards, but severity was also an accompaniment of the process of education. Jerome has humorous reminiscences of his first pedagogue, a savage schoolmaster, from whose chastisement he often fled to the arms of his grandmother, and who sought him out and brought him back a prisoner to the repellent task of writing and reading.

While quite a youth, Jerome came to Rome. Here he sat at the feet of the famous grammarian, Donatus, and received instruction in all the subtleties of grammar and all the artifices of rhetoric. The Latin language, pressed into the service of all the devices of education, had long lost its innocence. With the decline of culture the language also had paid the penalty in the loss of the virtue of truthfulness, and the gifted boy learned all the deceitful arts of which he afterwards availed himself with such biting eloquence in his conflicts with opponents. He exercised his ingenuity in the discussion of imaginary points of law. Even in extreme old age, when his head was already snow-white, he dreamt that he was back again in these days of youthful instruction. He saw himself with carefully dressed hair and clothed in toga declaiming with pathos his little controversial speech before the rhetor; but, when he awoke, he rejoiced that he had left behind him those days when a strict master subjected his raw efforts to rigorous criticism. That such a course of education could not fail to exert an influence on the formation of character is a matter of course. In the case of Jerome, with his strong passions and rich imagination, these influences found a very fertile soil. In Rome he began, moreover, to collect a library. A sincere love for science, an ineradicable inclination to learned occupations already show themselves prominently in him, and amidst all his changes of opinion, he remained ever faithful to this love. Science was his bride, first secular, afterwards theological science. When in later days he began a life of asceticism, his library accompanied him into the dreary wilderness. In Rome Jerome as an adult submitted himself to baptism. It had become customary to defer baptism, because this sacrament effected the pardon of all sins, and there was the fear of again forfeiting by transgression the grace that had been received. In spite of his baptism, however, he was guilty of serious lapses from morality. He drank full draughts from the intoxicating cup of sensual indulgence. In this matter we are not to judge him too severely; a greater than he, Augustine himself, likewise fell at the same time. Christianity had not yet devised proper forms for educating the young in accordance with the principles of Christian ethics. In the schools the heathen authors were studied, and the lewd mythological tales worked like poison on the young mind. It is easy to understand how, under such circumstances, a Christian character could then as a rule be developed only as the result of severe moral struggles. But it is characteristic that Jerome, at the very time when he was leading a life of sensual indulgence, used to go on Sundays to the catacombs and, filled with the piety of an enthusiast, descend to the graves of the apostles and martyrs. Here he would wander through the deep subterranean passages in whose walls, to right and left, the bodies of martyred saints were interred. Amidst dreadful darkness shrouding him, the word of the prophet occurred to his mind, 'Thou shalt go down living to Sheol.' It was a remarkable double life he led; at one moment he would abandon himself without a scruple to sensual enjoyment, and then with awakened conscience delight to allow the terrors of death and the grave to work upon him in the gloomy shadows of the underground cemetery.

From Rome Jerome, in company with his young friend, Bonosus, undertook a journey to Gaul. He visited the semi-barbarian banks of the Rhine, and made some stay in Mainz, Worms, and Treves. It was in the last-named flourishing town that he formed the resolution of dedicating himself to Christ. Disgusted with the wild life of excess, he

determined to be a monk. From Treves he proceeded to Aquileja, not far from the modern Venice, where he lived for a short time in the company of those who felt called to a clerical profession. His hot-blooded friend Bonosus had already begun the monastic life upon a solitary island on the Dalmatian coast. In romantic solitude, where the stormy sea raged and the surf broke with tremendous roar upon a much indented wall of cliffs, he sought like a joyous child to live to his God. Where no green blade ever showed itself, where in spring the whole place offered no shady resting-place, he sought rest from the world. The difficulty of escaping destruction in the vortex of life, weariness of the empty common life, and the prospect of a higher good were driving those who were not the worst of men out into the wilderness, to escape from society and its vices.

Then Jerome too set to work. In the desert of Chalcis, near Antioch, at what was a classic site of monasticism, he determined to commence the penitential life. From his native town of Stridon, the home of rustic barbarism, from his parents and relatives he parted without regret. He reached Antioch, but had not the courage to become a hermit. There, in the course of Lent, shortly before mid-Lent Sunday, he had a severe illness, and experienced a remarkable vision. He was brought in spirit before the judgment-seat of God and asked who he was. He answered, 'A Christian,' but the Judge replied, 'Thou liest; thou art a Ciceronian and not a Christian,' and caused him to be beaten till he took an oath never to read heathen books again. Upon swearing to this he was let go and returned to the world. This vision led him to fulfil his original resolution. But he had many surprises when he found himself transferred all at once to the society of the hermits. These men, with their penitents' chains and mourning garments, their unkempt hair and filth, did *they* embody the highest Christian ideal of life? Jerome soon discovered that his hermit friends were by no means the saints they were taken to be. 'In the wilderness,' he writes, 'pride quickly slips in, and when one has fasted for a little and seen no human being, he considers himself somebody, and goes astray inwardly with his heart and outwardly with his tongue.' It did not elude his observation what an amount of cheating was practised in connexion with fasting, how frequently they ate what was unlawful, how they would in sinful sloth spend whole days in sleep, or invent ghost stories about their conflicts with evil spirits, and allow themselves to be looked upon with admiring wonder by the vulgar crowd, from all of which they derived profit. At the death of a hermit a perfect Crœsus treasure was discovered, which he had saved from the alms given him. At first Jerome sought to emulate his dirty comrades in the matter of fasting, but he speedily made the painful discovery that the temptations he had meant to escape assailed him in other forms. The holiness of which he was in search he neither found in his companions, nor attained for himself. So energetic a spirit as that of Jerome could not possibly find permanent scope for its activity in penitential exercises. He began to learn the Hebrew language, of which he gained a very considerable knowledge. His translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew is an unimpeachable witness how thoroughly and diligently he gave himself to the study of a language so difficult to a Roman, and all this with the use of very imperfect aids which had first to be created by himself.

But a longing for the society of his friends soon revived within him, and the doctrinal conflicts in which he became involved made his sojourn in the wilderness growingly irksome. Finally, he left it, saying, 'It is better to dwell among wild beasts than with such Christians.' In Antioch he received priestly consecration, after which he went for a short time to Constantinople, where he sat at the feet of its learned bishop, Gregory of Nazianzus. In 382 we find him again at Rome, where the sunshine of papal favour fell upon him. He enjoyed the protection of Damasus, the bishop of Rome, at whose instance he began his translation of the Bible. He revised the Old Latin version of the New Testament, with the aid of the best Greek text accessible to him, but the friends of tradition sounded the note of alarm at the idea that the learned monk should presume, in opposition to the authority of the ancients, to correct anything in the sacred text. Jerome made an angry retort to those 'who mistake boorish ignorance for sanctity, two-legged asses who understand the blare of a trumpet better than the soft notes of the guitar.' He had to make acquaintance with a species of martyrdom from which no scientific theologian is exempt.

Beside his learned labours he acted as spiritual

adviser, while at Rome, to a circle composed of ladies belonging to the principal noble families. The noble widow Marcella, who after the death of her husband had rejected all proposals of marriage, first plucked up courage and sent an invitation to the interesting man who had lived in the East as a hermit. 'I had shyly kept out of sight of the noble ladies, when Marcella, in the words of the apostle, addressed herself to me in season and out of season, until by her importunity she overcame my shyness. And because it was believed that I had a vocation for biblical studies, she never met me without addressing to me some question about Holy Scripture.' She gave him no rest, submitting to him all kinds of impossible questions about obscure passages. The new life that commenced within the ascetic circle, presents itself as an intellectual emancipation. The ascetic movement brought an inward enrichment to woman's world which cannot be too highly estimated. In painting their faces with carmine and white lead, in decking themselves with trinkets, silken attire and flashing jewels, the life of Roman matrons had been spent hitherto. Now they were able to satisfy their intellectual and religious interests in converse with men of like disposition. And Jerome possessed all the qualities that could attach inquisitive women to him. He was too vain ever to acknowledge his ignorance, and imposed upon the noble ladies by his all-comprehending knowledge. Marcella, indeed, was not so easily satisfied, and was not blind to the weaknesses in the saint's character. But quite different was it with the lady who stood next to her in eminence in the ascetic band, Paula. She was a true woman, she had been a loving wife and a happy smiling mother. After the death of her beloved husband, Toxotius, she lived a life of the strictest asceticism. She dispensed her wealth with lavish hand, completely indifferent whether the recipient of her favours was deserving or the reverse. With devoted unquestioning love, she attached herself, along with her daughter Eustochium, to Jerome. At times, however, the relations between Jerome and his female friends lost their serious character, and assumed a gallant and sportive tinge. For instance, on St. Peter's Day Eustochium sent to her revered teacher armlets, doves, a basket of cherries. Jerome in his letter of thanks interprets the gifts allegorically. But strict asceticism leaves the field entirely, and polite adulation dictates the words: 'We have also received a basket of cherries, so fresh and bright with maidenly blushes that I imagined they had just come from Lucullus. Now, since we read in Scripture of a basket filled with figs, but have no word of cherries, we commend in what has been brought what has not been brought, and wish that you may be one of those fruits which are placed before the temple of God, and of which God says, "They are good, very good."'

As long as Pope Damasus lived, Jerome, according to his own account, enjoyed the goodwill of the whole city, and even cherished the hope of succeeding Damasus on the papal throne. But when the latter died in 384 and Siricius took his place, a veritable crusade began against the man who was hated by so many. Blasilla, the eldest daughter of Paula, had come to a premature end through severe asceticism, and the fury of the Roman mob found expression at her funeral. It was proposed to fling the foreign monks into the Tiber to be drowned. Then Jerome resolved to leave the ungrateful city. Remote from hostile attacks he determined to live in sacred spots an exemplary monastic life, which was to fill the world with admiration and to enrich the West with brilliant scientific achievements. He did not go alone; his pious friends Paula and Eustochium followed him directly afterwards. Paula parted from her family without shedding a tear; the little Toxotius stretched his hands imploringly after her from the shore; Ruffina, whose marriage was close at hand, silently conjured her by her tears to wait at least for that event. But Paula, turning her dry eyes towards heaven, overcame her love to her children by her love to God. At Antioch she met with Jerome, and now began a tour round the Holy Land, in which every spot was hallowed by some dear memory. With burning devotion they knelt before the sacred cross, wept at the sepulchre of the Lord, kissed the resurrection stone. Next they bent their steps to Egypt, where a visit was paid to the famous settlers in the Nitrian mountains. Paula was seized with an enthusiastic reverence for these heroes of asceticism, she flung herself on her knees before them, imagining that in each one of them she beheld Christ. Then the return was made to Bethlehem, where, at the expense of Paula were erected, in the vicinity of the Saviour's birthplace, a monastery presided

over by Jerome, and a nunnery directed by Paula herself. Here Jerome was able to complete his great task of Bible translation and to compose a number of exegetical works on the O.T. and N.T. Soon, however, financial difficulties began to be felt. Paula by her heedless benevolence had almost exhausted her fortune, and Jerome was driven to raise money by the sale of his ancestral property at Stridon. The monastery, moreover, was so overrun by pilgrims coming from the West, that hostelries for them had to be erected along the highway leading through Bethlehem. The learned leisure of the scholar was grievously disturbed. He describes how he was frequently pressed by pilgrims to give them a letter to take to a friend at home. 'Already were the papers made out and the post-horse saddled, already had the noble youth with his Phœnician tunic girded himself with his sword-belt, when he would bring forward a scribe and press me to speak, so that what was quickly spoken was written down by the swift hand, and the letters of the words kept pace with the tongue.' From every country of the West, from Gaul, North Africa, Rome, Italy, Spain, men came to see the revered patriarch of monasticism. A rich Spaniard did not shrink from the enormous expense of sending six scribes to Bethlehem to copy out for him, under the author's superintendence, the works of Jerome. It was the custom that, when a noble Roman lady took the veil, she applied to the aged apostle of virginity for a letter. Twenty years after he had left Rome the object of anything but honour, he can write in triumph: 'The number of monks in Rome increases enormously; the monastic state, once ridiculed and despised, is now one that commands honour and praise.' Roman senators like Pammachius, ex-consuls like Paulinus of Nola, took monastic vows. The decaying heathen religion sank more and more every day, the rigidly conservative Roman aristocracy, which had so long clung to the old gods, turned to Christ and completed the breach in the rudest fashion by many of those aristocrats becoming monks. Although the leader of the heathen party, Q. Aurelius Symmachus, a patriot enthusiastic for the ancient order of things, did his utmost to stir up the emperors to protect heathenism, he accomplished nothing, because he himself had no real faith in his cause. He might be a noble character, a benevolent man, a kind and painstaking father, and in more than one respect he might stand morally higher than Jerome, but he was a sceptic in religious matters, whereas upon the side of his Christian opponent there were strength, energy, intellectual superiority, and a living faith. And in spite of the bizarre forms which this faith assumed, it conquered the world.

On the 26th of January 406 Jerome received a heavy blow in the death of his dear friend Paula. She was solemnly interred at the birth-place of Jesus, and Jerome composed for her a warmly appreciative epitaph. Then in 410 came the news that Rome, the eternal city, was besieged. The city that had been the scene of his sins of youth, but in which also he had spent the most brilliant period of his life, was captured by the Gothic barbarians. His patriotism was aroused. 'One is stricken dumb, and the words of him that dictates are interrupted by sobs.' 'O God, heathen break into thine inheritance and defile Thy holy temple,' he complains. His friend Marcella died immediately after the fall of the city. His one comfort was Eustochium, who now presided over the convent in her mother's place. Ten years after the conquest of Rome by Alaric, Jerome himself died, having remained to the last a keen controversialist, whose intellectual vigour was unabated.

Jerome was a remarkable personality, the trusted adviser of a powerful pope, and the idol of the noble ladies of Rome, hermit and monk, scholar and witty conversationalist. We must always keep in mind that he lived in an age of decadence and degeneration, whose features are deeply impressed upon his character. He was passionate and yet cowardly; stained with youthful sins, and yet a hero of chastity; consumed with the fire of impure sensuousness, and yet an uncompromising prophet of asceticism; vain and greedy of power, and yet a weak man; strictly orthodox, and yet with an undogmatic mind; a champion of dogma, and yet no witness to the truth; pious, and yet no child of God; an impassioned scholar, and yet at times a learned trifler. Yet, in spite of these unpleasing traits in his character, who can deny the immense historical influence which the life of this man has had? The intellectual renaissance which took place in the West in his time, owed its origin in great part to him, while in his translation of the Bible he produced a work which, in spite of many imperfections, must be reckoned amongst the greatest products of Christian genius in any age.

Fairbairn's 'Philosophy of the Christian Religion.'

By Principal the Rev. J. M. Hodgson, M.A., D.D., D.Sc., Edinburgh.

In this remarkably able and comprehensive work,[1] Principal Fairbairn seeks to vindicate for the Christian religion the unique and pre-eminent position among the religions of the world which its disciples claim for it. In doing so he proceeds, in a logical and masterly fashion, from the philosophical interpretation of Nature to the Theistic conception of Creation; from Creation as an unfinished work, an evolutionary process, to the philosophy of History under the guidance of Moral Intelligence; and from the philosophy of the historical training and development of Man as a free and ethical being to the Philosophy of Comparative Religion.

Among the religions of the world the author ascribes superior significance and value to those which are differentiated from the rest by the fact that they were founded by historical personages in whom their disciples have found 'the interpretative and normative term of the highest religious ideas,'—namely Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity.

This line of thought occupies the first half of the volume before us. As would be anticipated by all who know anything of Dr. Fairbairn's wide reading and dialectical skill, the discussion of the various topics dealt with is conducted with conspicuous ability and thoroughness.

Among the features of special interest and value in this part of the work, reference may be made to the way in which through the entire process of human evolution, the co-ordination of the objective and subjective factors is emphasized and appreciated. Nature and personality, energy in the universe and spontaneity in man, an external intelligible world and intelligence in man competent to interpret it, and an ethical purpose and trend in the divine guidance and government of history and the moral nature with which men are endowed, are traced in continuous correspondence and co-operation. The congruity and kinship of man and his environment, which is really the keynote of the doctrine of Evolution, is fully recognized and insisted upon; and yet the spiritual and divine principle in man, his intelligence and ethicality, is never regarded as absorbed in or subordinated to its cognate manifestations in the external world.

The educative purpose and efficacy of the various physical evils incident to human life are lucidly and suggestively expounded in some of the most eloquent passages of the volume. In explanation of the existence of moral evil, it is contended that 'if it were good to have moral beings under moral law, evil must be possible.' Probably this is as satisfying an attempt to solve the mystery as any that finite intelligence can suggest, though the *dictum* upon which it rests will seem to some minds to preclude too dogmatically the possibility of the existence, in other realms of the wide universe of God, of moral beings not exposed even to the risk of moral evil. Dr. Fairbairn's further contention that 'to allow evil to become and continue without any purpose of redemption, were to us an absolutely inconceivable act in a good and holy and gracious God,' is of less questionable validity.

The section treating of the Evolution of Religion is an extremely valuable one, especially in its application of the principle of reciprocity between man and his environment, to the mutual character of the relation which the human consciousness recognizes between suprasensible being and himself. Religion is thus shown to be not a mere subjective process, but one 'in which man's whole environment takes part,' as the medium through which his Maker is continuously exercising influence over him.

The examination of the manifold forms of religion and the consideration of the secondary causes of the variety in the phenomena of religion is full of interest and, for the most part, is illuminating and convincing. But on one point, and that a point somewhat vital to the main argument of the work, it may be doubted whether the view advanced can be maintained. In chap. 8 of bk. i., Dr. Fairbairn contends that 'founded religions constitute a class or order by themselves'—a founded religion being one 'whose ultimate truth is a historical person speculatively construed.'

[1] *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion.* By A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., LL.D. Hodder & Stoughton.

For this class he claims, in addition to Christianity, Buddhism and Islam.

Spontaneous or impersonal religions 'are not the work of any one man or any special body of men, but rather of our common nature,' and 'may be termed apotheoses of Nature,' whilst founded religions 'may be described as apotheoses of personality.' The author admits that there is needed for the creation of a personal religion, 'a historical background or a fit ancestry,' and 'a congenial society or environment upon or within which the genius may operate.' But it was, it is urged, 'the transcendental interpretation of its founder, his apotheosis, as we have termed it, which made Buddhism a religion.' 'On the one side he personified the moral energies of the universe; on the other he became the governing ideal and example of human duty, the humanity of the standard making the ethics humane.'

In the case of Islam, its 'primary belief is not the unity of God, but the apostolate of Mohammed.' 'His authority was ultimate, for through him God had finally and fully spoken, and only through him could God be really known.' These are undoubtedly significant and characteristic features of these two great religious systems; but the emphasis placed upon these features as a *principium divisionis* by which these religions are brought into a class by themselves (along with Christianity) has too much the appearance of the exaggeration of special pleading with a view to the line of exposition to be pursued in the second part of the work. Notwithstanding all that is said respecting the relation of Moses to the religion of Israel, the difference between the function of one who is described as 'not only its lawgiver, but its prophet, as indeed the greatest because the first of the prophets, the type of the ideal servant of God whose voice men were to hear and obey,' and the founder of Islam, is not so obvious or marked. And hero-worship has, of course, had a place, even to the extent of apotheosis, in connexion with other religions besides Buddhism.

The second part of the work applies the principles formulated in the first part to the relation of the Founder of the Christian religion to the religion which He founded. The life of Jesus is examined not simply as a historical event recorded in biblical literature, but with a view to the discovery of the seeds and causes of the thought and belief in which the Christian religion essentially consists. The question to be investigated is stated thus: 'Can it be claimed for His Person that, as interpreted in the apostolic writings, it made an absolute and ideal religion possible?' It is pointed out that the Gospel narratives were written after the interpretative process was well advanced, and by men who read the life in terms of the supernatural. To the evangelists Jesus was 'a Being who transcends Nature even while He lives under the forms, and subject to the conditions, of the Nature He transcends.' With this part of the argument, Dr. Fairbairn deals in a remarkably fresh and suggestive fashion, pointing out that the supernatural power with which Jesus is credited and the miraculous acts He is said to have performed are never represented as rendering Him 'anomalous or abnormal, but as leaving Him simple and rational and real.' He never ceases to be like unto His brethren nor to be dependent upon God. Moreover, His supernatural power is always held in control by the perfect righteousness and beneficence of His moral nature. 'Men think Him so possessed by a moral will that they do not feel fear in a presence they believe to be supernatural. He is more marvellous for the grace He impersonates than for the miracles He accomplishes. He was higher as a moral miracle than as a physical power.' And further, whilst the ideal of ethical character which Jesus embodies is unique, original, catholic, and transcendently perfect, He is still truly human, 'not so much taken out of humanity as placed at its head, and so becomes the First-born among many brethren.'

Closely connected with the view taken of the life and work of Jesus by the evangelists is the light in which, as gathered from the Memoirs, Jesus seems to have regarded Himself and His special function in religion. The claims which He makes 'represent a sovereignty which only a singular and pre-eminently privileged relation to the Father could justify.' Christ's view of His death combines, Dr. Fairbairn contends, two distinct elements. 'From the idea of death He never shrinks; He contemplates it calmly, speaks of it with the serene dignity of one who knew that the most tragic moment of His life was at once His own supreme choice and the real end of His being. But when He knows its mode, and thinks of the agents it needed, His feeling changes, and

His speech is charged, now with admonition and judgment, now with pity and regret.' 'The antecedent of the agony was not the idea of death, but the feeling as to its means and agents.' Christ's thought as to the result to be attained by His death, as it found expression in the words spoken at the Last Supper, is expounded in accordance with the significance of the Paschal Lamb, whose blood was not shed to propitiate a vengeful Deity,' but as 'the seal of a mercy which had been shown and was now claimed, not the purchase of a mercy which was withheld and must be bought.' The blood shed for many denotes that 'the inner obedience which is accomplished by His spirit' becoming 'a fact of their history, and a factor of their new experience,' sets them free from the law of sin and death, and as the inspiration of a new and spiritual life produces in them a character increasingly conformed to all righteousness and goodness. 'Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.' The frank statement by a theologian of the eminence and ability of Dr. Fairbairn, of what may be called the *dynamic* theory of the atoning efficacy of the sacrifice of Christ, may be commended to any who are still enthralled by judicial notions as to the meaning and purpose of the Saviour's death.

The discussion naturally passes next to the inquiry, 'What idea had the men who followed Jesus, the apostles and the apostolic writers, of His person? How did this idea come to be?' The teaching of the Epistles of Paul, the Apocalypse, and the Gospel by John is accordingly briefly reviewed with a view to arrive at their interpretation of the Person of Christ. Paul is shown to have conceived Jesus 'as the Son of God, not officially nor figuratively, but essentially, *i.e.* as Himself Divine.' It is argued that whilst Christ's 'potency to command obedience and to inspire with the love that was willing for His sake to endure the loss of all things and even of life itself,' had its place and value as the subjective factor in the formation of this conception, its true historical source was the mind of Christ Himself, 'the expression of His own consciousness touching His own being.'

In a too brief section Dr. Fairbairn then proceeds to expound the thesis which will be regarded probably by some earnest seekers after truth as the weak point in the entire argument—that 'the idea as to the Person of Christ created the Christian religion. That religion is built upon the belief that He was the Christ, the Son of the living God.' 'What made the religion was the significance His Person had for thought, the way in which it lived to faith, the mode in which it interpreted to reason God and the universe, man and history.'

The meagreness of the treatment of this point is certainly to be regretted. The author, no doubt wisely, avoids any metaphysical discussion of the essential nature of the Person of Christ, but it would have been satisfactory if he had explained somewhat more definitely what is to be understood by the idea of the Person of Christ which created, as He holds, the religion that He founded. Professor Harnack, for instance, in his *What is Christianity?* agrees that Jesus describes Himself as the 'Son of God'; but the interpretation which he puts upon that term is very different from that which is formulated in the ecclesiastical Creeds. 'The Gospel,' he asserts, 'as Jesus proclaimed it, has to do with the Father only, and not with the Son.'

Moreover, it may well be doubted, even by those who have no hesitation in accepting in the fullest sense the conception of the essential Deity of Christ, whether any idea of His person is to be recognized as the fundamental and formative one of the Christian religion. In the chapter on 'The Death of Christ and Christian Worship,' it is affirmed that 'the function which apostolic thought assigns to His death can be better described as an institution than as a doctrine,' and in some eloquent pages of exposition it is shown how the Apostle Paul 'translated the Person who had been made the sole religious institution into a sovereign and sufficient divine law.'

The question that may be raised is, Was it the idea of the Person that was thus translated into the formative principle of the religion? or, Was it the grace of God which Christ proclaimed and which was manifested to men in and through His life and death which really made and constituted the Christian religion, from which, in turn, human thought deduces, as a more or less necessary corollary, the highest possible conception of Him by whom this Gospel message has been mediated and brought home to the hearts and consciences of men?

In the closing pages of the work, Dr. Fairbairn

seems himself to endorse the latter view as to the 'relation between His person and the function He has actually fulfilled in history.' 'Causes are known,' he says, 'in their effects, for cause and effect ever correspond in quality and character.' And so, all who know the grace and power of Christ may be justified in expressing their conception of Him in the biblical formula, 'The Word became flesh and dwelt amongst us, and we beheld His glory, a glory as of the only begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth.'

Recent Foreign Theology.

M. Jastrow's 'Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens.'[1]

Not long ago it was announced in these columns that a German edition of Professor Jastrow's well-known *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* was in the press. The first issue, running to 80 pages, has reached us, and we have read it with eager interest, anxious to ascertain what judgment its author has formed upon certain questions that have arisen or have been thrown into a new light by discoveries that have taken place since the English edition of his work was given to the public. It goes without saying that Professor Jastrow appreciates to the full the value of the work of the Pennsylvanian University at Nippur and the excavations of de Sarzec at Telloh, and that he takes account of the historical investigations of Winckler, Hilprecht, Scheil, Thureau-Dangin, Price, and others. Fuller materials have been supplied also by the publication of King's *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, 3 vols. (London 1898–1900); the *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1896); and by the numerous additions made to the religious literature by such Assyriologists as Delitzsch, Haupt, Hommel, Zimmern, Jensen, Jeremias, Knudtzon, Craig, Boissier, Johns, and Thomson.

In his Preface the author informs us of the principles he has kept steadily in view throughout his work. One of these is admirably fitted to gain the confidence of the reader, the principle, namely, of *adopting such results only as have found general acceptance, and may thus be regarded as final.* Professor Jastrow is careful, too, to remind us again and again that the time has not yet come for writing an exhaustive history of the Babylonian and Assyrian religion. This will be the task of the children or, it may be, the grandchildren of the present generation of Assyriologists. Yet the store of materials at our command is a very rich one, and the more fully these are examined, the more clearly do we see that their study is indispensable for the proper understanding of the Old Testament.

The first instalment of this great work is made up, in nearly two-thirds (50 pages) of its extent, of introductory matter, regarding the history of Babylonia and Assyria, with an account of the material available for a description of their religion. The story of the excavations, etc., of the past sixty years has never been told in a more lucid and interesting manner, and the account of the land and the people, whose civilization probably goes back to at least 4500 B.C., is all that could be desired. Then comes chap. 4, entitled 'Die Babylonische Götter vor Hammurabi,' in which the author proceeds to tell us all that is known, from that stage of Babylonian history, about the cult of En-lil or Bel, Ea, Sin, etc. etc. P. 80 ends in the middle of a sentence belonging to the section on Nina, and we shall have to wait for the appearance of part ii. to continue our study of the Babylonian Pantheon. These 80 pages have only served to whet our appetite for more.

We may touch on one point in a little more detail. The great 'Sumerian question,' to which we presume Dr. Jastrow will return later in his work, is presented to us (pp. 18 ff.) clearly by our author, whose impartiality and freedom from dogmatism are very striking. He points out both the strength and the weakness of the traditional opinion that the cuneiform style of writing and many other elements of civilization were borrowed

[1] *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens.* Von M. Jastrow, jun. Giessen: J. Ricker, 1902. Lieferung i. Price M. 1.50. Price of work, when complete, about 15s.

by the Semite settlers in Babylonia from an older non-Semitic race, the so-called Sumerians. He does full justice to the opposite contention (originally put forward by Joseph Halévy) that the most ancient civilization of Babylonia can be explained without calling in the aid of the supposed Sumerian factor. It must be conceded, in any case, that the most ancient Babylonian literature, even what is composed in the ideographic style, emanates from the Semite settlers. On the other hand, indications are not wanting which point to the presence of an early mixture of races in S. Babylonia, and it is possible that the oldest form of picture writing, as practised in this region, from which the Babylonian cuneiform is derived, was employed by a non-Semitic people. The problem, in short, cannot, in our author's opinion, be regarded as a *chose jugée*, and its solution must be sought by taking into account archæological and anthropological as well as philological considerations. Jules Oppert, whom Jastrow calls the 'Nestor of cuneiform studies,' was the first to put forward definitely the Sumerian hypothesis, which still receives the suffrages of the majority of scholars, including names like those of Weissbach, Zimmern (latterly), Sayce, Hommel, etc. etc. But Halévy rallied to his banner such eminent French Assyriologists as Stanislaus Guyard, Thureau-Dangin, and Pognon; in Germany his theory has been championed by A. Jeremias, Jäger, and (at one time) Frd. Delitzsch; while America has sent him the support of Professors Price and McCurdy. Under these circumstances it will be wise for non-experts to keep an open mind on this question.

J. A. SELBIE.

Maryculter.

Weiss on Mark and Luke.[1]

THE appearance of this book is a remarkable testimony to the appreciation which is still won by the sober and careful exegesis of Meyer, whose tradition has been faithfully maintained by the veteran scholar, B. Weiss. Most students of the N.T. know what to expect in Weiss. They are sure to find accurate scholarship, cautious judgment, minute attention to details. These good qualities are accompanied by a dry style of writing and a considerable lack of historical imagination. In the commentaries on the Gospels, valuable as they are, we miss discussions of those matters pertaining to biblical theology which constantly present themselves. Further, in view of recent critical investigations affecting the historicity of the narratives, we might expect a careful handling of the questions at issue. For these have a most direct bearing on the credentials of the Christian faith. But Weiss, as a rule, passes them by in silence. At the same time we may be confident that no *exegetical* difficulty will be shirked. Indeed, the exegesis is apt at times to be so detailed as to leave an impression of pedantry. But in this last respect the volume before us shows a marked advance beyond some other sections of Meyer which Weiss has revised.

The special characteristics of this edition are described in the Preface. In the critical notes particular attention has been given to Cod. D and the texts akin to it. This is a valuable feature in view of the prominence lately assigned to 'Western' readings. The exposition of *Mark* remains substantially the same as in the former edition, the main difference being the references made to recent commentaries. The treatment of *Luke* is completely new. The eighth edition of Meyer's commentary on that Gospel was revised by Professor Johannes Weiss, the son of the present editor. He wrote independently of Meyer's notes. B. Weiss does the same. But for the sake of continuity, he constantly refers to his son's edition, largely in the way of criticism. Indeed, their theories as to the composition of the Gospels are so divergent that the older scholar feels it necessary to go much more elaborately into critical questions than has been his custom, of set purpose, in former revisions of Meyer. Hence we have a full though concise introduction to Luke.

Weiss' own standpoint as to the mutual relations of the Synoptic Gospels has long been familiar to New Testament students. He holds that all three Gospels go back to the Apostolic Source, while *Matthew* and *Luke* are also dependent on *Mark* as we have it. But J. Weiss, in ed. 8, had adhered to the theory of an *Urmarkus*, in that modification of it adopted by Weizsäcker. According to this hypothesis the canonical *Mark* consists of the

[1] *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über d. N.T.* Begründet von H. A. W. Meyer. *Die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas.* 9 Auflage. Von Dr. Bernhard Weiss. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; Glasgow: F. Bauermeister, 1901. Pp. iv, 694. Price 8s.

original Apostolic Source plus comprehensive sections added by the evangelist. J. Weiss had availed himself of Weizsäcker's theory to account for the considerable series of passages which *Luke* omits with *Matthew* as against *Mark*. The omission of these sections could be explained by the fact that they did not belong to the original *Mark*, which formed the basis of the First and Third Gospels.

B. Weiss rejects the hypothesis *in toto*, pointing out that the supposed additions, both in style and conception, are most intimately connected with the Gospel of Mark as a whole. He also controverts the solution of the difficulty proposed by Simons, that Luke was influenced both consciously and also through unconscious recollection by the text of *Matthew* with which he was acquainted. His main reason is that if this influence were present at all, it must have shown itself on a far wider scale. And to fortify his position he draws attention to the lavish use which Luke has made of Mark. But this seems a most unconvincing argument, for, as critics have shown, the agreement between Luke and Matthew is only prominent in discourses, not in narratives or in the general arrangement of the material.

Weiss concludes that when Luke agrees with *Matthew* as against *Mark*, he has preserved the plan of the older source (p. 257), which must have contained narrative sections as well as sayings. He admits that this explanation will not suffice for all the phenomena, and so he supplements it by the ever-convenient factor of oral tradition. Further, following J. Weiss (in ed. 8), he assumes an additional source peculiar to Luke (designated L), to which he assigns the material divergences in a number of groups of sayings between him and the First Gospel. All that can be said of L is, that, from its linguistic character, it was Jewish-Christian; from repeated references to traditions collected in Judæa, it originated in Southern Palestine; from its presupposition of the destruction of Jerusalem, it was later than the Apostolic Source (Q). Whether we agree with the suggested solutions of the various problems or not, the Introduction is valuable as presenting us with the mature conclusions of a most careful and judicious scholar in a department of criticism to which he has devoted the energies of a long and strenuous life.

H. A. A. Kennedy.

Callander.

'The Apostolic Fathers.'[1]

This edition of *The Apostolic Fathers* opens with the *Didache*, and by so doing records a step forward in our assured knowledge of the earliest Christian literature. Henceforth, until some earlier discovery shall make us glad, all editions of the *Fathers* we believe will have to begin with the *Didache*. This editor is up to date, however, not only in the position he definitely assigns to the *Didache*, but also in the beauty and scholarship of his work. The text is a very careful one, differing in several places from Lightfoot's, in a few places from all others. It is a text that commends itself for its reserve, taking the middle way, as one might say, in disputed places. We admit that the maxim, *in mediis tutissima*, has still to fight for recognition in textual criticism, but we have hope that it may win a place yet. For if 'the middle way' means the author's usual manner, it is as safe a guide as the well accepted axiom, *proclivi lectioni praestat ardua*. The introductions are extremely brief, but that is of purpose. There is no room for discussion in a text-book pure and simple.

'The Acts of the Martyrs.'[2]

This convenient and charming little book opens with an excellent bibliography, which takes account of at least some of the recent English work. Gibbon is referred to after the best edition, and besides Ramsay (whose initials are given by mistake as W. R. instead of W. M.), there is mention made of Gregg and Hardy and Mason. Then at the head of each chapter the special authorities are stated. It is interesting to note that for the martyrdom of Polycarp it is considered sufficient to mention Zahn and Lightfoot. And it *is* sufficient. Funk's convenient manual edition of *The Apostolic Fathers* having been published simultaneously with the present work, and Hilgenfeld's splendid edition of *Polycarp* still later. There are no introductions. The bibliography and the text are enough.

[1] *Die Apostolischen Väter.* Herausgegeben von F. X. Funk. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr. London: Williams & Norgate.

[2] *Ausgewählte Märtyreracten.* Herausgegeben von Lic. Rudolf Knopf. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr. London: Williams & Norgate.

Two additions have recently been made to von Gebhardt and Harnack's 'Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur' (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs). The one is the Ethiopic text of *The Book of Enoch*, edited by Dr. Joh. Flemming of Bonn; the other, Books vi. and vii. of *Eusebius' Church History*, according to the Armenian version, edited by Erwin Preuschen. They form the first and second parts of vol. vii. in the new series.

'Ignatius and Polycarp.'[1]

THERE is much stir in Germany at present among the early Fathers. At home we have scarcely gathered courage to unsettle Lightfoot yet. The Germans have much respect for Lightfoot also, but not to paralysis of the brain. Three editors are constantly quoted by Hilgenfeld, and Lightfoot is one of them. But he does not stay to apologize ere he differs from Lightfoot, whether in text or in interpretation. And he does differ frequently from him in both. In the very first note, the note on the name 'Thophoros,' used by Ignatius of himself, he differs from Lightfoot, as well as from Zahn and Funk, the other editors whom he quotes most frequently. For he will not have it that Ignatius used this simply as a proper name. It carried its own meaning to his mind. He points out that Ignatius himself, in the Epistle to the Magnesians (i. 2), recalls the very occasion from which he derived the surname. And he says that it definitely designated him 'confessor and martyr.'

Again he differs from the editors, and this time from his own past self also, in the rendering of συνδιδασκαλίτης in Ignatius, *ad Eph.* iii. 1. Lightfoot translates '[For] now am I beginning to be a disciple; and I speak to you as to my schoolfellows' (νῦν [γὰρ] ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι καὶ προσλαλῶ ὑμῖν ὡς συνδιδασκαλίταις μου). But this is simply συνδιδασκάλοις. 'I did not notice,' says Hilgenfeld, 'that συνδιδασκαλίτης must mean "teacher" here, even though I saw that in the same sentence Ignatius calls himself a *learner* (μαθητεύεσθαι) at the Ephesians' feet.' He now sees that Ignatius surpasses Barnabas in humility, who simply spoke of himself as οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ' ὡς εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν. Ignatius says he is not even a schoolfellow of the Ephesians; they are his teachers.

Hilgenfeld has neither joy nor sorrow in differing from Lightfoot or any other editor. He makes his own investigations and draws his own inferences. His work is, of course, in constant reference with other work, and he carefully records the agreements and the differences. But they do not trouble him. With confidence and independence he proceeds on his own way, making his edition of Ignatius and Polycarp refreshing and indispensable.

[1] *Ignatii Antiochani et Polycarpi Smyrnaei Epistulae et Martyria.* Edidit et adnotationibus instruxit Adolphus Hilgenfeld. Berlin: Schwetschke, 1902.

'For Sleepless Nights.'[2]

WE have happily had no sleepless nights to weather since this little book came, but it has given us some very pleasant waking hours. There is a single thought for every night, quite enough to keep one awake, for it is a real thought, and often quite fresh as well as searching. So the purpose is not to send the wakeful to sleep, but to give them something to think about.

[2] *Für Schlaflose Nächte.* Von Professor Dr. C. Hilty. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

Dr. Wimmer, the author of *Das Leben im Licht*, has written a small volume of 'Religious Letters' to which he has given the title of *Gewissensfragen* (Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate).

Professor Bois of Montauban has written an essay on *Le Sentiment Religieux*, which is published by Fischbacher of Paris.

Weiss's New Testament Handbook.

FROM the publishing house of J. C. Hinrichs in Leipzig has come the second volume of the second edition of Weiss's 'Commentary on the New Testament.' It contains the Pauline Epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews (*Die Paulinischen Briefe und der Hebräerbrief*, 1902, M.8). It does not need formal review. Weiss is known, and his way of carefully revising all his work is known also. The new edition is a new book.

The fourth and final Heft of the 'Bibliographie' (for 1901), published in connexion with the *Theo-*

logische Rundschau (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr), reached us recently. The four quarterly issues of this list of theological literature have been prepared with much care by Lic. Wilhelm Lueken, pastor at Bardewisch (Oldenburg). The contents are arranged under the heads of: (i.) Exegetische Theologie; (ii.) Historische Theologie; (iii.) Systematische Theologie; (iv.) Praktische Theologie; and an Index at the end of the fourth Heft gives appropriate subdivisions of these, with the necessary references. The work, which is a worthy companion to the well-known *Rundschau*, may be heartily commended to students of theology in any of its departments.

The current (fourth year's) issue of *Der Alte Orient* devotes Heft 1 to 'Die Hettiter' (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; price 60 pfennigs). The work is from the competent pen of Dr. Leopold Messerschmidt. Readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES do not need to be told that there are Hittite problems, and in particular that the decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions has been the subject of prolonged controversy on the part of such scholars as Jensen, Hommel, and Sayce, not to mention a host of others. Professor Sayce's paper in the August number will have shown that, upon his system of deciphering the signs, there is still a large unknown field, even if one were inclined to accept of certain alleged results as demonstrated. Messerschmidt, whose tractate appeared before Professor Sayce's paper was read to the *S.B.A.*, speaks with the utmost caution of the success of attempts at decipherment. By the aid of facsimiles of some of the inscriptions, he makes it very plain to every reader how difficult and complicated the problem is. But there are many subjects connected with the Hittites on which it is possible to speak with a fair amount of confidence, and no better summary could be desired than this little work gives us of all that is known of the history of this remarkable people or group of peoples, their ethnological characteristics, their dress, their military system, their religion, and their attainments in art.

Professor Bertholet of Basel is well known to our readers, especially for his contributions to the great O.T. series known as the *Kurzer Handcommentar*, published by J. C. B. Mohr of Tübingen. The same publisher has just issued *Buddhismus und Christentum* (price M.1.20), being a somewhat expanded form of a lecture delivered by Dr. Bertholet to the students at Basel, under the auspices of the 'Christliche Studentenvereinigung der deutschen Schweiz' in May of this year. We need not say that there are special reasons why, at the present day, the great religion known as Buddhism excites widespread interest. Our author exhibits very clearly the affinities between it and Christianity, although, with Kuenen and others, he denies any *direct* influence of the Buddha legend upon the primitive Christian system. Far more striking are the differences between the two religions, as Dr. Bertholet shows in a very satisfactory and convincing manner. The capacity of Christianity to be a universal religion is well illustrated, as well as the limitations of Buddhism, which, in spite of its wonderful spread, always fails to adapt itself to a certain stage of human progress. Many readers will feel grateful to our author for the stirring inspiring language with which he closes, and his logical optimism as to the future of Christianity. We trust that his lecture will find its way into many hands.

A work that will meet a felt want has been prepared by Professor Kraetzschmar of Marburg. Its title is *Hebräisches Vokabular* (Tübingen: Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate; price 1s. net). It is well known to every one who has learned, or is learning, Hebrew, that one of the principal difficulties at the outset is the retention in one's memory of the words that make up the Hebrew vocabulary. In passing from the Grammar to the work of reading the O.T., it is very tiresome to have to look up words in the lexicon at every turn. Now, it is perfectly true that there is no royal road to learning. Patience and hard work will be demanded of the student upon any system. But we are convinced that much valuable help will be derived from this work of Dr. Kraetzschmar, the essential aim of which is to give a classified list (neither too large nor too small) of Hebrew words, the learning of which will enable at least the principal parts of the O.T. to be read. The use of the list will, however, serve other purposes. It will be a useful companion to the Heb. Grammar, whether that of Gesenius-Kautzsch (according to whose divisions the classification of words is arranged) or any other. A very comprehensive list of the various classes of nouns, verbs, etc., is

thus supplied to the student for practice. We feel sure the work will be adopted as a text-book by teachers of Hebrew, and that it will prove a welcome addition to the apparatus of the solitary student. Might the publisher and the author consider the advisability of increasing its chances of success in England and America by giving it an English dress? We have a strong feeling that such a translation would be popular.

Messrs. C. A. Schwetschke u. Sohn's *Theologischer Jahresbericht* has entered upon the 21st year of its existence, and we trust that long-continued life and success lie before it. Instead of the opening part being included in a single volume under the title 'Exegese,' as formerly, we have now two *Abteilungen*, the first being devoted to 'Vorderasiatische Literatur und Ausserbiblische Religionsgeschichte.' This is prepared by Beer and Lehmann. The second division has for its subject 'Das Alte Testament,' and has been entrusted to Bruno Baentsch. This new arrangement will be recognized to be an improvement. The price of the first part is M.3.40, of the second, M. 6.50.

Among the Periodicals.

Dives and Lazarus.

The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus forms the subject of a paper in the current number of the *Studien und Kritiken*.[1] The writer, Lic. R. Gölle of Erichsburg, before proceeding to discuss the question what is the essential lesson of the parable, remarks on two points that have been the subject of dispute. The first is as to the meaning of the ἀλλὰ καί of v.[21b]. Gölle would agree with the rendering 'yea, even' of our R.V., holding that the licking of Lazarus' sores by the dogs is presented as the climax of his pitiable condition. The other question is, whether in vv.[23ff.] 'Hades' is thought of as a single sphere, divided into two compartments, which is the (? intermediate) abode of those who enjoy consolation in Abraham's bosom and of those who are tormented (so Godet, and B. Weiss in *Meyer*[6]), or whether it is thought of exclusively as the place of punishment, with Paradise opposed to it as the abode of bliss. Our author decides for the latter view.

But what is the main thought of the parable? Gölle finds four possible answers to this question. (1) The emphatic note in the contrast between the condition of the two men in this world and in the next, may be *change*. The lesson would thus be that those who have riches in this world are not to build upon these as if they guaranteed their happiness for time and for eternity. No very profound teaching this, says Gölle. (2) The contrast may suggest the idea of *balance*, the thought being that God assigns to every man only a definite amount of wealth and enjoyment (cf. v.[25]), so that one who has a superfluity of these in this world shall experience want in the next world, and *vice versâ* (so J. Weiss in *Meyer*[8]). But Gölle objects that this mechanical action of God towards men is contrary to the analogy of the N.T. (3) The idea of *retribution* may be the underlying one. According to this view (that of the Tübingen school), the possession of riches is thought of as a sin, for which Dives is punished in the next world, whereas the beggar receives a reward for the poverty he had endured. The lesson to rich men would thus be to renounce their wealth. Gölle argues, however, that this Ebionite teaching, although it agrees in the letter with Lk $6^{20.24}$, cannot be accepted as representing Luke's view of Jesus' opinion about wealth, in face of such passages as $12^{15.21.31}$, $16^{9.13.14}$, not to speak of the fact that in this very parable Abraham, in spite of his well-known wealth, holds the place of honour in Paradise. (4) In the contrast between the condition of the two men in the next world, we may be intended to see a *punishment* for an unnamed fault of conduct, that was closely connected with the possession of riches, and a *reward* for those moral qualities which in Scripture are frequently attributed to 'the poor.' This is the interpretation adopted by our author, who argues that the whole spirit of the parable is in harmony with it.

It has been urged, indeed, notably by the Tübingen school, that the original parable included only vv.[19-26], and that vv.[27-31] (Dives' request on behalf of his five brethren, and Abraham's reply) are a later addition, intended to transform an Ebionite, Jewish-Christian discourse into an

[1] Our readers will learn with sincere regret that one of the editors of this periodical, Professor Julius Köstlin, died on 12th May last, at the age of 76. His name was one that commanded universal honour and esteem. The surviving editor, Professor Kautzsch, promises an account of the life and work of his colleague in the next number of the *S.K.*

anti-Jewish, Pauline one. The rich man, 'who in the original intention of the parable stood simply for riches,' became thus 'the type of Jewish unbelief in the resurrection of Jesus.' Gölle finds no justification for this breaking up of the present form of the parable. Accordingly, he uses v.[30] as proof that the rich man had not 'repented.' Of what? Is it unreasonable to hold that he had succumbed to the temptation, connected with the possession of wealth, to forget God? And does not the parable suggest that his want of love to God manifested itself in lack of love to man, as shown in his treatment of the beggar at his gate? Not in the way of actual *ill*-treatment but of neglect (cf. Mt 25[42ff.] 'For I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat,' etc.). In short, 'the sin of the rich man, against which Jesus means to warn, consisted in this, that he found his highest good not in God but in the enjoyment of his wealth, and that, absorbed in self-enjoyment, he omitted those acts of kindness that were due to his sorely distressed neighbour. Thus his whole life can be epitomized in the words: "There was a certain rich man, and he was clothed in purple and fine linen, faring sumptuously every day."' Gölle finds in the parable a call addressed still by Jesus to men of wealth, who are to abandon or to guard against the sin of Dives. And he finds an indication in vv.[27-31] of how his fate is to be escaped, namely, by 'repentance' and by attending to the teaching of 'Moses and the prophets,' which, for us Christians, is now supplemented by that of our Lord and His apostles.

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Maryculter, Aberdeen.

The Prophecies of Zechariah.

(I.–VIII.)

BY THE REV. T. M'WILLIAM, M.A., NEW BYTH.

THE Book of Zechariah must be studied in parts. The first eight chapters are linked together by the same individuality, like a clear range of mountain peaks that ends in broken country, or like a vein of precious metal that suddenly ceases. Our present study is concerned only with these opening chapters—the undoubted prophecies of the prophet Zechariah.

Zechariah, the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo, was of a priestly family, and was therefore sprung from a class which, in camp and court, in forum and temple, has so often given a nation its foremost men. He was not that Zacharias spoken of by our Saviour as slain by his countrymen 'between the temple and the altar.' That was an incident of much later date. Our prophet's work was distinctly connected with the rebuilding of the temple (520–516 B.C.). He was one of the noble band which included the prophet Haggai, who saw that to a large extent the salvation of the people lay in the rebuilding of their temple. Haggai, with sound statesmanship, had already begun to emphasize the importance of the mortar tub. It was our prophet's distinct characteristic that he threw the glamour of poetic spiritual thought round practical purpose.

His grandfather, Iddo, was one of the leaders of the people on that glorious day when they marched forth from Babylon under the approval of the Persian king Cyrus, to return to the old country—a name dearest and holiest to the Jew. With most, the discovery of prosaic facts dispelled the cherished dreams of years. The land was poor; neighbours like the Samaritans were troublesome; the grand ceremonial of laying the foundation stone of the new temple on the first days of the Return (536 B.C.) had become a clouded memory; for the work was interrupted and the people had lost heart. Already, however (520 B.C.), the practical prophet Haggai had roused the people from torpid misery to active effort. Zechariah came forth in the same year to show them that their work, if well done and followed up, would usher in a golden age; and we can imagine how these toiling depressed workmen, susceptible naturally to thought of noble destiny and high spiritual ideals, would be thrilled by the word of the young prophet

who shared their suffering, and yet saw a glory to follow.

Our object is to bring this dreamy poet-prophet, with his lofty spiritual ideas and his practical purpose, into the sympathetic appreciation of the present day.

Amos, Hosea, Micah, and others had seen God's action in the big events of their day. Haggai had prophesied 'a shaking of the nations.' Zechariah believed in a God overruling human history, but his hope did not lie in human means so much as in supernatural. His intense belief, his previous associations, and above all, his heart-hunger for the ideal, led him to the dreamy realms of apocalypse. This has been regarded as a declension in the spirit of prophecy, but surely we have room in our hearts for both Amos and St. John. Believing as we do in the direct action of the providence of God, we have yet sympathy enough and to spare for that old refuge of despairing yet loyal hearts, faith in the spiritual hosts of heaven. Nay more, have we not at any time a fond ear for the word and spell of the poet who lifts us from a weary earth to thought of a spirit-land encircling all?

> Kilmeny had been she kenned not where,
> And Kilmeny had seen what she could not declare:
> . . . . . .
> But it seemed as the harp of the sky had rung,
> And the airs of heaven played round her tongue,
> When she spoke of the lovely forms she had seen,
> And a land where sin had never been;
> . . . . . .
> The land of vision it would seem,
> A still, an everlasting dream.

Turning to practical treatment of these prophecies, we must realize in Zechariah a poet-prophet whose comparative lack of faith in ordinary human means evoked his faith in the supernatural; and who, amongst the Minor Prophets, virtually introduces the new apocalyptic era, in which men dream under the shadow of spiritual truth of heavenly armies carrying out the will of God upon earth. Very beautiful it often is, and has given to us the Revelation of St. John and the sublime thoughts of our own Milton; but after all, we recognize that we have been introduced into the mystic realm of the poet, and that even beautiful allegory is to us of less importance and lasting value than the real spiritual thoughts taught through it. Zechariah undoubtedly was no mere poetic religious dreamer, but a keen observer and man of action, who by his temperament and belief called in the aid of allegory to enforce great spiritual truths and purposes.

The book opens with the precision of history. Inspiration descended on Zechariah in the eighth month of the second year of the Persian king Darius (520 B.C.).

Our prophet believes in God acting in history. He begins by summoning the people to repentance, and thereby proves himself a true prophet. The past, he shows, is eloquent with warning. Repentance is a nation's first duty and only hope. True prosperity is impossible and suffering inevitable, unless there be a turning from the evil. Let the people turn to God and He will turn to them. Let them learn from their forefathers who had sinned and suffered by turning a deaf ear to God's prophets. Fathers and prophets, where are they? They are but voices of the past haunting life with the wail of warning: 'The word of God is forever sure—learn by our suffering. Whoso turneth not to Him must live and suffer in weary exile.'

Our prophet thus begins mournfully and sternly with the strong everlasting truth of the first necessity for spiritual progress, namely, repentance.

Next we come to his visions, which may be stilted in form, but are living with purpose. They are all seen in one night, the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month, that is, almost three months later than the summons to repentance.

The first vision is that of the angel-horsemen in the myrtle grove. The prophet may have seen Persian scouts meeting there near Jerusalem, or it may have been simply the Persian courier-posts that suggested the thought, but to this dreamer they become the horsemen of heaven. The scene is a myrtle grove near Jerusalem. He sees a man on a red horse, and behind him are others on horses, 'red, sorrel, and white.' Addressing the leading horseman, who is the Angel of the Lord's host, the prophet asks, 'O my Lord, what are these?' The prophet's own angel promises him the interpretation. The leader—the angel of the Lord—says that they are God's hosts. The angel-horsemen next report that they have returned from world-wide scouting, and, behold, the earth is at peace.

Haggai had prophesied a 'shaking of the nations' ($2^{21.22}$). The first answer is, that the earth

is at peace. The angel of the Lord now appeals for God's mercy on Jerusalem and the cities of Judah afflicted by Israel's seventy years of exile, and is answered with comforting words. The angel of the prophet bids him tell the people that God is angry with the heathen, for they have overridden their divine commission. God, however, has once more made Jerusalem His dwelling-place. The temple and Jerusalem will be rebuilt. Prosperity and comfort are coming to Zion and the cities of Judah. Zechariah's aim is plain in all this. Although the earth may seem at peace, yet God and His horsemen are ever on the alert. The oppressors will yet be punished. Joy and prosperity are coming soon. Not an opportunity will be neglected by the hosts of heaven to hasten retribution and doom to the foe, and joyful reward for over-suffering to God's people.

That is how Zechariah regards Jehovah's present action in history. His heart-hunger for the ideal and his positive conviction of the everlasting truthfulness of these two facts, that God punishes wickedness and shows mercy to repentant hearts, have led him to the quick solution that the spiritual hosts of God, in whose presence he had learned from childhood to believe, will do what his nation itself is too weak to do.

The second vision—the four horns and the four carpenters or smiths—is a sequel to the foregoing. The horns (of iron) were a symbol of the heathen powers from all quarters that had 'tossed and gored' Israel; but equal power from God would yet break these in pieces.

The third vision reveals the prophet in his true light as a prophet of peace. The predicted warfare of the previous visions is to be done, not by Israel, but by the hosts of heaven.

He sees now a young man going forth with a mason's measuring-line, and inquires of him his purpose. He is told that it is a survey for the rebuilding of the city on its old lines. The interpreting angel of the prophet at once goes forth, is met by another angel, and is charged with an urgent message to the young man, that Jerusalem must not be built on its old lines. Great numbers will yet flow into it, both of men and cattle. It will be the centre of world-wide rule. No fortress walls are needed for the great Jerusalem to come. The Lord God Himself will be a wall of fire round it, terrifying prowling foes, and at the same time a glory in the midst of it.

We notice here how our prophet is inspiring his people with the enthusiastic thought of a great future for their beloved city, divine protection around it, divine illumination within it.

Then follows a lyric, full of beauty and spirit. This rallying trumpet-call to the scattered of Israel, the dwellers in far lands, to return, is apparently from the prophet's interpreting angel, and so may be looked on as the word of God to the prophet himself. It declares high divine purpose in the Exile. It asserts the dearness of the people of Zion to God. It promises divine retribution on the spoiler. It ends with a pæan of rejoicing over Jehovah's return, and expresses the fulfilment of the preceding vision. Hush! The great Jehovah has come home to His city and temple. A silent cowering world awaits the result of that all-powerful Presence.

The next vision illustrates clearly the practical progressive aim of our prophet. Haggai's life-aim was revealing itself in stone and lime. It was our prophet's part to people the building with a holy priesthood. For the ushering in of the new Messianic era, the establishment of a revered ministry was absolutely essential. The people had lost confidence generally. They must be shown that the past sin which weighed alike on priest and people had been forgiven. Once again might they turn with reverence and trust to look for benediction through a divinely approved holy priesthood.

In the vision, Satan the Accuser appears and says the worst that can be said in favour of further affliction. He is rebuked. Israel is a precious brand plucked from the burning. Joshua the high priest, who appears humbly and fitly in filthy robes to represent priest's and people's sin, is clothed in festive garments, adorned with a holy mitre, and assured that if faithful he will be given a fixed place in the Court of God to represent the people and plead their cause for the time to come. Joshua and the assessors of the temple-court are summoned to listen, as men who themselves are men of portent, typical of an ideal future. They will understand what is meant when God announces a Messiah to come—His servant 'Branch'—the full fruition of the beauty of holiness. Behold a stone set before Joshua!

This is probably the top-stone of the temple, representative of, to be watched and guarded by, the seven eyes of the all-seeing God who has a part in every detail of the holy building. Observe

here (as the writer will recur to the fact) the intimate connexion between this stone of the temple, which is symbolic of the detective, protective presence of the all-seeing God against *external* foes, and the following significant statement which indicates that this same all-seeing Presence who has taken up his abode in the temple, will exercise a protective, detective influence on Israel *internally*; for, adds the prophet, in a short time the whole iniquity of the land will be removed. Thereafter will dawn the age of peace and prosperity.

The following, the fifth, vision is that of the seven-branched lamp fed with oil by pipes from two olive trees—one on each side. The prophet, as if awakened out of sleep, is called by his angel to look at this wondrous spectacle.

It is a picture of what Church and State may do to enlighten a people's worship when their representatives are branches of the olive trees of God. No great man, apparently, is Zerubbabel; but what man is not great when endowed by the might, the power, and the spirit of the Most High? Difficulties disappear, the day of small things becomes great, the work is done, and a day of glorious consummation comes, when God blesses the worker. Such a day of national triumph after national effort will throw an aureole round the leaders, as it undoubtedly will round Zerubbabel, whose hand will complete the building. Anticipation lends its warm glowing colours to the prospect. Let the people rejoice and shout with unstinted joy on the great day when the nation's long-cherished dream of a completed temple is fulfilled in fact; and let them also remember the noble truth that priest and prince—like Joshua and Zerubbabel—when chosen to do God's work, are inspired by Him, and are His anointed servants standing by His side.

All this our poet-prophet sees as leading up to the golden Messianic age, and he would croon these sweet longings into the people's willing ears.

The cleansing of the land from sin has already been predicted (3^9), and is now typified by the sixth and seventh visions.

The sixth vision, that of the 'Flying Roll' or the 'Winged Volume,' of immense size, is fascinating for its weirdness and also, to the student of the Bible, for its mysterious meaning. It is described as a curse going forth against the thief and the perjurer, who are to be cut off 'as on this side according to it,' or 'on that side according to it' (or hence). It has been explained as the record of the crime of the land — Israel's past sin—which is seen by the prophet as in the new age flying far from it. This may be accepted so far, and we may therefore look upon the Volume —'the Curse'—*as a leaf torn out of God's Book of Remembrance and flung to the winds.*

This, however, does not meet the whole case, for this 'Flying Roll' enters the house of the thief and of the perjurer, and remains till it consumes all to the ground. An attempt to explain this is given in the old Eastern practice of writing a curse against an enemy on a piece of paper and throwing it down the wind toward his house. This is quite inadequate. A much more likely explanation—one which, indeed, may so far be accepted—is that the 'Curse' is the bill of crime sent in to the sinner. 'God will send the bill to you.' This comes to every man who has sinned, and undoubtedly, without repentance, 'roosts' and consumes. It represents divine Law and *kindles like a far-flung fork of flame.*

To the writer's mind a full and satisfying solution of the problem is found by recurring to the line of Zechariah's aims. The rebuilt temple has all along been the basis of glorious ideals to be realized. We have already seen what a high place has been given to the priesthood, to its highest representative, and the temple assessors. Divine grace, he has also taught, would flow to Church and State to feed the sacred lamps of temple worship. It is almost impossible to imagine that the 'Moral Law,' the Deuteronomic code, discovered in the days of good king Josiah, —then the initiative of a too superficial reformation, but still full of promise (to be delivered by the mouths of the priests of the temple, as it was till the days of Ezra),—should have no place in our poet-prophet's line of vision. That it had such a place we consider this vision shows. Its very functions are described here by two outstanding characteristics of all-powerful Law at any time, namely, granting amnesty, and bringing home crime to the criminal. Nay more, the present writer considers that there is almost conclusive proof of the correctness of his view in 3^9, the vision of the All-seeing God taking up His abode in the temple, immediately to be followed by the cleansing of the land from sin. In the poet's vision the great Judge, as well as the merciful

God, has taken up His abode in the temple, and the temple is the central court of Law with its abiding statutes, with its responsible officials, with its register of crime (the Book of Remembrance), and its legal exponents. The issue is now clear. Convinced of the true repentance of Israel, God, the merciful, all-powerful Judge, grants a complete amnesty for the past, and by His orders the curse—the record of national crime, the leaf of previous convictions—is torn from that register—the Book of Remembrance—and flung to the winds, that it may fly far from the land. Still, that is not all; for we are taught here that the same volume of the sacred Law goes forth like a bird of prey to swoop down on, or to stretch like a far-flung fork of flame, and to enter the house of the criminal—a summons, a bill sent in, a nemesis to the unrepentant heart which is thus sternly consumed by the 'Thou shalt not,' or the 'Cursed' of the old Sinaitic Law, or the Deuteronomic code generally (Dt 33^2; cf. Is 10^{17} 30^{27}, Ps 104^4).

To this day, as with the Israel of the prophet's vision, amnesty is granted, sin is detected, and the land is cleansed of flagrant crime.

The action of direct Law, however, must always be to a large extent superficial. To have a perfect land the temptation to sin must also be removed. This is next typified in the seventh vision by an ephah—'the symbol of merchandise.' The leaden lid is lifted and, behold, a woman!

The writer hesitates to assert that we have here the prototype of the 'scarlet woman' of Revelation,—that 'mother of harlots,' Babylon,—to ancient prophets the incarnation of all iniquity. If, however, the ephah indeed be 'the symbol of heathen merchandise,' then it seems a fair inference that the prophet has partly in view the previous evil influence of association contracted on the heathen soil, from which the people of the new era must be cleansed; but it must also readily be said that the root-idea of the vision goes deeper, and reveals woman *at her worst and her best.* The lid is pressed down on the evil woman, and two other women with great wings, like the far-flying stork, carry off the load to the home of wickedness—the land of Shinar—Babylon. One thing may be noted of our prophet here, namely, that if he made woman appear as the type of wickedness, he made women appear as sisters of purity, whose mission was to remove all iniquity from the land.

The last vision recurs to thoughts of the hosts of heaven. Israel's old oppressors will no longer molest her in her re-established order and peace. Nay, they will meet with the judgment of God. In this vision four chariots are seen coming rushing forth from between two mountains shining like brass. The first is a chariot with red horses; the second, with black; the third, white; and the fourth, roan. These, it is explained to the prophet by his angel, are God's mighty spiritual agencies for accomplishing His purposes. Forth go the black followed by the white to the North country—Babylonia. Away go the roan to the South, to Edom and Egypt. The red horses seek work to do, but are held as a reserve force, and are bidden walk to and fro through the earth. Meantime, the chariots in the North country have won victory, and have appeased the spirit of God.

These consecutive visions end, and the prophet enters upon fresh work. The dawn of a great day is realized when certain exiles from Babylonia appear with gifts of silver and gold for the rebuilding of the temple. What a joyous sign of the times! The prophet is instructed to celebrate the lasting importance of this by a solemn act. He is to take the silver and the gold to make two crowns, which he shall place on the head of Joshua the high priest; and thereafter declare him to be 'The Branch,' typical of the great priestly Messiah yet to come—the Builder of the spiritual Temple of God, whose reign shall also be Kingly. The crown shall remain in the temple for a memorial, and those who come from a far land shall come and build, and know that Zechariah was divinely sent. All this shall be, if the voice of God be obeyed.

After a pause of two years, the word of God again comes to Zechariah. The narrative is easily read, and may be briefly summarized.

In Babylonia, the land of Exile, a custom of fasting and mourning on special days had grown up. The day of the burning of Jerusalem and the temple, the day of the murder of Gedaliah, the day of the capture of Jerusalem, and the day of the beginning of its siege were the fast-days of these Exiles.

Certain highly intelligent men of Bethel realized that such fasting was now incongruous in view of the new temple. For priestly sanction, a deputation headed by Sherezer and Regemmelech appeared at the temple; and the word of God came to Zechariah. He diagnoses carefully, and

finds that in such fasting there is nothing specially pleasing to God, and that it is really a matter of personal or national idiosyncrasy. Flinging the thought aside as unworthy of further serious consideration, he immediately asserts what is of the most awful importance. He rings the changes on the everlasting truths proclaimed by prophets of old, and thereby at the end, as at the beginning of his lifework, proves himself the true prophet, who voices the everlasting word of God in its constant bearing upon human life. Execute true judgment, he cries; show mercy, oppress not; think not evil of a neighbour; and learn by the mournful past, for it was because of the neglect of common morality, justice, and kindness that destruction overtook your fathers.

Next follow ten other short oracles full of 'tender charm and strong simplicity.' This eighth chapter recurs to the noble picture of the new Jerusalem which God has made His home.

What a beautiful picture our prophet gives of the city blessed by 'the two benedictions of life,' old age and childhood seen on its happy streets! What a contrast to homes desolated by war, and faces hunger-bitten by famine! There will yet be a glorious return of God's people from the ends of the earth. There will be no more poverty, but only prosperity. The past with its bitter lesson has melted into a glorious present. Therefore, let them speak truth and follow justice and peace, and think no evil one of another; and as for fasts, why, past fast-days shall now be turned into feast-days, and the world itself shall in the end be won to God. Then men of all nations shall take hold of the skirt of the Jew, saying, 'We shall go with you, for we have heard that God is with you.' With this glowing picture of happy streets within the city, and Jerusalem itself the centre of the world's worship, these pithy, beautiful oracles close.

At the Literary Table.

THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

THE SONG OF SOLOMON. By the Rev. Andrew Harper, D.D.—ST. MARK IN GREEK. By Sir A. F. Hort, Bart., M.A. (Cambridge: *At the University Press*).—The latest addition to the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges is worthy of the highest reputation of the series. Principal Harper of Sydney was an ideal choice for the Song of Solomon, he is so accomplished a scholar, he is so religious a writer. The outstanding feature of his commentary is the plea he enters for the recovery of the allegorical interpretation. His position is stated best in one sentence of his own: 'Nevertheless, it is still possible that while the exhibition of human love at its best, so far as that was known in his time, was the primary object of the writer or compiler of the Song, he may also have felt and intended his readers to feel that he was therewith setting forth also the excellence of the highest love to God.' That possibility is then urged in a most entertaining and edifying chapter.

Sir A. F. Hort is less religious, more strictly exegetical. But he, too, can be allegorical when he needs to be. Thus: 'The *hand*, the *foot*, and the *eye* stand for things good and useful in themselves which may be put to a bad use, and are then better dispensed with. The disciple must be willing to sacrifice even something which might supply his needs (*hand*), or which might be to him a support (*foot*), or which might aid his perception (*eye*), so soon as he finds that it does *not* do so, but has become a snare.' His notes are as brief as notes can be, but there is scarcely an irrelevant word in them.

THE ROMANES LECTURE, 1902: THE RELATIONS OF THE ADVANCED AND THE BACKWARD RACES OF MANKIND. By James Bryce, D.C.L. (Oxford: *At the Clarendon Press*).—Among the matters dealt with in this lucid and judicious lecture is the burning question of the white and black races in the United States. Dr. Bryce has shown that when a higher and a lower race intermarry, the world is on the whole a loser. So he says that this is against the mixture of whites with negroes. 'The wisest men among

the coloured people of the Southern States of America do not desire the intermarriage of their race with the whites. They prefer to develop it as a separate people, on its own lines, though of course by the help of the whites. The negro race in America is not wanting in intelligence. It is fond of learning. It has already made a considerable advance. It will cultivate self-respect better by standing on its own feet than by seeking blood alliances with whites, who would usually be of the meaner sort.'

There are questions suggested by this book which go to the very root of theology and of life. They are suggested, not answered. But one thing is certain, and Dr. Bryce can state it emphatically. The sense of a common humanity among the races of mankind is steadily gaining strength.

STUDIES IN THE LIVES OF THE SAINTS. By Edward Hutton (*Constable*).—It is not easy within the space of a few pages to make a saint alive and interesting, but Mr. Hutton has succeeded. He has sympathy and knowledge, he writes naturally, and what is more than those things, he has some single clear thought to combat or express in every study. There are twelve portraits, all done within 150 pages. No other book is so likely to touch the first chords of interest in those noble and blessed men and women whom we call the Saints.

Do you know the *Sun-Children's Budget*? It is a quarterly magazine solely devoted to the open air. Its motto must be 'He prayeth best who loveth best all things both great and small,' for the editors never weary in commending the love of the garden and the lane and all things that grow in them, crawl over them, or fly above them. No, its motto we have discovered. It is less hackneyed, but it means the same: 'To win the secret of a weed's plain heart.' The editors are Phœbe Allen and Henry W. Godfrey. The publishers are Messrs. Wells Gardner, Darton, & Co. The fourth yearly volume has been published.

THE CENTURY BIBLE: REVELATION. By C. Anderson Scott, M.A. (*Jack*).—This volume might itself be the making of the 'Century Bible.' The opportunity was unique; for no commentary we can consult in English on the Apocalypse yields any satisfaction; and Mr. Scott has seized it. His qualifications are an open mind—itself a unique advantage here—and thorough knowledge of what has hitherto been done. He may never satisfy us wholly, probably he never satisfies himself; but he delivers us from innumerable follies of interpretation, and lets us see that even this book can be handled at once historically and religiously.

ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS: WILLIAM HAZLITT. By Augustine Birrell (*Macmillan*).—Mr. Birrell is as much in this book as William Hazlitt, and he is as interesting. Some day a volume of the 'English Men of Letters' will have Augustine Birrell for its subject, and this volume will be useful for material. The very choice of subject is characteristic. The treatment is thoroughly so. Mr. Birrell's motto is, 'A man's life is his whole life, not the last glimmering snuff of the candle,' which is neither very Christian nor very remarkable, but it is very appropriate. For the life of William Hazlitt is slowly, steadily allowed to run its course before us like a lazy midland river, and we understand him all in all. It is not a heroic life. An English man of letters—the title does not claim much, and it carries no more than it claims in this case. But there is a pleasant sensation of something yet to come, which never lets you set the book down. And there is also an occasional flash of genius—it may be Hazlitt's or it may be Birrell's, but it is genius.

THE LAW OF GROWTH. By the Right Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D. (*Macmillan*).—We thought we had all Phillips Brooks' sermons already. But there is no doubt these are his. Look at the second. 'Truth shall spring out of the earth, and righteousness shall look down from heaven.' We know the ordinary treatment of that text. Phillips Brooks' treatment is extraordinary. There is a heaven and an earth, he says, in every man. His earth is the practical part of him, what he does; his heaven is the ideal, why he does it. The earth is his *method*, the heaven his *motive*. And there are four kinds of men, three bad and one good. The first bad man has the world of motive alive within him, but not the world of method; the second has the world of method alive, but not the world of motive; the third has both at work, but they are not in harmony. These men are failures. The good man is he 'who never thinks a high thought without instantly

seeking to send it forth into its fitting action; who never undertakes an active duty without struggling to set behind it its profoundest motive.'

THE BOOKS OF THE BIBLE. By Adeline Campbell (*Marlborough*).—The 'criticism' in this book is not quite acceptable, but there is not much of it. The idea of the author is to express the leading characteristics of every book of the Bible, and in some striking way indicate its chief contents. Occasionally the 'studies' remain with us, and may bear fruit in further reflexion. And no doubt the author desires this above all, to make us think and give our thinking to the Word of God.

A little book of expositions of Scripture, light of touch, and delightful within and without, has been written by the Rev. Charles G. Moore, and published by Messrs. Marshall Brothers. Its title is *Out of His Treasure.*

Messrs. Marshall Brothers have published a new edition of *Hymns of Consecration and Faith.* The first edition was compiled by the Rev. J. Mountain. The new edition is compiled by Mrs. Evan Hopkins. It is a new book, not merely a new edition. It contains 604 hymns. In such a number, especially when they are restricted to 'consecration and faith,' there must be some—there *are* some—that are neither poetry nor religion. But the surprise is that so many are both. Surely no subject of religious thought could lend itself to song as the spiritual life does. The settings are mostly familiar, of course. Yet some are both new to us and very melodious.

WITH THE ARABS IN TENT AND TOWN. By A. Forder (*Marshall Brothers*).—Dr. Selah Merrill, who introduces Mr. Forder, speaks of him as a second Doughty. And it is at least true that he goes to see for himself and sees. His experiences have been sometimes thrilling enough, and they have been among the Arabs as Doughty's were. He has also something of Doughty's inconsequential way of telling his story. His book is assuredly good reading, and first hand information which may be relied on. Among the illustrations, all of which are well chosen, there is a fine one of a scene on the Abana, near Damascus. It has not the picturesque tumble and tangle course of the Jordan, but for bathing in, clearly the Abana is the better stream. Still better and more valuable is the photograph of the ancient temple at Petra.

METHODS OF BIBLE STUDY. By W. H. Griffith Thomas, B.D. (*Marshall Brothers*).—At various times we have seen 'Bible Studies' in the *Record* by Mr. Griffith Thomas, and they have seemed suggestive and scholarly enough to demand preservation. The latest, we think, was in the issue of 30th May, the subject being 'Royal and Loyal.' So it is no surprise to receive this book describing his methods for studying the Bible, it is no surprise to find it surpassingly sane and enlightening. Some of the methods of studying the Bible that are commended to us turn the Bible into a child's box of puzzles. Mr. Griffith Thomas sees the religious and not the mere verbal correspondences, and gets at the purpose of the Bible.

THE MAKING OF THE EMPIRE. By Arthur Temple (*Melrose*).—The publisher explains that this is a new edition of Mr. Temple's well-known book only in name. 'For the most part,' he says, 'it has been recast and rewritten, and a slight juvenility in its appeal removed, in order that it may take its place as a serious record of the marvellous development of the British Empire.' It is the book, we should think, which boys would select out of the crowd and thoroughly enjoy, though it is less than before a mere boy's book. It is the book which their fathers will read when the boys are done with it. For it is on such a subject and with such a book as this that boys find themselves old and men find themselves young again. The volume is tastefully bound and enriched with photographs.

The Religious Tract Society has published a very good historical novel under the title of *The Friends of Pascal.* It carries us into the heart of a great movement until we throb with sympathy. It introduces us to men and women who would have been great or mean in any age, but whom circumstances made great exceedingly or mean incredibly. It diverts us for an hour, it makes us wise for all time. The author is Mr. D. Alcock.

ANGLO-JEWISH CALENDAR. By Matthew Power, S.J., B.A. (*Sands*).—This title Mr. Power

gives to a work in which he discusses the dates in the life of our Lord. His discussion is based on ancient Jewish authorities; but he is chiefly indebted for impulse and direction to two masterly essays (though they are little known and very rare) by Joh. Fried. Wurm, 'the eminent mathematician and astronomer of Stuttgardt.' The first date which Mr. Power fixes is the date of the Crucifixion. It occurred on Friday, 27th April, Nisan 15, in the year 31 A.D. That date, which is central, is defended with confidence, and the authorities are referred to in voluminous footnotes. When the discussion is over, a complete calendar, Jewish and English, is given for every day in our Lord's public ministry.

ADDRESSES FOR HOLY WEEK. By A. F. Winnington-Ingram (S.P.C.K.)—The Bishop of London preaches Christ, not sermons merely. Every word tells. And it is all modern because it is all eternal. 'I used to think,' he says, 'as a young man that there was something almost unreal in year by year pretending, as some people put it to me, to believe that the whole great scene was happening over again; but if the Incarnation is true—in a perfectly true sense it *is* happening over again.' His first address is on Judas, and he says that he chose Judas because there were possible Judases among his hearers. For his conception of Judas (got, he acknowledges, from Hanna's *Last Days of Our Lord's Passion*) is that he was overmastered by one dominant idea—the love of power and the love of money.

HOW JESUS HANDLED HOLY WRIT. By the Rev. H. Rose Rae (*Stockwell*).—Mr. Rae not only quotes the places where Jesus quoted the Scriptures of the Old Testament, but he also makes many unconventional remarks thereupon. Otherwise, perhaps, he could not have written a book about it, for his subject is limited in scope. His remarks are thoroughly modern, and their references and illustrations are taken from the latest popular literature. No space is lost in platitude.

OINOSVILLE. By William Gourlay (*Stockwell*).—Oinosville, which being interpreted is the drunkards' town, is a novel with a purpose. The Church has much to do and suffer in it. Church-membership and deep-drinking are properly antagonistic things, and they are unable to walk together in this book. The effect of the picture is to be got best when standing back, but its purpose is as good as it is unmistakable.

Messrs. Watts have published a cheap edition of Samuel Laing's *Modern Science and Modern Thought*, for which Mr. Edward Clodd has written a preface. They have also issued a cheap edition of Mr. Clodd's own *Pioneers of Evolution*.

MY SEARCH FOR TRUTH AND WHAT I FOUND. By J. Horton (*Williams & Norgate*).—Mr. Horton found that the Fall of Man and his Redemption in Christ are scarcely, if at all, taught in Scripture, and are not true to fact. 'Christ Himself never mentions the Fall of Man, nor once speaks of Himself as our Redeemer or as a Sacrifice,' is one of his sentences. But there is no questioning Mr. Horton's sincerity.

The Books of the Month include—*The Scriptural Limitations of the Friends' Doctrine of the Sacraments* and *The Eschatological Pendulum*, by W. Tallack (Headley Brothers); *The Buccaneer Queen*, by J. H. Townsend (Marshall Brothers); *The Master's Guide* (new ed., Stock); *Sermons in Brief*, by J. J. Knight (Stockwell); *Asked of God*, by L. St. Clare (Stockwell); *The Blessing of Peace*, by the Bishop of London (Wells Gardner); *Early Conversion*, by the Rev. E. Payson Hammond (Passmore & Alabaster); *The Passover, the Communion, and the Mass*, by R. B. Girdlestone, M.A. (Charles Murray).

Cæsarea.

AN EXPOSITORY STUDY OF ACTS X.

By the Rev. T. D. Bernard, M.A., Canon of Wells.

II.

Having followed the narrative of the Baptism at Cæsarea, we are left to reflect upon that pregnant story.

The first reflexion is on the immense importance of the event. In the kingdom of Christ it is not an incident, it is a revolution; yet the consummation of a purpose, in which the King, by His own act and deed, enfranchises the whole race of mankind. To us that seems natural. Was not the salvation one for all men? and was it not wrought by the Son of man? Yet it came as a strange unexpected truth to the first citizens of the kingdom. It was 'the mystery of Christ, which in other generations was not made known unto the sons of men, as it has now been revealed unto His holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit; that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs and fellow-members of the Body, and fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel' (Eph $3^{5.6}$). It was a revelation, and this revelation was first made at Cæsarea.

1. In the whole transaction we distinguish the act of the author and that of the agent. We see how the Lord in glory has His hand on the first movements of the gospel, and Himself directs its promulgation to the world. Where there is cause this intervention is made clear, as by the visit of the angel to Cornelius, by the vision and the Spirit to Peter, and by the coming of the Holy Ghost on the hearers of the Word. There was no gainsaying these facts, and the conclusion was inevitable. 'Then to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life' (11^{18}). That Roman baptism carried with it the baptism of converts from every nation under heaven. From that moment it was established that equally for all there is 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism.' At the same time the method taken made it manifest that the divine plan of communication was also a plan of derivation. 'Salvation is of the Jews' in the sense, not of possession, but of origination (ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων). 'Theirs were the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the law-giving, and the service, and the promises; theirs were the fathers, and of them as concerning the flesh Christ came' (Ro 9^{4}). Among them He accomplished His work in life and death. There was the birthplace of His Church, and not until sufficient time had been given for settlement of the gospel in Israel was it allowed to pass out into the world. We can see the necessity. Had the Word consisted only of ideas and abstract truths, it might have been sown broadcast at once. But it consists fundamentally in a Person and in facts; then its historic origin is at the root of its life. And this historic origin involves a doctrinal origin, in its inheritance not only of monotheistic truth, but of ideas embodied in a great economy associated with it,—ideas of divine intervention, of election and calling, of redemption and sacrifice, of covenant relation and the predestined Christ—typical and rudimentary elements of the future creed. Thus was it provided that Christianity should come to us in the way of derivation, and the Gentile believer has need to be reminded, 'Thou bearest not the root, but the root thee.' In Cæsarea was the first grafting on this root, soon to extend into 'a fruitful field, and the fruitful field to be counted for a forest.' We see this grafting as manifestly the act of God, and its chosen instrument is the chief apostle of the circumcision. His ministry, conspicuous in the foundation of Judaic Christianity, is now employed in the foundation of Gentile Christianity, in fulfilment of the declared purpose, 'I say unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church.' Now the second part of the great fabric is founded, in derivation from and conjunction with the first, the Lord Himself the builder, St. Peter the workman employed.

2. If the narrative is one of divine action, it is one of human action too; and there is much instruction in what St. Peter does and says. He receives intimations, but draws his own conclusions and acts upon them. He shows himself a considerate, open-minded, clear-judging man.

Old ideas do not confuse his mind or make him hesitate under new convictions. These he is ready to receive, prompt to acknowledge, prompt to obey; as we see in the readiness with which he complies with the sudden call, enters into the man's house, utters all his mind, and commands the immediate baptism. His subsequent statements of his reasons for action (11^{18}) and of his view of the whole matter ($15^{7.12}$) show with what clearness he remembered his Lord's words and apprehended his Lord's will.

His address on this unique and momentous occasion has its suggestive lessons, though the abstract is brief in the extreme, and the discourse is abruptly cut short. We have observed in the first sentences the sudden break in which, having begun with language natural to himself, he changes his tone to suit his hearers. There is double suggestion here. To whomsoever the Christian preacher speaks, he needs to have present to his own mind the full sense of the gospel as it is in itself and as it is to him, the revealed Word sent from God to Israel, 'good tidings of peace through Jesus Christ.' That is the heading of the chapter, and that will be its conclusion, though in particular cases it may have to be unfolded by degrees. Again, in the foundation word, '*ye know*,' there is a lesson to all teachers, to take that which is already known as the basis of what they have to communicate, and to appeal to what is in men's thoughts, in order to lead them further into truth. The abstract given of the discourse shows sufficiently how that which was partially known was set forth in fulness and put in its true light, with the power of original witness to all that was done in the country of the Jews and in Jerusalem, and in the manifestations which attested the Resurrection. And so it is for evermore. The gospel revelation is always 'the Word which began from Galilee after the baptism which John preached,' based on historic facts and actual events 'in the land of the Jews and in Jerusalem.' All teaching and preaching has its source and power in the scenes and incidents of that brief life on earth, in the words and acts of Jesus of Nazareth, sealed and certified by the resurrection from the dead.

From the manifestation in the world the discourse ascends to the Judge and Saviour in heaven. St. Peter said afterwards that he was arrested when he '*began* to speak' by a power greater than his word; but he had time to impress two foundation truths of the relations of Christ with men, and to set us an example to do the same. We may note the orders of these truths. He claims allegiance before he testifies forgiveness. We place the judgment of quick and dead far on in the Creed, at the end of human history. But the office is not assumed in the day of its consummation. It is the present prerogative of the Lord as head and ruler of the moral life of man among the living and among the dead. 'Whether we live, we live unto the Lord; or whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether therefore we live or die, we are the Lord's' (Ro 14^{8}). Our relations are with Him to whom 'the Father hath given all judgment' in both stages of our existence, as will be fully and finally manifested in the day of His appearing (Jn 5^{22-29}). This truth, which He testified Himself, He charged His apostles to testify, with all its consequences to conscience, character, and conduct. It may be questioned whether it has quite the place in our missions and ministries which St. Peter gives it in his opening of the gospel message to men, to whom it was new.

That message blossoms out in a moment into the grace which is a gospel indeed—the grace which is the first necessity to the awakened soul—the grace of forgiveness. It is found in the same Person who is ordained as Judge; it is bestowed through His name; it is enjoyed by the believer in Him. Never were the several points in the doctrine of forgiveness more distinctly and compactly given than they are here. They await development in the larger teaching which will follow, and in the experience of the first hearers, and in that of unnumbered souls. They are too large for present reflexion. One thing only it is right to notice as bearing on the preaching of our times,—St. Peter's appeal to prophecy. He is himself the proclaimer of this forgiveness; but associates with himself a larger company: 'To Him give all the prophets witness, that through His name every one that believeth on Him shall receive remission of sins.' Why the prophets? and this in an address to Gentiles! The great evangelical promise shall not appear as a novelty. Has it not been transmitted through all generations assuring the gracious purpose of God to meet the deep necessity of man? As promise, it has shed its comfort on every age; but as prophecy,

it bears directly on the Person and Work of Messiah. 'In Him we have redemption—the forgiveness of our sins' (Col 1^{14}), not only as publishing it, which the prophets did, but as procuring it, which they did not. There was a twofold reason for this introduction of the prophets. They expressed the old faith and expectation of Israel, and they extended the participation in it to the Gentiles.

'The words spoken by the prophets were not for themselves alone, nor for their own countrymen or contemporaries alone, but for the Gentiles, and for the whole future. In making known the appearance of the Messiah, the apostles found the old prophetic Word endued with new power and instructiveness, as the Acts and Epistles abundantly attest. Its place in their teaching is distinctly marked, Rom. xvi. 26. Their faith was not a new religion, but a new stage in the old religion of Israel, and it derived a large part of its claim to acceptance from this appeal to the past in conjunction with the present. The dream of a Christianity without Judaism soon arose, and could not but arise; but, though it could make appeal to a genuine zeal for the purity of the gospel, it was in effect an abrogation of apostolical Christianity. When robbed of his Messiahship, our Lord became an isolated portent, and the true meaning of faith in Him was lost' (Hort, *Notes on 1 Peter*, p. 57).

St. Peter's view of prophecy is known, illustrated in his earliest speeches in the Acts, thought out and impressed in his latest writings ($1\,P\ 1^{11.\ 12}$, $2\,P\ 1^{19\text{-}21}$). As there explained, it has ever been held in the Church, and some tendencies of present criticism detracting from it definiteness and fulness warn us to hold it fast. In the occasion at Cæsarea it was natural indeed that the prophets should be in his thoughts, for he was in the act of fulfilling their predictions. The day which they foretold for the nations was breaking before his eyes.

He knew it was so when the Spirit fell on those who heard the word. That gift at Cæsarea corresponded to the pentecostal gift at Jerusalem. That was not a single event, but the manifestation of a new order of things. It was a *baptism* which constituted the Church. This also had like meaning and effect for Gentile believers, as being equally a part of the whole Society, 'builded together for an habitation of God in the Spirit.' The sudden and sensible illapse of the Spirit was to these first converts the seal of their faith and the sign of their acceptance, being also their first experience of a power which dwelt in the kingdom they were entering. It was a revelation of the will of God, yet such as to make a demand on the intelligence and concurrence of the apostle. He acted on his own judgment and responsibility when he drew the practical conclusion, without any question of preliminary proselytism or circumcision, 'Can any man forbid the water that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?' What passed in his mind he tells us afterwards (11^{16}). He remembered the words of the Lord Jesus, and saw that this perceptible gift of the Spirit was a baptism, a passage from one spiritual state to another. But the sacramental act had its part in the passage, an effective part; and to withhold it would be a withstanding of God. 'What was I that I should withstand God?' He was not going to count the symbolical act superseded and superfluous. To him the water had by divine ordinance an essential part in the new birth of those who 'enter into the kingdom of God.' After that the question of Gentile baptism was closed. Only there was soon a strong effort to recover the lost ground, by the contention that one who was baptized should also be circumcised, and that one who had become a Christian should also become a Jew. On this question St. Peter became the decisive authority ($15^{7\text{-}11}$), though the stress of the controversy was committed to a more practised hand than his. So by the inclusion of the truth of doctrinal Judaism and the exclusion of the virus of ceremonial Judaism, the safety of Christianity was secured.

3. Our reflexions have been on the action of the Lord and of His apostle in which the importance of the narrative consists; but its interest is largely increased by the character of the man chosen to be the firstfruits of the Gentile Church; a just man of high repute, generous, and beneficent; a religious man, fearing God with all his house; a man of prayer, fervent and habitual; one who has embraced such truth as he has encountered, who has gained the esteem of the nation where he sojourns, and who exerts a happy influence on kinsmen and comrades; and there is nothing superficial in all this; for his sincerity is witnessed in heaven, where his prayers and alms come up for a memorial before God. This remarkable character exists outside the Covenant system, and apart from revelation, save some partial and refracted light from neighbouring Judaism. What shall we say of such a case? At least we must say as frankly and cordially as St. Peter, 'In every

nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him.' 'Them that are without God judgeth;' and in the vast area of human life, in which the responsibilities of man and the judgment of God are beyond our cognizance, Cornelius suggests thoughts of comfort. 'The eyes of the Lord are in every place, beholding the evil—and the good.' Who can tell what may be before those eyes, in quarters unlikely and unknown, of moral attainment and spiritual aspiration? What grace of God, what work of the Spirit, is present in these cases we have no warrant to affirm. In the present instance we have to do with believers, men who have all the faith that is possible, outside revelation and the Covenant. As to Cornelius, we have this testimony that he pleased God. But without faith it is impossible to please Him; 'for he that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that seek Him out' (Heb 11^6). Those are few and elementary articles. But the faith which fastens on them may be more intense and practical than that of some believers, who have all the treasures of truth in possession. So it plainly was with Cornelius; and God was a rewarder of one who diligently sought Him by bringing him to know the unsearchable riches of Christ. One can scarcely imagine a mind more qualified to receive them by existing capacity of faith, and desires poured forth in prayer. The full apprehension of what he had received would come by degrees, perhaps in the experience of a long Christian life. But there would be an immediate consciousness that in the union given him with the living Lord the needs of the soul were met, its desires satisfied, the past cancelled, and the future secured. The justice and charity, the faith and prayer, which had beautified former days, were now to be continued on a higher plane of life in the power of the Spirit of Christ, and in the fulness of a hope which had been unknown before. We bid farewell to the firstfruits of the Gentiles as they vanish from our view, confident that the later words of their teacher would become their own:

'Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to His great mercy begat us again unto a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for (them), who by the power of God are guarded through faith unto a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time' (1 P 1^{3-5}).

Contributions and Comments.

Emmaus Mistaken for a Person.

I HAVE in my possession a folio copy of the works of S. Ambrose printed in 1492, in which, in three places, the companion of Cleophas is called 'Amaus.' The volume, unfortunately, is not quite perfect, lacking, *inter alia*, the *Expos. Evang. Luc.*, but it contains the following eight references to the Emmaus incident. *De Isaac et anima*: 'sicut testatur cleophas dicens.' *In Psal.* 118, *sermo* 3: 'Denique duobus ex his euntibus in castellum cui nomen emaus.' *Idem*, *sermo* 13: 'Hoc igne cleophas cor suum dicebat ardere cum ipsi et socio ejus christus scripturas aperiret.' *Id. sermo* 17: 'Illi qui dicebant, Nonne,' etc. *Id. sermo* 18: 'Cleophas et ille alius . . . dicebant.' *De grano sinapis*, *sermo* 1: 'Sicut in sancto evangelio: amaon (in the margin is printed, Al. Amaus) et cleophas dixerunt.' *Sermo* 72, *de Natali Sancti Laurentii*: 'Quo igne succensi amaus (marg. Al. Amaon) et cleophas dixerunt'; and again in the same sermon, 'sicut amaus (marg. Al. Amaon) et cleophas dixerunt.'

The book from which these passages are taken was printed by John de Amerbach, and is a finely executed specimen of early printing. John, a Carthusian monk, who wrote the printer a prefatory epistle and divided the work into sections, probably supplied the marginal readings. I know nothing of the MSS on which this printed text was based; the strange reading in question, however, must have had some considerable attestation in North Italy. On the other hand the 'socio ejus' and the 'ille alius' of two of the passages, with their obvious avoidance of a name, if not later corrections, indicate that S. Ambrose was also acquainted with other texts which did not call the companion of Cleophas 'Amaus.'

It may interest book-lovers to know that the copy of S. Ambrose above referred to belonged

at one time to Henry Howard of Norfolk, and was one of the books (see Pepys' *Diary*, *sub.* 7th January 1667) which he presented to the Royal Society, by whom it was subsequently sold.

ALBERT BONUS.

Alphington, Exeter.

'Between the Temple and the Altar.'

THE most probable explanation of Mt 23^{35} = Lk 11^{51} on Zacharias, son of Barachias, who was slain, μεταξὺ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου (Mt), or μεταξὺ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου (Lk), is to find here a reference to 2 Chr $24^{20.21}$. But there Zechariah (the son of Jehoiada) is said to have been stoned '*in the court of the house of the Lord*' (ἐν αὐλῇ τοῦ οἴκου Κυρίου, LXX), בַּחֲצַר בֵּית יְהוָה. Why this change in the designation of the locality? Perhaps it is explained by a reference to Ezk 8^{16}, Jl 2^{17}, 1 Mac 7^{36}. ναός in 1 Mac and Mt, οἶκος in Lk, is translation of the Hebrew אוּלָם, 'the porch,' rendered קסטרומא in the Syriac version. Compare, further, the Syriac version of the Protevangelium Jacobi, c. 23 (to be published by Mrs. A. S. Lewis in *Studia Sinaitica*, xi.), and the *Vitae Prophetarum* of Pseudo-Epiphanius (in Nestle, *Marginalien*), p. 34, l. 9, ἀνὰ μέσον ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰλάμ = p. 35, l. 4, ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἐλὰμ ἐξ οἴκου Κυρίου. The addition in the Targum of 2 Chr 24^{20} shows how much importance was attached to this Zechariah. In an older edition of the A.V. with marginal references, I find Mt 23^{35} quoted on the margin of Jl 2^{17}; in the R.V. with Dr. Moulton's references it is missing. Therefore I call the attention to these passages.

EB. NESTLE.

Maulbronn.

'The Widow's Mites.'

PREACHERS and teachers—it seems, in England as well as in Germany—usually call the paragraph Mk 12^{41-44} = Lk 21^{1-4}, 'The Story of the Widow's Mite' (in the singular—thus, for example, in the latest commentary on Mark, that of Allan Menzies (Macmillan, 1901)), and spoil by this designation the very point of the story. For the widow had *two mites*, and that she threw in both and did not keep back one of them, this is what was noticed and praised by Jesus: 'she cast in *all* that she had.' Perhaps He saw her struggling whether she was to part with both. I am glad to see that A. Wright, in due recognition of this point of the story, inscribes it in his *Synopsis* (in the plural): 'The Widow's Mites,' and still more correct is H. B. Swete, who gives to the story the heading 'The Widow's *Two* Mites.'

I came across the story lately in reading the new Oxford edition of the *Syriac Tetraeuangelium*, and noticed in it a variant reading not mentioned by our commentaries. For, instead of the remark of the Greek text, that the two mites together were of the value of a farthing (λεπτὰ δύο ὅ ἐστιν κοδράντης), the Syriac text has תְּרֵין מְנִין דְּאִיתַיהוֹן שְׁמוּנָא, in the rendering of G. A. Gwilliam: '*duo minuta quae sunt chalci*' (in the plural). The translation of Luke renders already δύο λεπτὰ by תְּרֵין שְׁמוּנָא. In the Sinaitic Palimpsest we read in Mark תרין שמונא דאיתיהן רובעא (not תומנא, as was first printed), *i.e.* two-eighths, which are a farthing. The Syriac *Didascalia*, in which the story is quoted in chap. 15 (treating of the Widows) makes a strange mistake by giving שמונא תרין דאיתוהי דנרא חד, 'two-eighths, which is *one denarius*' (ed. Lagarde, p. 66), quoted in the *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 4212 (from a Syriac lexicographer, without reference to this source).

The importance of the Peshito rendering will be clear to any one who reads the excellent article 'Money' in the *Dictionary of the Bible* (iii. 429a, note †), where it is assumed that the reading is *shāmōnā* (in the singular), while it is *shāmōnē* (in the plural). It is of course possible to assume that the plural is a corruption of the singular. But, then, how are we to explain the passage in Luke (λεπτὰ = שְׁמוּנָא), and in the Sinaitic Palimpsest? I am not versed enough in these money matters to suggest a solution; perhaps the author of the article 'Money' will be good enough to state his views. But I may perhaps add a word on the English expression '*mite*,' as the *Dictionary*, against its custom, gives no explanation of this word. It was used in proverbial sayings in South Germany, 'not a mite' = 'not a bit,' as late as the sixteenth century.

EB. NESTLE.

Maulbronn.

The Distance of the Mount of Olives from Jerusalem.

In Ac 1^{12} this distance is said to be 'a Sabbath day's journey.' J. Massie, in his article on this expression in vol. iv. of the *Dictionary of the Bible*, remarks that 'according to Josephus, in his *Ant.* xx. 8. 6, the Mount of Olives is 5 furlongs from Jerusalem, while in his *B.J.* v. 2. 3 it is stated to be 6, the variation being perhaps due either to the fact that the distance lay between the two, or to the fact that the older Hebrew ell was rather shorter than the later one.' But there is no variation at all between the statements of Josephus. As other commentators, J. Massie has not read the second passage of Josephus exactly enough. Josephus speaks there of the Roman army marching from Jericho towards Jerusalem, and says (§ 70, ed. Niese): *προστέτακτο δ' αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀπέχοντας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων σταδίους στρατοπεδεύσασθαι κατὰ τὸ Ἐλαιῶν καλούμενον ὄρος, ὃ τῇ πόλει πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἀντίκειται, μέσῃ φάραγγι βαθείᾳ διειργόμενον, ἣ κεδρὼν ὠνόμασται.* Here nothing is said about the distance of the Mount itself. The troops, coming from Jericho, encamp on the eastern slope of the Mount (*κατὰ*) at a distance of 6 furlongs from the town, not on the top itself.

But in the former passage of Josephus there is an interesting variant not mentioned by J. Massie, nor indeed by the best editor of Josephus, B. Niese. Theophylact in his commentary on Acts (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 125) remarks on this passage, after he has repeated the view of Chrysostom (without mentioning his name) that the mentioning of the distance seems to prove that the Ascension took place on a Sabbath day: *Ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἰώσηππος ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ λόγῳ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας, ἀπέχειν ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων στάδια ἑπτά.*

This variant (7 instead of 5), which, according to the edition of Niese, is found in no MS. of Josephus, is the more interesting, as the Syriac and the Sahidic version of Acts have this very same statement as translation of 'Sabbath day's journey.' According to one statement it is also found with Chrysostom, and Bengel inferred from it that Chrysostom was dependent on Josephus and the Syriac version on Chrysostom. In fact, the opposite view will hold good that Chrysostom made use of the Syriac version, as in the other case from Acts when he calls Paul a *σκυτοτόμος* in accordance with the expression *lorarius* in the Peshito (Ac 18^{3}). But what then about the Sahidic version? is it also influenced by the Peshito? The present writer believes he has found traces pointing to such a connexion between these two versions. And what about the statement of Theophylact regarding Josephus? The space of an article does not allow one to enter into these questions. As showing how much remains to be done till a single statement of the New Testament is explained with certainty, I take the liberty of calling attention to this passage.

Eb. Nestle.

Maulbronn.

Note on the Syriac Manuscript described on pp. 510, 511.

The Syriac signs in the MS. of the Maccabees described by Mrs. Gibson on pp. 510–511 do not contain a reference to *goat-skins*, as Mrs. Gibson was inclined to believe, but are the Syriac numerals for 6, 7, and 8, as may be seen on Table xxv. of Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. i., where he gives specimens from three MSS in the British Museum, the oldest of which is ascribed to the fifth century. See also Duval, *Grammaire Syriaque*, pp. xv and 15: 'M. Wright a trouvé ces derniers (signes) dans des manuscrits du VIe et du VIIe siècles et pense qu'ils sont rares après cette époque.' In the MS. described by Mrs. Gibson the numbers are expressed both by letters and figures. A fine specimen of such a figure may be seen in the second facsimile in Sachau's new description of the Syriac MSS of Berlin.

Eb. Nestle.

Maulbronn.

Does *ἀμήν* mean 'Verily'?

Every intelligent person knows that our *Amen* is the Hebrew word אָמֵן, commonly exclaimed at the end of a prayer, benediction, or doxology. In Hebrew it is both an adverb and a noun, meaning *firm(ly)*, *valid(ly)*, and expressing, in the form of a reply (*responsorium*), assent to a preceding statement or summons; thus being used absolutely as a responsive exclamation. The LXX renders it generally by the desiderative optative

γένοιτο, rarely by ἀμήν (1 Ch 16[36], Neh 5[13] 6[8]), while Aquila uses the adverbal terms πεπιστωμένως and πιστωθήτω. Likewise, when they have occasion to express a similar wish or thought, the N.T. writers adopt and transliterate the Hebrew term, אָמֵן, by ἀμήν, as 1 Co 14[16] ἐπεὶ ἐὰν εὐλογῇς πνεύματι ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ ἀμὴν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τί λέγεις οὐκ οἶδεν; so too 2 Co 1[20], cf. Rev 3[14] ὁ ἀμήν. Then Ro 1[25] ὅς ἐστιν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν. *Amen.* So further (as an *exclamation*) in Ro 9[5] 11[36] 15[33] 16[20. 24. 27], Gal 1[5] 6[18], Eph 3[21], Phil 4[20. 23], 1 Ti 1[17] 6[16], He 13[21. 25], 1 P 4[11] 5[11], 2 P 3[18], Jude [25], Rev 1[6. 7] 5[14] 7[12] 19[4] 22[20].

Entirely different from this Hebrew אָמֵן (*ἀμήν, amen*) is the asseverative *ἀμὴν of the Gospels, which the English versions correctly render by *verily*. This solemn *ἀμὴν by which Jesus—and Jesus alone—introduces a weighty and impressive assertion, and, moreover, always precedes λέγω (31 times in Mt, 14 in Mk, 6 in Lk, 25 and always double in Jn) in the standing phrase *ἀμὴν (*ἀμὴν) λέγω. In this way it is apparently employed where an ordinary speaker would have used ὀμνύω, 'I swear,' 'I take an oath,' which oath Jesus not only avoids but expressly and strongly disapproves (cf. Mt 5[34. 36], 23[16. 18. 20. 21. 22] 26[74], Ja 5[12]). Here, therefore, we have a word Hebrew in form with a non-Hebrew meaning and construction. For as an asseveration, it does not appear in the O.T., nor does it occur in the N.T. outside the Gospels, not even in St. Paul the Rabbi. This strange use of *ἀμὴν becomes more glaring when we remember that the phrase *ἀμὴν (*ἀμὴν) λέγω ὑμῖν (σοί), so favourite with Jesus, and otherwise so natural and suitable for colloquial intercourse, is never turned to account by His disciples nor by the sub-apostolic and early Church fathers; all of whom use in its place some such expression as ἀληθῶς, ἐπ' ἀληθείας, ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, ὄντως, etc. It is further striking that of the evangelists the Synoptists should represent Jesus as saying *ἀμὴν, while John reports Him as saying *ἀμὴν ἀμήν. It is singular, indeed, that Jesus' reporters should so disagree in recording so simple a word, and still more strange that, in His daily discourses, Christ should have constantly used such a household Jewish word as אָמֵן in a sense and construction so singular and incomprehensible to His Jewish audience.

So far, then, we clearly see that the term *ἀμὴν or *ἀμὴν ἀμήν, as an asseveration, *verily*, is neither Hebrew nor Greek, and so cannot be authentic. I believe that the evangelists wrote ἦ μὴν (ἠμὴν) or εἶ μήν (εἰμήν) *verily, surely, forsooth*, a colloquial expression exactly suiting our text and Jesus' mode of speech. The change of manuscriptal ημην or ειμην to αμην presents no difficulty. Palæographists and classical students know that before and during the first two Christian centuries, Greek scribes wrote without accentual marks, and that, in matters of spelling, they used promiscuously and freely η ηι(=ῃ) ει as equivalent and interchangeable symbols. In our case of ημην-ειμην-αμην we have even express testimony from Herodian i. 508 (ed. Lentz) τὸ δὲ ἠμὴν ὁρκικὸν ἐπίρρημα ὀξύνεται, and *Etym. Magnum*, 416, 50 (referring to LXX, Gn 22[17]) ἦ ἐπίρρημα ὁρκικὸν ὅπερ καὶ διὰ διφθόγγου (*i.e.* with εἶ) γράφεται· ἦ μὴν (εἶ μὴν) εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε· ἦ ὄντως καὶ ἀληθῶς. This usage is, moreover, amply confirmed by evidence from various other sources. Thus LXX, Ezk 33[27], ζῶ ἐγὼ (by my life) ἦ μὴν ἐν ταῖς ἠρημωμέναις μαχαίραις πεσοῦνται. 34[8] ζῶ ἐγὼ, λέγει κύριος, εἶ μὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ γενέσθαι κτλ. 35[6] ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἶ μὴν εἰς αἷμα ἥμαρτες καὶ αἷμα διώξεταί σε. 38[19], ἐν πυρὶ τῆς ὀργῆς μου ἐλάλησα εἶ μὴν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἔσται σεισμὸς μέγας. Nu 14[28], ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, ἦ μὴν ὃν τρόπον λελαλήκατε εἰς τὰ ὦτά μου, οὕτω ποιήσω ὑμῖν. Job 27[3] ζῇ ὁ θεός . . . εἶ μὴν ἔτι τῆς πνοῆς μου ἐνούσης . . . μὴ λαλήσειν τὰ χείλη μου ἄνομα. Jth 1[12], ὥμοσε . . . ἦ μὴν ἐκδικήσειν πάντα τὰ ὅρια τῆς Κιλικίας. Bar 2[29] ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσητε τῆς φωνῆς μου ἦ μὴν ἡ βόμβησις ἀποστρέψει κτλ. So further in the papyri and inscriptions of the time: G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr.* 388 (*93–91 B.C.*), 27 εἶ μὰν ἔξειν ἐπιμέλειαν. *Griech. Urkunden zu Berlin*, 534 (*28–27 B.C.*), 2 f. ὄμνυμι Καίσαρα αὐτοκράτορα θεοῦ υἱὸν εἶ μὴν παραχωρήσειν τόν κλῆρον. *Papyr. Erzh. Rainer*, 224 (*5–6 B.C.*), ὀμνύο (*sic*) αὐτοκράτορα εἶ μὴν ἐνμενεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς γεγ[ενημένοις]. J. H. Moulton adduces (in *Classical Review*, February and December 1901) five more examples from papyri of the first century A.D., and remarks: 'This form (εἶ μὴν) is thus fairly established as vernacular Greek in the first century.' Add finally: *Apocal. Mariae*, 122, 15, ἦ μὴν οὐχ ἑώρακας τὰς μεγάλας κολάσεις. Cf. *ib.* 117, 9.

There remains now to say a word on the process of change or corruption of ημην-ειμην to αμην

or αμην αμην. In the course of the second century the asseveration ἦ μήν—then evidently uttered as a single word[1]—began to retreat from the spoken language, while the gradual spread of Christianity made ἀμήν more and more familiar to Christian Greeks. Copiers, then, ignorant of earlier Greek speech (and all early copiers were poorly educated Christians) lighting upon ημην or ειμην mistook it for the familiar and Biblical ἀμήν, and so piously emended or rather 'miscorrected' it, notwithstanding that its meaning and position at the opening of a clause ought to have warned them against such proceeding. As a matter of course, the process of corruption may have been also indirect. The obsolete word ημην or ειμην may have been 'explained' by ἀμήν on the margin or above the line, and the explanation ἀμήν then, being mistaken for a word of the author accidentally omitted, found its way into the text,[2] and produced ημην αμην. The next copier then believing this complex to be a scribal error, dutifully 'corrected' it to αμην αμην, as we have it in John, while copiers of the Synoptists struck out the meaningless and superfluous ημην, and kept the familiar and biblical αμην, as we read it in the Synoptists.

The conclusion warranted by the above considerations would be that, while in John's double ἀμήν one ἀμήν is obviously interpolated, in the single ἀμήν of the Synoptists this reading stands for original ἦ μήν or εἶ μήν, an asseveration borrowed by Jesus from the colloquial speech of the time, probably after the example of the LXX, with which He is so familiar.

A. N. JANNARIS.

The Hexateuch and the Gospels: A Parallel.

IT is safe to say that the main contentions of the Higher Criticism have now been won. Many readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES will, indeed, number among their friends earnest students of the Bible who find no cogency in the arguments for the newer view and no value in its results; but apart from these there are probably many of us who cannot avoid some feeling of hesitation, not so much at the separation of the documents J, E, and P, as at the process by which they came to be welded into one. How can we assume the seemingly immense labours of the various 'redactors'? The object of the following paragraphs is to point out a further instance of narratives parallel, but not combined into one whole, namely, the narratives of the Gospels.

We do not need here to go into the question of the sources of our Gospels, compilations as they doubtless are, to some extent. It is well known that in Matthew at least there are apparent 'overlappings' such as we find in the Hexateuch, though, of course, to nothing like so great an extent. But neglecting these and treating the Gospels as we have them now, *i.e.*, as separate documents, we observe that just as J and E stand close together, with P much farther off, so Matthew and Luke with close relations to each other are at once distinct from John, and yet to a careful student strangely connected with it.[3] J and E, it is generally agreed, cover for the most part the same ground, although the first appearance of E is some time later in the Bible history than that of J. P, while going over the same ground, treats the whole subject-matter from a different point of view. With his own limitations and his own special literary powers, and with a distinct object, he leaves so distinct an impression of his style that it is easily felt to baffle all the efforts of the compiler to make it a part of another narrative. Compared with the Fourth Gospel, Matthew and Luke might almost seem (like J and E when compared with P) to be written by the same author; yet there are distinct differences, both of style and attitude, between them—differences which only emphasize the distinctness of John from both. 'As regards the analysis of JE,' says Driver, 'the criteria are fewer and less definite (than in the case of P) and the points of demarcation cannot in all cases be determined with the same confidence.' J, for example, as the name shows, speaks of Jehovah;

[1] This is implied by Herodian's remark already cited: τὸ ἠμὴν ὁρκικὸν ἐπιρρημα ὀξύνεται. Here if ἠμὴν consisted of two separate words, Herodian would have said: τὸ μὴν ὁρκικὸν κτλ.

[2] This process of interpolation for the period referred to is well illustrated by Galen's remark (Ὑπόμν. γ' εἰς ἐπιδ. α', vol. xvii. 1=p. 223 f.): φαίνεται γὰρ ὡς ἐξηγήσει προσγραφὲν ὑπό τινος, αὖθις εἰς τοῦδαφος (into the text) ὑπὸ τοῦ βιβλιογράφου μετατεθεῖσθαι.

[3] Nothing is here said of Mark, as it is simply the literary parallel which is in question. That we have only J and E against P in the Hexateuch, while we have three Synoptic Gospels does not alter our present argument.

E of Elohim. Most critics hold that J shows special sympathy with Judah, E with Israel, Joseph, or Ephraim. In spite of many anthropomorphisms and a certain 'naïve way of speaking of God' (Dillmann), J is the prophetic book, rich in moral reflexions and spiritual thought. E, on the other hand, is the richer in detail and the more picturesque; with a far larger reference, as Dillmann adds, to angels and visions. Similarly, to take an obvious example, Matthew speaks of the kingdom of heaven, Luke of the kingdom of God: Matthew is the Jewish Gospel, Luke the Gentile; hence, while Matthew pays special attention to Old Testament prophecies, to visions, at least in the earlier part peculiar to himself, and to the doom of the Jews' rejection of their Messiah, Luke emphasizes prayer and compassion, the humane and the universal side of the Gospel.

From both J and E, P is marked off as being the work 'of a jurist rather than a historian. It is circumstantial, formal, and precise' (Driver), where the others are flowing and varied. It abounds in set formulæ and precise statistics, but cares nothing for the picturesqueness of the other two writers. The distinction of John is equally well marked, though not in the same direction.

Where the others give brief narratives or collections of aphorisms selected on no evident principle, he gives us flowing discourses based on an elaborate plan. Curiously enough his language abounds in set phrases, with many repetitions and much symbolism, though in his case these only add to the literary effect of his work.

To make this clearer, let us now take a simple instance of compilation in the case of two narratives, one of J and the other of E, in Genesis, and afterwards attempt the combination, playing the part of 'redactor,' of two parallel narratives in Matthew and Luke. The well-known instance of the sale of Joseph by his brethren, Gn 37^{2-36}, will serve. The following is Dillmann's analysis. To E he assigns vv.$^{5.\ 11}$ (the account of the dreams, $^{13b.\ 14a.\ 18a.\ 19.\ 20.\ 22}$ and ^{23} (omitting the last clause), $^{24.\ 25}$ (first sentence), ^{28} (first sentence), $^{29-31}$ (with fragments of the following verses), to J the rest. It will thus be seen that, making allowances for the compiler (*e.g.* in ^{5b}, 'And they hated him yet the more'—cf. ^{8b},— and in ^{8a} 'then his brothers said unto him,' etc., and ^{18b}, 'and they conspired against him'), each of the two narratives is complete, and while E makes Reuben the deliverer and the Midianites the purchasers, J gives Judah as the deliverer and hands over Joseph to the Ishmaelites.

It will at once be acknowledged that in the Gospels the divergencies are for the most part less noticeable, and, if we may believe Westcott and Hort and the majority of textual critics at present, the work has been partly done for us in the 'conflate' Syrian readings. We may however take the narrative of the Temptation (Mt 4^{1-11} and Lk 4^{1-13}), and assuming a compilation such as we have in the Hexateuch, the result would run somewhat as follows:—'Then Jesus, being full of the Holy Spirit, returned from Jordan, and was led up by the spirit into the desert to be tempted by the devil forty days. And having fasted forty days and forty nights he was afterwards an hungered; and he did eat nothing in those days; and when they were ended he was an hungered.' Then the account of the first temptation as it is given in Matthew. Then the temptation of the pinnacle of the temple, the second in Matthew's order. Then Matthew's third temptation, 'Again the devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and showeth him all the kingdoms of the world' (using, no doubt, Matthew's *kosmos*, if we suppose the redactor to be using Matthew as a base) 'in a moment of time. And the devil saith to him, All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me, for to me have they been entrusted, and I give them to whom I will. Then Jesus answered and said, Get thee behind me, Satan, for,' etc. Next will follow what is the third temptation in Luke ending with, 'Then the devil leaveth him for a season, having finished all things; and behold angels came and began to minister to him.' Another good example might be found in the account of the preparation for the Paschal meal (Mt 26^{17-19} and Lk 22^{7-13}) where we should probably have, 'Go your way into the city to such an one, and there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water. Follow him into the house, etc. . . . Where is the guest-chamber where I may eat the passover with my disciples? for my time is near, and I must eat the passover at thy house with my disciples.'[1]

Let us now, returning to the Old Testament, take an instance where P has been combined with the other narratives, *e.g.* that of the Flood, a com-

[1] A similar fulness of expression may be found running through the narratives of 1 Samuel.

bination of P and J. As the narrative stands we have at once references to, and neglect of, distinction between clean and unclean beasts, different numbers of animals of each species received into the ark; different causes and a different statement of the length of the Flood itself; two quite homogeneous narratives will result, if, out of chaps. 6–8, we take out the following:—6, 9-22; 7, 6-11. 13-16a. 18-21 and 24; 8, 1-2a. 3b-5. 13a and 14-19. (A well-known instance of similar combination is to be found in 1 S 16–18, where David appears to be at once of mature age, 'a man of war and clever in speech,' and an inexperienced but daring shepherd lad).

The parallel in the Gospels that will most readily occur is probably the day of the Crucifixion, which the Synoptics identify with the Passover, while St. John clearly seems to make the Crucifixion come first. An instance of equal interest might be found in the accounts of Peter's denial narrated by all four Gospels, where for the sake of clearness we may simply combine John and Matthew. 'John spake unto her that kept the door and brought in Peter. Now Peter was sitting within the court, and a damsel came unto him. The damsel therefore that kept the door said unto Peter, Art thou also one of this man's disciples? He denied before them all, and saith, I am not. Now he was standing and warming himself, and when he was gone out into the porch another maid saw him,' etc. (Mt 26$^{71-74}$). Lastly, the question of Malchus' kinsman.

If we may thus argue from the New Testament to the Old we shall probably feel more clearly the uncertainty that inevitably follows from the theory of compilation to which all the phenomena of the parts of the Old Testament in question seem to point us; we would at least urge that to those who question the accuracy of the 'critical' results, their difficulty is connected with the compilation, at least as much as with the sources, and that before any of the analyses can be held to be final, we must at least consider what is involved in the synthesis.

It may be that as the Darwinian theory first had to fight strenuously for recognition, then seemed the final statement of truth, and is now felt to be in considerable need of being modified and supplemented, so the 'higher' view of the Old Testament, fiercely opposed and then accepted as authoritative, may be on the way to a further modification, which will prove to be a sign not of retrogression but of true progress; just as, after the assaults of the *inhaltliche kritik*, the accuracy of the narratives of the Old Testament is coming to be once more established. (See König's tract, *Die Bedeutung des Alten Testamentes*. Leipz., 1901.)

W. F. Lofthouse.

Bradford.

The Poor Rich Fool.

LUKE XII. 21.

By the Rev. John Reid, M.A., Dundee.

'So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God' (Luke xii. 21).

The parable which closes with these words can never be forgotten. To hear or read it once is to remember it always. The story needs no explanation; its teaching is unmistakable. It is a story of judgment. Christ had such a man as He speaks of in view. Perhaps some of those who heard Him could remember the sudden death of a rich landowner whose unexpected end had been the sensation of a week. He passes judgment on his life. The man who lived and planned thus was a fool.

The parable explains how it is that 'a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth' (Lk 12^{15}). It is a poor life whose possessions are outward and material. The life that is rich toward God is rich in itself. The life on which judgment was passed was poor and foolish, because it was not rich toward God. What did it lack? What qualities were awanting? What are the proofs of this rich man's real poverty?

1. The lack of thanksgiving. He was rich, and his ground brought forth plentifully, but his heart is never stirred by a feeling of gratitude. Never a thought of God as the giver of increase comes to his mind. He thinks only of 'my fruits,' 'my goods,' 'my barns.' He speaks only of him-

self. 'I' is his only councillor. Most likely he attributed his prosperity to his skill, his sharpness at a bargain, his wise planning, and anxious toil. Perhaps, like many another, he boasted of the little he had when he started life, and spoke of his present worth with pride. He did not see that God had any part in it. That of itself is a proof of poverty. 'A grateful mind is a great mind.' Thankfulness of spirit is one of God's treasures. It 'blesseth him that gives, and him that takes.' 'I will praise the Lord with a song. . . . This will please the Lord better than any ox or bullock which hath horns and hoofs.' It was one of the chief offences of the heathen and one great source of their errors that 'neither were they thankful' (Ro 1^{21}). Pride and presumption are children of unthankfulness. Not to be able to see God's goodness is a greater lack than colour-blindness. It misses all the glory of life, as colour-blindness misses all the glory of the world. To be lacking in thankfulness means that we are poor in ourselves. To look at the gift and not at the giver is to show that we lack all the finer instincts of the soul. The thankless life is a poor life.

2. The lack of helpful service. The man is embarrassed with his riches. He has no room where to bestow his fruits. He takes counsel with himself as to what he shall do. In a flash the answer is found. He will pull down his barns and build greater, and there bestow all his fruits and all his goods. It is a resolve to 'stow,' not to 'bestow.' He will carry on business as before, but on larger lines. No other thought comes to him. But this, too, is a proof of his poverty. He has no idea of giving, only of getting; no idea of using, only of storing. He sees none of the possibilities that are in his hand. He has nothing to give to the poor; nothing to contribute to the temple or the synagogue. No wise large-hearted plan for elevating or enriching the people around him is cherished by him. Perhaps the houses of his servants, where men and women lived, and little children were born, were not equal to the old barns which were found too small for his goods. Power is in his hand, and all he can think of is to accumulate more of it. He is one of those of whom men ask when they die, 'How much was he worth? What did he leave?' They do not talk or tell of the use he made of his means, of the services he rendered by his riches. His 'life' consisted in getting. He has no higher conception of the use of prosperity than to store it in a barn. He saw not that all gifts are gifts for men, to be used as such in the service of God. He never dreamed of stewardship or service. He was 'like an ass whose back with ingots bows.' To have and to hold are his ambitions. He is 'a man of means,' too mean to see his power. The plenty which came from his fields should have taught him better. The increase came not from stowing, but from sowing. Had he used his means as he used his grain, putting them out to service in the help of man, true riches would have come to him. He would have been rich toward God and rich in himself.

3. The lack of any worthy outlook or interest. What are his thoughts for the future? What hopes and plans does he cherish? 'Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years. Take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry.' He plays with the thought of retiring from business. He has enough and more than enough. There is no need to rise early and toil late or endure the heat of the day. He will take life easily, will enjoy himself. He is his own Alpha and Omega. All is for self. He will 'eat and drink and be merry.' That is all. He will be a glutton and a wine-bibber. His pleasures are of the flesh. No higher vision dawns upon his soul. No interest in spiritual aims or objects suggests itself. God and the hereafter are absent from his scheme of life. 'Many days' is the limit of his outlook. Till those are ended he 'will eat and drink and sleep, and then will eat and drink and sleep again.' All his labour is for his mouth. This made life pleasant. This gave value to his wealth. It is a poor life—abject in its poverty. Man's grandest powers are atrophied. Man's highest interests are without interest to him. The soul of goodness, the love of truth, the gladness of helping, the joy of fellowship with God are no attractions. The life is so poor and mean that it knows not what it lacks.

4. In what he leaves behind him, and takes with him. He is summoned hence by the voice none can disobey. He had planned for 'many days,' and he has not even one. 'This night'—in the midst of plan and hope, the inevitable end surprises him. What does he leave behind him? His fruits, his goods, his barns. Nothing more. No one rises up to bless his memory. His mourners are few if any, though he may have had a grand funeral. He leaves no imperishable monument in deeds of kindness, or of helpful service, or in an honoured name. What does he take with him? Nothing of what he had. His treasures were of the earth, and the earth keeps them. He only takes his character, such as it was. And with that he entered the eternal world a beggar, and a fool.

Printed by MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED, Tanfield Works, and Published by T. & T. CLARK, 38 George Street, Edinburgh. It is requested that all literary communications be addressed to THE EDITOR, St. Cyrus, Montrose.

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